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WITH COPIOUS ADDITIONAL NOTES, ORIGINAL AND SELECTED,

BY

JAMES MURDOCK, D.D.

REVISED, AND SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ADDED,

BY

JAMES SEATON REID, D.D.

PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

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PREFACE.

When the enterprising publishers of this volume applied to me to edit a new edition of Maclaine's translation of these Institutes of Mosheim, I declined to undertake the task, on account of the numerous defects of that translation, and the impossibility of rectifying them without undergoing the labour of an entirely new version. At the same time, I directed their attention to this excellent translation by Dr. Murdock, which had been very favourably received both in the United States and in this country; and stated my belief that a cheap reprint of it in one volume was much wanted, in order the more effectually to supersede Maclaine's unsatisfactory translation, and to furnish English readers with an accurate version of a work which, under many disadvantages, has long been one of our most popular works on Ecclesiastical History. The publishers adopted this suggestion, and I have accordingly endeavoured to execute the task assigned me with diligence and fidelity, but without the advantage of having had time to make any special preparation before engaging in it.

The first American edition of Dr. Murdock's translation was used so far as the fourth century, when the second and, I believe, last edition of 1845 was obtained from New-York, and thenceforward adopted as the basis of this edition. I have ventured to revise the translation in various places, either to bring it closer to the original text, or to correct a few inaccuracies of style. Several lengthy documents elsewhere accessible in English, and some details of inferior interest, have been occasionally omitted from the notes of the translator, lest the work might prove too bulky for a single volume; and I have supplied throughout a number of additional notes which are marked with the letter—*R.*

In compiling these notes, my object was not so much to supply new facts or corrections overlooked by preceding editors, because it appeared to me that the text had been already rather too much overlaid by supplementary matter of this sort. My principal aim was, to point out to the student additional sources of information, and especially to direct the English reader to those works in his own language, whether original

works or translations, which illustrated the topics discussed in the text or the accompanying notes. I was induced to keep in view the wants of this class of readers from the conviction that this work of Mosheim had long furnished, and I have no doubt will continue to furnish, a larger number of English readers than is generally supposed, with all the knowledge they possess of the history of the church. I thought it right, therefore, to render this new edition, adapted as it is from its cheapness for general use, as profitable as possible to those who may not be conversant with ancient or modern languages. At the same time, I hope the learned reader, and especially the professional student, will derive from the notes I have supplied, some further assistance in their study of this branch of history, in addition to what the erudite translator had already so abundantly furnished in his many valuable notes, both original and selected.

I cannot take leave of this work without expressing my regret that more time had not been allowed me for preparing for and perfecting this edition. The greatest care however has been taken, both by the publishers and myself, to render all the quotations and references as faithful and correct as possible; and this new edition is now offered to the public in the confident hope that, though capable of further improvement, it will be found more complete and valuable than any other which has yet appeared.

J. S. R.

Glasgow College, *October*, 1848.

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POSTSCRIPT 874

PREFACE BY DR. MURDOCK

TO

THE FIRST AMERICAN EDITION.

To produce a general history of the Christian church, adapted especially to the wants of the younger clergy but suitable for intelligent readers of all classes, a history so comprehensive as to touch on all the more important facts, briefly indeed but distinctly, with suitable enlargement on the points of peculiar interest and a constant reference to authorities and to the writers who give more full information, so that the work, while itself affording a good general knowledge of the whole subject, might serve as a guide to more thorough investigations—such was the design of Mosheim in the following work, and such has been the aim of the present translator.

The great need of such a work at the present day, when every other branch of theology is much cultivated, is so generally felt, that it is unnecessary to say anything to evince its importance or to excite an interest on the subject. The only things, therefore, which here claim attention are the character and history of Mosheim, the reasons for giving a new translation of his work, and the additions made to it by way of notes.

John Lawrence von Mosheim was nobly born at Lubec, October 9, 1694. His education was completed at the university of Kiel, where at an early age he became professor of philosophy. In his youth he cultivated a taste for poetry, and he actually published criticisms on that subject. But pulpit eloquence, biblical and historical theology, and practical religion, were his favourite pursuits. He published seven volumes of sermons, and left a valuable treatise on preaching which was printed after his death. The English and French preachers, particularly Tillotson and Watts, Saurin, Massillon, and Flechier, were his models. The Germans admit that he contributed much to improve the style and manner of preaching in their country. While a professor at Kiel, he gained such reputation that the King of Denmark invited him to a professorship at Copenhagen. But the Duke of Brunswick soon after, in the year 1725, called him to the divinity chair at Helmstadt, which he filled with great applause for twenty-two years. In 1747, when George II. king of England, the founder of the university of Göttingen, wished to place over that institution men of the highest rank in the literary world, Mosheim was deemed worthy to be its chancellor and the head of the department of theology. In this honourable station he remained eight years or till his death, September 9, 1755. His works were very numerous, consisting of translations into Latin or German of various foreign works, Italian, French, English, and Greek, with learned notes, an immense number of disquisitions relating to historical, dogmatic, and moral subjects, besides orations,

sermons, letters, &c. On church history in which he most distinguished himself, he published, among other works, two volumes of essays on detached subjects; a compendious church history, in two volumes, 12mo; a full church history of the first century, 4to; Commentaries on the affairs of Christians to the time of Constantine, 4to; and he had just published the revision and enlargement of his compendious church history under the new title of INSTITUTES OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, ANCIENT AND MODERN, in one volume, 4to, when he was removed by death at the age of 61.*

The character of Mosheim is thus given by his disciple and translator, J. R. Schlegel: "We may have had, perhaps, biblical interpreters, who like Ernesti and Michaelis expounded the Scriptures with more philosophical and critical learning, perhaps also theologians and moralists who have treated dogmatic and practical theology with more metaphysical precision; we may likewise have had, and perhaps still have, pulpit orators who, among the many unsuccessful imitators of Mosheim's method, have even rivalled him, and perhaps come nearer to that ideal perfection which he wished to see realized. But in ecclesiastical history, the merits of Mosheim are so decisive and peculiar, that I will not venture to compare him with any who preceded or followed him in this department of learning. He is, as Schroeckh says, our first real historian in church history."† Dr. Maclaine informs us that, after he had commenced his translation, he received a letter from Bishop Warburton, saying, "Mosheim's compendium is excellent, the method admirable; in short, the only one deserving the name of an ecclesiastical history. It deserves and needs frequent notes."

Mosheim's Institutes, as well as most of his other historical works, being written in Latin, were accessible to learned foreigners. And Dr. Archibald Maclaine,‡ the son of a dissenting minister in the north of Ireland, and himself one of the ministers of an English congregation at the Hague, published an English translation of these Institutes so early as the year 1764, only nine years after the appearance of the original. Dutch and French translations were also made; but I know not by whom or at what time. In 1769, J. A. C. Von Einem, a pious but not profound German minister, commenced his German translation of the Institutes. His design was to bring down the work to the capacities of the unlearned, and to render it an edifying book for common Christians. Accordingly, he omitted nearly all the marginal references and discussions, and introduced much religious biography and historical detail. His translation fills six volumes, octavo, and the continuation of the history three additional volumes.

* A full list of his works is appended to the edition of his *Institutiones*, Helm. 1764, 4to. p. 958.—*R.*

† Schlegel's [German translation of] Mosheim, vol. i. Preface.

‡ As very little is known of this first translator of Mosheim, I subjoin a few particulars. Dr. Archibald Maclaine was the son of the Rev. Thomas Maclaine, minister of the Irish Presbyterian church at Monaghan from 1718 to 1740. His grandfather, of the same name with himself, was a Presbyterian minister at Market-hill, in the county of Armagh, from about 1700 till his death in 1734; and he had also two uncles in the ministry in Ireland, one at Banbridge in Down, and the other successively at Ballynahinch and Antrim. The translator was born at Monaghan, in 1722, and was educated at the University of Glasgow, where I find he was matriculated in 1739, and where he enjoyed the friendship of the celebrated Francis Hutcheson, professor of Moral Philosophy here at that time, and himself the son of an Irish Presbyterian minister in the city of Armagh. Dr. Maclaine was minister at the Hague from 1745 to 1794, and died at Bath in England, in 1804, aged 82 years.—*R.*

In the year 1770, John R. Schlegel, rector of the gymnasium of Heilbronn, a learned and judicious man, commenced another German translation, which is very literal and close, free from all interpolations, and accompanied with learned notes. This translation in four large volumes octavo, was completed in 1780, and a continuation of the history in two volumes appeared in 1784 and 1788.

The lectures and the printed works of Mosheim on ecclesiastical history kindled up such ardour for this science in Germany, that in the course of fifty years, Baumgarten, Semler, Schroeckh, Henke, and Schmidt, severally produced large and valuable church histories. Of these the most full and complete is that of Schroeckh, a pupil of Mosheim, continued by Tzschirner, in forty-five vols. 8vo. And next, that of Henke, continued by Vater, in nine vols. 8vo. Nor has the ardour for this branch of theology yet subsided in Germany; for professor Neander of Berlin is now publishing a profound and philosophical church history, which if completed on the plan commenced will probably fill twenty-five or thirty volumes 8vo. The limits assigned to this Preface will not allow a discussion of the merits of these several successors of Mosheim. Suffice it to say, that a careful examination of them all has resulted in the decided conviction that Mosheim's history, in a form similar to that given to it by Schlegel, is the best adapted to the wants of this country, and the most likely to meet approbation among the American clergy.

The necessity for a new English version of the Institutes arises principally from the unauthorised liberties taken by the former translator, under the mistaken idea of improving the work and rendering it more acceptable to the public. He says in his preface: "The style of the original is by no means a model to imitate in a work designed for general use. Dr. Mosheim affected brevity, and laboured to crowd many things into few words; thus his diction, though pure and correct, became sententious and harsh, without that harmony which pleases the ear, and those transitions which make a narration flow with ease. This being the case, I have sometimes taken considerable liberties with my author, and followed the spirit of his narrative without adhering strictly to the letter; and have often added a few sentences to render an observation more striking, a fact more clear, a portrait more finished." Thus Dr. Maclaine frankly owns that his chief design was to render the work interesting to those superficial readers who delight in that harmony which pleases the ear, and in those transitions which make a narration flow with ease; and that he often added a few sentences of his own, to give more vivacity and point to the sentiments of his author, or more splendour to their dress. And whoever will be at the pains of comparing his translation with the original, may see that he has essentially changed the style, and greatly coloured and altered in many places the sentiments of his author; in short, that he has paraphrased rather than translated a large part of the work. The book is thus rendered heavy and tedious to the reader by its superfluity of words, and likewise obscure and indefinite, and sometimes self-contradictory, by the looseness of its unguarded statements. Its credibility also as a history of facts is impaired, and it fails of carrying full conviction to the mind, because it is stripped of its native

simplicity, precision, and candour. For no wise man will confide in a writer who appears intent on fabricating sonorous and flowing periods, who multiplies splendid epithets, and habitually deals in loose and unqualified assertions. Nor is this all, for the old translation has actually exposed Mosheim to severe and unmerited censure from different quarters; and Maclaine has long stood accused before the public as a translator "who has interwoven his own sentiments in such a manner with those of the original author, both in the notes and in the text, that it is impossible for a mere English reader to distinguish them, and in divers instances he has entirely contradicted him. This (add the accusers) will be evident to all, if a literal translation of Mosheim shall ever be published."* It is not strange, therefore, that so large a portion of the community have been dissatisfied with Maclaine's Mosheim, and have desired a more faithful and literal version of this valuable author.

If the translation here offered to the public is what it was intended to be, it is a close, literal version, containing neither more nor less than the original, and presenting the exact thoughts of the author in the same direct, artless, and lucid manner, with as much similarity in the phraseology and modes of expression as the idioms of the two languages would admit. That all the elegancies of the Latin style and diction of the author have been retained, is not pretended. The translator can only say he has aimed to give Mosheim, as far as he was able, the same port and mien in English as he has in Latin.

But writing out an entirely new and independent translation of the Institutes has not been half the labour bestowed on the work. Everywhere the statements of Mosheim have been compared with the sources from which they were drawn, and with the representations of other standard writers of different communities, so far as the means of doing this were at hand. The reasonings also of Mosheim have been weighed with care. And nothing has been suffered to go before the public, without first passing an examination by the best criteria within the reach of the translator. Often days and weeks have been consumed in such examinations, when the results were, that Mosheim's statements needed no correction, or at least that no palpable errors were discovered in them; and it was therefore thought advisable to allow him to express his own views without note or comment. But in many instances the translator supposed that he discovered such mistakes or defects in his author as called for animadversion. In these cases he has given, in the form of notes, such statements and criticisms as he deemed necessary. Numerous other instances occurred in which Mosheim was found to differ from other standard writers, or to have simply omitted what the translator or others deemed worth inserting; and in such cases the opinions or statements of other writers have been given, that the reader might be able to compare them, and the omitted matter has been supplied. In the history of the primitive church, for two or three centuries, the translator deemed almost everything interesting which can be learned with any degree of certainty. Accordingly, his notes and animadversions here are more frequent and minute than in the subsequent parts

* See the New-York edition of Maclaine's Mosheim, in 1824, vol. iv. p. 284.

of the work. In regard to what are called the fathers, especially those of the first four centuries, and likewise the leading men in the church in all ages, he has deemed it proper greatly to enlarge the account given by Mosheim; not so much by minutely tracing the history of their private lives, as by more fully stating their public characters and acts, and mentioning such of their works as have come down to us. In no one respect has the history been more enlarged than in this. Through all the ages down to the reformation, the eminent men whom Mosheim thought proper to name particularly, have each a distinct note assigned them, containing all of much importance which can be said of them; and in each century, at the close of Mosheim's list of eminent men, nearly a complete catalogue of all those omitted by him is subjoined, with brief notices of the most material things known concerning them.—On the controversies and disputes among Christians, especially those which related to religious doctrines, much and critical attention has been bestowed. So also the reputed heresies and the different sects of professed Christians, which Mosheim had treated with great fullness and ability, have been carefully re-examined and subjected to critical remarks. Here great use has been made of the writers who succeeded Mosheim, and particularly of the younger Walch.—The propagation of Christianity, especially among the nations of Europe in the middle ages, and among the Asiatics by the Nestorians, has been the subject of frequent and sometimes long notes.—The origin and history of the reformation, particularly in countries not of the Augsburg confession; also the contests between the Lutherans and the Reformed, and the history of the English and Scotch churches, and of the English dissenters, have received particular attention; and the occasional mistakes of Mosheim have been carefully pointed out. Yet the enlargements of the history since the time of Luther, and particularly during the seventeenth century, have been the less considerable, because there was danger of swelling the work to a disproportionate size, and because another opportunity is anticipated for supplying these omissions.

These remarks may give some idea of the extensive additions to the original by way of notes. All additions to the work are carefully distinguished from the original by brackets. They are also accompanied by a notice of the persons responsible for their truth and correctness. What the translator gives as his own is subscribed, *Mur.* When he borrows from others, which he has done very largely, he either explicitly states what is borrowed and from whom, or subjoins the name of the author. Thus several notes are borrowed directly from Maclaine, and these have the signature *Macl.* annexed. A few others are translated from Von Einem's Mosheim, and these have the signature *Von Ein.* affixed. But the learned and judicious Schlegel has been taxed for the greatest amount of contributions. Throughout the work his notes occur, translated from the German, and with the signature *Schl.* annexed.

A continuation of the history to the present time is deemed so important, that the translator intends, if his life and health are spared, to attempt a compilation of this sort as soon as the printing of this work shall be completed.

New-Haven, *February* 22, 1832.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE SECOND AMERICAN EDITION.

For the very kind reception of his work, the translator feels himself under great obligations to the enlightened public who have passed so favourable a judgment upon it; and he would now offer them the best return he can make—a new edition of the work, carefully revised and somewhat enlarged, and, as he hopes, more worthy of approbation and better suited to the wants of students in this branch of theology.

The translation has been again compared with the original throughout, sentence by sentence, and subjected to a rigid criticism. In a very few instances, it was discovered that a word or clause of the original had been overlooked in the translation, and that in several instances the import of the original had been inadequately or obscurely expressed. Yet no very important departure from the sense of the original author has been discovered. Nearly all the numerous alterations and changes, therefore, relate to the phraseology, or to the choice of words and the structure of the sentences. The difficulty of combining a neat and perspicuous anglicism with a close adherence to the sense and to the very form of thought in the original, throughout so large a work, must be obvious to all who have had experience in the business of translating; and they will not need to be told that numberless corrections and improvements will always occur to a translator, who revises his work after a lapse of several years. In this manner the diction and the style of this edition, it is believed, have been considerably improved, without any sacrifice of fidelity in the translation. If it be not so, more than half a year's labour has been expended unsuccessfully.

The references, to a considerable extent and where the means were at hand, have been verified; and a considerable number of errors, some occasioned by the transcription but more by the mistakes of the printer, have been corrected. Many new references to authorities and to modern authors have also been added in various parts of the work; and these, it is hoped, will add considerably to the value of the present edition. Several topics have likewise been subjected to further investigation, and some new notes of no inconsiderable length have been added.

New-Haven, 1839.*

* A re-issue or third edition appeared in 1845, but without any additional preface.—*R.*

MOSHEIM'S PREFACE.

My *Institutes of Christian History** having been long out of print, the worthy person at whose expense they were published has often requested me to give a new edition of them, somewhat improved and enlarged. This request I resisted for many years, for I was reluctant to suspend other works then on my hands which were deemed more important; besides, I must acknowledge that I shrunk from the irksome task of correcting and enlarging a book which needed so much amendment. The importunities of the publisher, however, and of other friends who joined with him, at length overcame my tardiness; and now, after the leisure hours of two years have been spent on the work, it is brought to a close, and these *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History* now make their appearance, not only in a new form and dress, but so materially changed as to be almost entirely a new work.

The distribution of the materials under certain heads, which I once deemed the best form for the learner, is still retained; for, notwithstanding weighty reasons have occurred to my mind for preferring a continuous and unbroken narrative, I have chosen to follow the judgment of those excellent men whom experience has led to prefer the former method. And indeed a little reflection must convince us, that whoever would embrace in a single book all the facts and observations necessary to a full acquaintance with the state of the church in every age of it, must of course adopt some classification and distribution of those facts; and as such was the design of the following work, I have left its primitive form unchanged, and have directed my attention solely to the correction, improvement, and enlargement of the work, so as to render it a more useful book.

My principal care has been to impart fidelity and authority to the narrative. For this purpose I have gone to the primary sources of information, that is, to the best writers of all ages who lived near the times they describe; and I have consulted them with attention, and have transcribed from them whenever they were sufficiently concise, and at the same time clear and nervous. It is often the case that those who write summaries of history only abridge the more voluminous historians; and this method I myself before pursued to a considerable degree. But such a procedure, though sometimes justifiable and not to be wholly condemned, is attended with this evil, that it perpetuates the mistakes which are apt to abound in very large and voluminous works, by causing them to pass from a single book into numerous others. I had long been apprized of this danger; but I felt it with no little mortification when I brought the testimony of the best authorities to pour their light on the pages of my

* A work in 2 vols. 12mo, first published in 1737-41, and afterward abridged by J. P. Miller, in 1 vol. 12mo, Hamb. 1752.—*Mur.*

own work. I now perceived that writers pre-eminent for their diligence and fidelity are not always to be trusted, and I found that I had abundant occasion for adding, expunging, changing, and correcting in every part of my book. In performing this task, I know that I have not been wanting in patience and industry, or in watchfulness and care; but whether these have secured me against all mistakes, which is confessedly of no easy accomplishment, I leave them to judge who are best informed in ecclesiastical affairs. To aid persons disposed to institute such inquiries, I have in general made distinct reference to my authorities; and if I have perverted their testimony either by misstatement or misapplication, I confess myself to be less excusable than other transgressors in this way, because I had before me all the authors whom I quote, and I turned them over and read and compared them with each other, being resolved to follow solely their guidance.

This effort to render my history faithful and true, that is, exactly coincident with the statements of the most credible witnesses, has caused many and various changes and additions throughout the work; but in no part of it are the alterations greater or more remarkable than in the Third Book, which contains the history of the church, and especially of the Latin or Western Church, from the time of Charlemagne to the Reformation by Luther. This period of ecclesiastical history, though it embraces great events and is very important on account of the light it casts on the origin and causes of the present civil and religious state of Europe, thereby enabling us correctly to estimate and judge of many things which occur in our own times, has not hitherto been treated with the same clearness, solidity, and elegance as the other parts of church history. Here the number of original writers is great; yet few of them are in common use or of easy acquisition, and they all frighten us either with their bulk, the barbarity of their style, or their excessive price; not a few of them too, either knowingly or ignorantly, corrupt the truth, or at least obscure it by their ignorance and unskilfulness, and some of them have not yet been published. It is not strange, therefore, that many things in this part of ecclesiastical history should have been either silently passed over or less happily stated and explained, even by the most laborious and learned authors. Among these, the ecclesiastical annalists and the historians of the monastic sects, so famous in the Roman church, as Baronius, Raynald, Bzovius, Manriquez, Wadding, and others, though richly supplied with ancient manuscripts and records, have often committed more faults and fallen into greater mistakes than writers far inferior to them in learning, reputation, and means of information. Having therefore bestowed much attention during many years on the history of the church from the eighth century onward, and believing that I had obtained from works published or still in manuscript, a better and more correct knowledge of many events than is given in the common accounts of those times, I conceived that I might do service to the cause of ecclesiastical history by exhibiting to the world some of the results of my investigations; and that by throwing some light on the obscure period of the Middle Ages I might excite men of talents and industry to pursue the same object, and thus to perfect the history of the Latin Church. Claiming the indulgence

allowed an old man to boast a little, I flatter myself that I have brought forward some things which are new or previously little known; that other things which had been stated incorrectly or obscurely, I have here exhibited with clearness and traced back to the proper authorities; and that some things which were accredited fables I have now exploded. Whether I deceive myself in all this or not, the discerning reader may ascertain by examining and comparing with the common accounts what I have here said respecting Constantine's donation, the Cathari and Albigenses, the Beghards and Beguines, the Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit (that pest to many parts of Europe during four centuries) and of the Fratricelli [or Little Brethren], the controversies between the Franciscans and the Roman pontiffs, the history of Berengarius and of the Lollards, and several other subjects.

If in these enlargements of ecclesiastical history, and while giving views either partially or wholly new, I had used the same brevity as on the subjects well stated and explained by many before me, I should neither have satisfied the inquisitive reader nor have done justice to myself. For I should have appeared to many as a writer of fables, and their apprehensions on these subjects would have been indistinct, and consequently useless and fallacious. Therefore, when I have departed widely from the common statements or advanced apparent novelties, I have not only aimed to be very explicit, but in order to give credibility to my narrative, I have gone into more ample disquisitions and citations of authorities, because full statements and demonstrations, though out of place in an epitome of history, were here indispensable.

In addition to these causes for changing materially the character and increasing the size of my book, another occurred soon after I commenced its revision. I had at first designed my work especially for lecturers on church history, who need a compendious text for the basis of their instructions, and had therefore only touched upon many things which I supposed would be dilated and explained more fully by the lecturer. But when I began to revise and correct the work for a new edition, it occurred to me that it would be more satisfactory to many and better subserve the cause of sacred learning, if the book were adapted not merely to the convenience of lecturers, but also to the wants of those who attempt without a teacher to gain a general knowledge of ecclesiastical history. As soon as this thought occurred my views were changed, and I began at once to supply omissions, to explain more fully what was obscure, and to give greater precision and distinctness to the whole narrative. And hence it is that, in describing the calamities in which the Christians of the first ages were involved, more pains are taken than is commonly done to state precisely the truth, and in tracing the origin and progress of the sects which disturbed the church greater accuracy is attempted; so likewise the new forms of religion, devised by those who love new things, are calmly and candidly described and with all possible fidelity; religious contests and disputes are more clearly stated, and their importance more carefully determined; and the history of the Roman pontiffs after the time of Charlemagne, their conflicts and their enterprises, have received more careful attention. I mention these as specimens only of what has been attempted for the advantage of those who

cannot pursue a regular course of church history from their want of books or leisure, and who yet wish to obtain a clear and correct view of the principal facts and transactions. The book for the most part may be safely trusted by such readers; it will afford them as much knowledge as will satisfy one who reads only for practical purposes; and besides, it will direct to the authors from whom more full information may be obtained.

It would be folly and would betray ignorance of human imperfection, if I should suppose that no errors could be detected and that nothing needed correction in all the details of so large a history; yet, conscious of my own integrity and good faith and of the pains I have taken to avoid mistakes, I cannot but hope that I have rarely so failed that serious evils will result from my errors.

I could add some other prefatory remarks which would perhaps not be useless; but nothing more need be added to enable those who will be candid and ingenuous, and who are competent judges in such matters, to judge correctly of the present work. I therefore conclude by offering the just tribute of my gratitude to Almighty God who has given me strength, amid the infirmities of age and the pressure of other labours and cares, to surmount the difficulties and bear the fatigue of completing the work now given to the public.

GÖTTINGEN, *March* 23, 1755.

INTRODUCTION.

1. The *Ecclesiastical History of the New Dispensation* is a clear and faithful narrative of the external condition and of the internal state and transactions of that body of men who have borne the name of *Christians*, and in which events are so traced to their causes, that the providence of God may be seen in the establishment and preservation of the Church, and the reader's piety no less than his intelligence be advanced by the perusal.

2. The best form of such a history seems to be that which considers the whole body of Christians as constituting a community subjected to lawful authority and governed by certain laws and institutions. To such a community many external events must happen which will be favourable to its interests or adverse to them; and since nothing human is stable, many things will occur in the bosom of such community, tending to change its character. Hence its history may very suitably be divided into its *external* and its *internal* history. In this manner the history of the Christian community, in order to its embracing all the details and promoting the greatest usefulness, should be divided.

3. The *external* history of Christians, or of the Christian community, is properly called the *history of the Church*, and embraces all the occurrences and changes which have visibly befallen this sacred society. And as all communities are sometimes prosperous and sometimes meet with adversity, such also has been the lot of Christians. Hence this part of ecclesiastical history is fitly divided into an account of the *prosperous* and of the *calamitous* events which Christians have experienced.

4. The *prosperous* events, or those tending to the advancement and progress of the Christian interest, proceeded either from the heads and leaders or from the subordinate members of this community. Its leaders were either *public* characters, as kings, magistrates, and sovereign pontiffs; or *private* individuals, as the teachers, the learned, the influential, and the wealthy. Both classes have contributed much, in all ages, to the increase of the Church. Men in power, by their authority, laws, beneficence, and even by their arms, have contributed to establish and enlarge the Church. And the doctors and men of learning, of genius, and eminent piety, by their vigorous and noble efforts, their travels, their writings, and their munificence, have successfully recommended the religion of Christ to those ignorant of it. And common Christians, by their faith, their constancy, their piety, their love to God and men, have induced many to become Christians.

5. The *calamitous* events which have befallen the Church, arose either from the fault of Christians, or from the malice and stratagems of their adversaries. There is abundant evidence that Christians themselves, and especially those who presided in the Church, have brought much evil upon the body by their negligence, their unholy lives, and their strifes and contentions. The *enemies* of Christ's kingdom were also either *public* or *private* men. *Public* enemies, namely kings and magistrates, by their laws and penalties, obstructed the progress of Christianity. *Private* men, the philosophers, the superstitious, and the despisers of all religion, assailed the Church with false accusations, stratagems, and hostile writings.

6. The *internal history* of the Christian Church treats of the changes to which the Church, in every age, has been exposed, in regard to its distinguishing characteristics as a religious society. It may not unsuitably be called the *history of the Christian religion*. The causes of these internal changes are found, for the most part, in the rulers of the Church. These often explained the principles and precepts of Christianity to suit their own fancy or convenience; and as many acquiesced and were submissive, and others not unfrequently resisted, insurrections and internal wars were the consequence. To all these subjects the intelligent ecclesiastical historian must direct his attention.

7. The first subject in the internal history of the Church is the *history of its rulers* and of its government. Originally the teachers and the people conjointly adminis-

tered the affairs of the Church; but these teachers, in process of time, assumed a loftier spirit, and, trampling on the rights of the people, they claimed sovereign power both in sacred and secular affairs. At last things gradually came to this, that one person held supreme power over the whole Church, or at least affected to hold it. Among these governors and guides of the Church, some obtained by their writings pre-eminent fame and influence; and as these were by after ages regarded as oracles and blindly followed, they ought to rank among the *governors* of the Church, whether they held offices in it or not.

8. The *history of the laws* by which this religious society was governed naturally follows the history of its ministers. The laws peculiar to the Christian community are of two kinds. Some are *divine*, proceeding from God himself. These are written in those books which Christians very properly believe to be divinely inspired. Others are *human*, or are enactments by the rulers of the community. The former are usually called *doctrines*, and are divided into two species; namely, *doctrines of faith*, which are addressed to the understanding; and *moral doctrines*, which address the heart or will.

9. In the history of these laws or *doctrines*, it should be our first inquiry, in what estimation has the sacred volume been held from age to age, and how was it interpreted? For, in every period, the state of religion among Christians has depended on the reverence paid to the sacred volume and on the manner of expounding it. We should next inquire how these divine instructions and laws were treated—in what manner they were inculcated and explained—defended against gainsayers or debased and corrupted. The last inquiry is, how far Christians were obedient to these divine laws, or how they lived; and what measures were taken by the rulers of the Church to restrain the licentiousness of transgressors.

10. The *human laws* of which we speak are prescriptions relating to the external worship of God, or religious rites, whether derived from custom or from positive enactment. Rites either *directly* appertain to religion or *indirectly* refer to it. The former embrace the whole exterior of religious *worship*, both public and private; the latter include every thing, except direct worship, that is accounted religious and proper. This part of religious history is very extensive; partly from the variety and partly from the frequent changes in ceremonies. A concise history can therefore only touch upon the subject without descending into details.

11. As in civil republics wars and insurrections sometimes break out; so in the Christian republic serious commotions have often arisen on account of both doctrines and rites. The leaders and authors of these seditions are called *heretics;* and the opinions for which they separated from other Christians are called *heresies*. The history of these commotions, or heresies, should be fully detailed. This labour, if wisely expended and with impartiality, will well repay the toil; but it is arduous and difficult. For the leaders of these parties have been treated with much injustice, and their doctrines are misrepresented; nor is it easy to come at the truth in the midst of so much darkness, since most of the writings of those called *heretics* are now lost. Those, therefore, who approach this part of Church history should exclude everything invidious from the name *heretic*, and should consider it as used in its more general sense, to denote those who were the occasion, whether by their own or others' fault, of divisions and contests among Christians.[1]

12. In treating of both the external and the internal history of the Church, the writer who would be us ful must trace events to their

1 The greater number of the topics enumerated in this section and the preceding ones (6—11) have been treated of in separate works, to which the student of ecclesiastical history should refer for fuller information than can be given in general histories: thus, for the internal *government*, *discipline*, and *worship* of the early Church, he must consult Bingham's *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, in his *Works*. London, 1840, 9 vols. 8vo; abridged by Blackamore, in his *Summary of Christ. Antiquities*. London, 1722, 2 vols. 8vo; Coleman's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, in Ward's Library. London, 1843, taken chiefly from Augusti's *Handbuch der Christ. Archäologie*. Ebend. 1836—8, 3 vols. an abridgment by the author from his larger work, entitled, *Denkwurdigkeiten aus der Christ. Archäologie*. Leip. 1817—31, 12 vols. 8vo; Riddel's *Manual of Christian Antiquities*. London, 1839; also taken from Augusti, but adapted to the state of opinion in the Church of England. For the history of the *ethical* and *doctrinal* principles of Christianity, we must still have recourse to German writers, as we have not as yet any works in Britain on these important branches of Ecclesiastical History. The principal modern writers are, on *Ethics*, Stäudlin and De Wette; and on *doctrines*, Münscher, Engelhardt, Ruperti, and Hagenbach. A translation of Hagenbach's valuable *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*. Leip. 1840—1, 3 vols. 8vo, is now in course of publication by Clark of Edinburgh, in his *Foreign Theological Library*, in the first vol. of which (pages 25—30) the student will find extended references to the best works on these topics. The history of *heresies*, extending to the 8th century, is most fully given by the younger Walch, in his *Vollständige Historie der Ketzerein*. Leip. 1762—85, 11 vols. 8vo. There are also numerous works, referred to in subsequent notes on particular heresies, and several on those of certain periods; such as Ittig, *De Hæresiarchis primi et secundi a Christo nato seculi*, 2d Edition. Leip. 1703, 4to; Burton's *Inquiry into the Heresies of the Apostolic Age*. Oxford, 1829, 8vo, with the various works mentioned by him in the Introduction.—R

causes; that is, he must tell us not only *what* happened but likewise *how* and *why*. He who narrates the naked facts only enriches our memory and amuses us; but he who at the same time states the operative causes of events profits us, for he both strengthens our judgment and increases our wisdom. Yet it must be confessed that caution is here necessary, lest we fabricate causes and palm our own waking dreams upon men long since dead.

13. In exploring the causes of events, besides access to the *testimony* of the leading men and the *history of the times*, a good *knowledge of human nature* is requisite. The historian who understands the human character, the propensities and powers, the passions and weaknesses of man, will readily discover the causes of many things attempted or done in former times. No less important is it to be acquainted with the *education* and the *opinions* of the persons we treat of; for men commonly regard as praiseworthy and correct whatever accords with the views and practices of their ancestors.

14. In the *external* history, an historian should consider the *civil state* of the countries in which the Christian religion was either approved or rejected, and also their *religious state*, that is, the opinions of the people concerning the Deity and divine worship. For it will not be difficult to determine why the Church was now prosperous and now in trouble, if we know what was the form of government, what the character of the rulers, and what the prevailing religion at the time.

15. To dispel obscurities in the *internal* history, nothing is more conducive than a knowledge of the *history of learning*, and especially of *philosophy*. For, most unfortunately, human learning and philosophy have in every age been allowed more influence, in regard to revealed religion, than was proper, considering the natures of the two things. Also a good knowledge of the civil government and of the ancient superstitions of different countries, is useful to the same end; for through the prudence or, shall I say, the indiscretion of the presiding authorities, many parts of the discipline and worship of the church have been shaped after the pattern of the ancient religions; and no little deference has been paid to the pleasure of sovereigns and to human laws, in regulating the church of God.[1]

16. From what *sources* all this knowledge must be drawn is quite obvious; namely, from the writers of every age who have treated of Christian affairs, and especially from those contemporary with the events; for on testimonies or authorities is laid the basis of all true history. Yet we ought not to disregard those who from these original sources have compiled histories and annals; for to refuse proffered assistance and despise the labours of those who have attempted, before us, to throw light on obscure subjects, is mere folly.[2]

17. From all this it will be easy to determine the essential qualifications of a good ecclesiastical historian. He must have no moderate acquaintance with human affairs in general; his learning must be extensive, his mind sagacious and accustomed to reason, his memory faithful, and his judgment sound and matured by long exercise. In his disposition and temperament he must be patient of labour, persevering, inflexible in his love of truth and justice, and free from every prejudice.

18. Persons who attempt this species of writing are liable to prejudice, especially from three sources; namely, *times*, *persons*, and *opinions*. First, the *times* in which we live often have such ascendency over us that we judge of past ages by our own; we conclude that because a particular thing neither does nor can take place in our age, therefore it neither did nor could take place in former times. Secondly, the *persons* with whose testimony we are concerned, especially if for ages they have been highly revered for their holiness or their virtues, acquire such an authority with us as dazzles and deceives us. And, thirdly, our partialities for those *opinions* and doctrines which we ourselves embrace often so fetter

1 An excellent specimen of what may be accomplished by the ecclesiastical historian, in accordance with the principles laid down in these sections (12—15) is afforded by Milman's *History of Christianity to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire*. Lond. 1840, 3 vols. 8vo, which, though in some respects defective and objectionable, is on the whole a most valuable addition to our historical literature.—*R.*

2 To acquaint us with *all the writers* on ecclesiastical history was the professed object of Sluterus in his *Propylæum historiæ Christianæ*. Luneb. 1696, 4to; and of Sagittarius, *Introductio in historiam eccles. singulasque ejus partes*, especially vol. 1st. [Jena, 1718, 2 vols. 4to. Ed. Schmidt. Since Mosheim wrote, several important works have appeared expressly on this subject; but the fullest and most satisfactory account of writers on ecclesiastical history, both general and special, is to be found in the 3d volume of the elder Walch's *Bibliotheca Theologica selecta*. Jena, 1762, 4 vols. 8vo, one of the many valuable works for which we are indebted to the singular industry and perseverance of German compilers. What Danz has done for the *Bibliotheca Patristica* of this author, by continuing it to the present time, is now much needed for an enlarged edition of this 3d volume. In the meantime, the student will find a few references to recent writers in Dowling's *Introduction to the Critical Study of Eccles. History*. Lond. 1838, 8vo, and a full catalogue in Lowndes's *British Librarian*, col. 1245, &c. a valuable compilation, though only a small portion has been yet published.—*R.*

our minds that we unconsciously pervert the truth in regard to facts. Now from this triple bondage the mind must as far as possible be set free.

19. But from this rule and from others equally obvious and important, how widely ecclesiastical historians have departed, in all ages, is too well known. For not to mention the many who think themselves great historians if they have a good memory, and to pass by those also who are governed more by their private interests than by the love of truth, there are very few writers whom neither the sect to which they belong, nor the venerated names of some ancient authors, nor the influence of the age in which they live, can disarm and divert from the truth. In the present age more especially, the spirit of the times and the prejudice of opinions have incredible influence. Hence the following arguments, so often occurring in the writings of learned men: *These are true sentiments; therefore we must suppose the ancient Christians embraced them. This is correct practice, according to Christ's precepts; therefore doubtless the earlier Christians so lived. This does not now take place; therefore it did not in ancient times.*

20. Ecclesiastical history, if written by persons free from these and other faults, cannot fail to be greatly beneficial to mankind at large, but especially to the teachers and guides of the Church. Whoever shall consider attentively the numerous, the varied, and threatening dangers which the Christian religion has happily surmounted, will doubtless find himself more established in the belief of this religion and better prepared to withstand the assaults, the cavils, and insidious attacks of the profane. The many illustrious examples of virtue with which this history abounds are admirably suited to awaken pious emotions and to instil the love of God into lukewarm minds. Those wonderful revolutions which have occurred in every age of the Church, originating often from small beginnings, proclaim aloud the providence of God and the instability and vanity of all human things. Nor is it of small advantage to know the origin of the numerous and absurd opinions, superstitions, and errors which still prevail in many parts of the Christian world. For such knowledge will enable us to discover the truth more clearly, to prize it more, and to defend it better. Of the entertainment afforded by these and other parts of Church history, I shall say nothing.

21. But especially public instructors and the ministers of religion may from this study derive great assistance in acquiring that practical wisdom which they so much need. Here, the numerous mistakes of even great men warn them what to shun, if they would not embroil the Christian Church; there, many illustrious examples of noble and successful effort are patterns for their imitation. And for combating errors, both those inveterate by age and those of more recent growth, nothing, except the holy Scriptures and sound reason, can be compared with this kind of history. I pass over other advantages which will be found by experience to result from this study; nor will I mention its subserviency to other branches of knowledge, particularly that of jurisprudence.[1]

22. The two parts of Church history, the external and the internal, require an arrangement or plan of teaching suited to each. The *external* history, being a long and continued narrative extending through many centuries, requires a distribution into certain intervals of time, for the benefit of the understanding and memory of the reader, and the preservation of order. Various divisions of time may be adopted. I have preferred the customary one, into centuries, because it is the one most approved of, though it is not free from objections.

23. No small part of these objections, however, will be removed, if we superadd a more general division of time, or one into longer periods, bounded by certain great revolutions and changes in the state of the Church. Accordingly the whole of the following history is divided into four books. The *first* contains the history of the Church of Christ from its commencement to the time of Constantine the Great; the *second* extends it from Constantine to Charlemagne; the *third* continues it to the time when Luther began the Reformation in Germany; the *fourth* and last brings it down to our own times.[2]

24. Ecclesiastical history treats, moreover, as we have already seen, of various distinct but kindred *subjects* which may properly be arranged under separate heads. Historians have adopted different classifications, as their taste or their design in writing pointed out. The distribution which I prefer has been already indicated, and need not here be repeated.

[1] The reader will find an admirable sketch of the advantages resulting from a knowledge of ecclesiastical history and of the preparation requisite for its study, in the *Introduction to the Elements of Church History*, by the late lamented Dr. Welsh of Edinburgh, whose premature death has unhappily prevented the completion of this excellent work.—*R.*

[2] Mosheim closes these INSTITUTES with the *seventeenth* century, adding a single supplementary chapter on the early part of the *eighteenth*.—*R.*

BOOK I.

FROM THE BIRTH OF CHRIST,

TO

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

CENTURY FIRST.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS STATE OF THE WORLD AT THE BIRTH OF OUR SAVIOUR.

1. At the time when God became incarnate, a great part of the world was subject to the Romans. Their remoter provinces they either ruled by means of temporary governors and presidents sent from Rome, or suffered to live under their own kings and laws, subject to the sovereign control of the Roman republic. The senate and citizens of Rome, though not deprived of all appearance of liberty, were really under the authority of one man, *Augustus*, who was clothed with the titles of emperor, pontifex maximus, censor, tribune of the people, pro-consul; in a word, with every office which conferred general power and pre-eminence in the commonwealth.[1]

2. The Roman government, if we regard only its form and laws, was sufficiently mild and equitable.[2] But the injustice and avarice of the nobles and provincial governors, the Roman lust of conquest and dominion, and the rapacity of the publicans who farmed the revenues of the state,[3] brought incalculable evils on the people. The magistrates and publicans on the one hand fleeced the people of their property; and on the other this lust of dominion required numerous armies to be raised in the provinces, which was oppressive to them and was the occasion of almost perpetual wars and insurrections.

3. Still, this widely extended dominion of one people, or rather of one man, was attended with several advantages. *First*, it brought into union a multitude of nations differing in customs and languages. *Secondly*, it gave freer access to the remotest nations.[4] *Thirdly*, it gradually civilized the barbarous nations, by introducing among them the Roman laws and customs. *Fourthly*, it spread literature, the arts, and philosophy, in countries where they were not before cultivated. All these greatly aided the ambassadors of our Lord in fulfilling their sacred commission.[5]

4. At the birth of Christ the Roman empire was much freer from commotions than it had been for many years. For though I cannot agree with those who think with *Orosius*, that the temple of Janus was then shut, and the whole world in profound peace;[6] yet there can be no doubt that the period when our Saviour descended on earth, if compared with the preceding times, was peculiarly peaceful. And according to St. Paul,[7] this peace was very necessary for those whom Christ commissioned to preach the gospel.

5. Of the state of those nations which lay without the Roman empire, historic records will not allow us to give so full an account. Nor is it very necessary to our purpose. It is sufficient to know that the oriental nations were pressed down by a stern despotism, which their effeminacy of mind and body, and even their religion, led them to bear with patience, while the more northern nations enjoyed much greater liberty, which was protected by the rigour of their climate and the conse-

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[1] See Camplanus *De Officio et potestate magistratuum Romanor. et jurisdictione*, p. 3, &c. Geneva, 1725, 4to. [*Memoirs of the court of Augustus*, by Blackwell, 2 vols. 4to. Edinb. 1753.— *Schl.*

[2] See Moyle's *Essay on the constitution of the Roman government*, in his posth. works, vol. i. pages 1—98. Lond. 1726, 8vo. Scip. Maffei, *Verona illustrata*, lib. i. p. 65. [Giannone, *Histoire civile du royaume de Naples*, vol. i. p. 3, &c.— *Schl.*

[3] See Burmann, *de Vectigalibus populi Romani*. cap. ix. p. 123, &c —*Schl.*

[4] See Bergier *Histoire des grands chemins de l'empire Romain*, 2nd Ed. Brussels, 1728, 4to, and Otto, *De Tutelâ viarum publicarum*, par. ii. p. 314.

[5] Origen, among others, acknowledges this, lib. ii. *adv. Celsum*, p. 79, Ed. Cambr. [See also Heilmann, *Comment. de florente literarum statu et habitu ad relig. Christi initia.*— *Schl.*

[6] See Massonus, *Templum Jani, Christo nascente, reseratum*. Rotterd. 1706, 8vo.

[7] See 1 Tim. ii. 1, &c.

quent energy of their constitutions, aided by their mode of life and their religion.[1]

6. All these nations were plunged in the grossest superstition. For though the idea of one supreme God was not wholly extinct,[2] yet most nations, or rather all except the Jews, supposed that each country and province was subjected to a set of very powerful beings, whom they called gods, and whom the people, in order to live happily, must propitiate with various rites and ceremonies. These deities were supposed to differ materially from each other in sex, power, nature, and offices. Some nations, indeed, went beyond others in impiety and absurdity of worship, but all stood chargeable with irrationality and gross stupidity in matters of religion.

7. Thus every nation had a class of deities peculiar to itself, among which one was supposed to be pre-eminent over the rest and was their king, though subject himself to the laws of *fate*, or to an eternal destiny. For the oriental nations had not the same gods as the Gauls, the Germans, and the other northern nations; and the Grecian deities were essentially different from those of the Egyptians, who worshipped brute animals, plants, and various productions of nature and art.[3] Each nation likewise had its own method of worshipping and propitiating its gods, differing widely from the rites of other nations. But from their ignorance or other causes, the Greeks and Romans maintained that *their* gods were universally worshipped; and they therefore gave the names of their own gods to the foreign deities, which has caused immense confusion and obscurity in the history of the ancient religions, and produced numberless errors in the works of very learned men.[4]

8. But this variety of gods and religions in the pagan nations produced no wars or feuds among them, unless, perhaps, the Egyptians are an exception.[5] Yet the Egyptian wars waged to avenge their gods, cannot properly be called religious wars, not being undertaken either to propagate or to suppress any one form of religion. Each nation, without concern, allowed its neighbours to enjoy their own views of religion, and to worship their own gods in their own way. Nor need this tolerance greatly surprise us.[6] For they who regard the world as being divided like a great country into numerous provinces, each subject to a distinct order of deities, cannot despise the gods of other nations, nor think of compelling all others to pay worship to their own *national* gods. The Romans in particular, though they would not allow the public religions to be changed or multiplied, yet gave the citizens full liberty in private, to observe foreign religions, and to hold meetings and feasts, and erect temples and groves to those foreign deities in whose worship there was nothing inconsistent with the public safety and the existing laws.[7]

9 The greater part of the gods of all nations were ancient heroes, famous for their achievements and their worthy deeds; such as kings, generals, and founders of cities, and likewise females who were highly distinguished for their deeds and discoveries, whom a grateful posterity had deified. To these, some added the more splendid and useful objects in the natural world, among which the sun, moon, and stars, being pre-eminent, received worship from nearly all; and some were not ashamed to pay divine honours to mountains, rivers, trees, the earth, the ocean, the winds, and even to diseases, to virtues and vices, and to almost every conceivable object—or at least, to

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1 Seneca, *de Ira*, lib. ii. cap. xvi. *Opp.* tom. i. p. 36, Ed. Gronovii: Fere itaque imperia penes eos fuere populos, qui mitiore cœlo utuntur: in frigora, septentrionemque vergentibus immansueta ingenia sunt, ut ait poëta, *suoque simillima cœlo.*

2 See Meiners, in his *Historia doctrinæ de vero Deo, omnium rerum Auctore atque Rectore*, Lemgo. 1780, 8vo, where, from a critical investigation, proof is adduced, that the ancient pagan nations were universally ignorant of the Creator and Governor of the world, till Anaxagoras, about 450 years before Christ, and afterwards other philosophers, conceived that the world must have had an intelligent architect.—*Mur.*

3 This was long since remarked by Athanasius, *Oratio contra Gentes*, *Opp.* tom. i. p. 25. [See Le Clerc, *Ars critica*, par. ii. sec. 1, cap. xiii. sec. 11, and *Bibliothèque Choisie*, tome vii. p. 84; Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated*, vol. ii. p. 233, &c. And respecting the Egyptian gods, see Jablonski, *Pantheon Ægyptiorum*. Francf. ad. Viadr. 1750, 8vo.; F. S. Von Schmidt, *Opuscula, quibus res antiquæ, præcipue Ægyptiacæ, explanantur*, 1765, 8vo. —*Schl.*

4 Maclaine here subjoins a long note, asserting that the gods worshipped in different pagan countries were so similar, that they might properly be called by the same names. He therefore thinks Dr. Mosheim has overrated the mischief done to the history of idolatry by the Greek and Roman writers. But there was, certainly, little resemblance between Woden and Mercury, Thor and Jupiter, Friga and Venus; or between the Roman deities and Brahma, Vishnoo, Siva, and the other gods of Hindostan. And as the classic writers give very imperfect descriptions of foreign deities, and leave us to infer most of their characteristics from the names assigned them, it is evident that Mosheim's remark is perfectly just.—*Mur.*

5 See what Pignorius has collected on this subject, in his *Expositio Mensæ Isiacæ*, p. 41, &c.

6 Though extolled by Shaftsbury, among others *Characteristics*, vol. ii. p. 166. and vol. iii. pagés 60, 86, 87, 154, &c.—*Schl.*

7 See Corn, à Bynckershoeckh, *Dissert. de cultu peregrinæ religionis apud Romanos*, in his *Opuscula*, Leyden, 1719, 4to. [Warburton's *Divine legation*, vol. i. p. 307. Compare Livy, *Hist. Rom.* lib. xxv. 1, and xxxix. 18, and Valer. Max. i. 3.—*Schl.* [See also Lardner, *Credib. of Gospel Hist.* part i. book i. chap. viii. secs. 3—6.—*Mur*

the deities supposed to preside over these objects.[1]

10. The worship of these deities consisted in numerous ceremonies, with sacrifices, offerings, and prayers. The ceremonies were for the most part absurd and ridiculous, and throughout debasing, obscene, and cruel. The sacrifices and offerings varied according to the nature and offices of the different gods.[2] Most nations sacrificed animals; and, what was most horrid, not a few of them likewise immolated human victims.[3] Their prayers were truly insipid, and void of piety both in their form and matter.[4] Over this whole worship presided pontiffs, priests, and servants of the gods, divided into many classes, and whose business it was to see that the rites were duly performed. These were supposed to enjoy the friendship and familiar converse of the gods; and they basely abused their authority to impose upon the people.

11. The religious worship of most nations was confined to certain *places* or temples,[5] and to certain *times* or stated days. In the temples, the statues and images of their gods were placed; and these images were supposed to be animated in an inexplicable manner by the gods themselves. For, senseless as these worshippers of imaginary gods truly were, they did not wish to be accounted worshippers of lifeless substances, brass, stone, and wood, but of a deity which they maintained to be present in the image, provided it was consecrated in due form.[6]

12. Besides this common worship to which all had free access, there were among both orientals and Greeks certain recondite and concealed rites, called *mysteries*, to which very few were admitted. Candidates for initiation had first to give satisfactory proofs to the hierophants of their good faith and patience, by various most troublesome ceremonies. When initiated, they could not divulge any thing they had seen, without exposing their lives to imminent danger.[7] Hence it is that the interior of these hidden rites is, at this day, little known. Yet we know that in some of the mysteries many things were done which were repugnant to modesty and decency; and in all of them the discerning might see that the deities there worshipped were mortals more distinguished for their vices than their virtues.[8]

13. The whole pagan system had not the least efficacy to produce and cherish virtuous emotions in the soul. For in the *first* place, the gods and goddesses to whom the public homage was paid, were patterns rather of pre-eminent wickedness than of virtue.[9] They were considered, indeed, as superior to mortals in power and as exempt from death, but in all things else as on a level with us. In the *next* place, the ministers of this religion, neither by precept nor by example, exhorted the people to lead honest and virtuous lives; but gave them to understand that all the homage required of them by the gods, was comprised in the observance of the traditional rites and ceremonies.[10] And *lastly*, the doctrines inculcated respecting the rewards of the righteous and the

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[1] See the learned work of Vossius, *De Idololatria*, lib. i. iii. [and *La Mythologie et les Fables expliquées par l'Histoire*, par l'Abbé Banier, Paris, 1738-40, 8 vols. 12mo, and Fr. Creutzer's *Symbolik u. Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen*, Leipz. u. Darmst. 1810—12, 4 vols. 8vo.—*Mur.* [This standard work of Creutzer has been translated into French by J. D. Guigniaut, under the title of *Religions de l'Antiquité considérées principalement dans leurs formes symboliques et mythologiques*, Paris, 1825—41, 4 vols. 8vo.—*R.*

[2] See Saubertus, *de Sacrificiis Veterum*; Leyd. 1699, 8vo.

[3] See Columna, *Ad Fragmenta Ennii*, p. 29, and Saubertus, *De Sacrificiis Vet.* cap. xxi. p. 455.

[4] See Browerius à Niedeck, *de Adorationibus veterum Populorum*. Utrecht, 1711. 8vo. [and Saubertus, *ubi supra*, p. 343, &c.—*Schl.*

[5] Some nations were without temples, such as the Persians, Gauls, Germans, and Britons, who performed their religious worship in the open air, or in the shady retreats of consecrated groves.—*Macl.*

[6] Arnobius, *adv. Gentes*, lib. vi. p. 254, ed. Heraldi. Augustine, *de Civitate Dei*, lib. vii. cap. xxxi. *Opp.* tom. vii. p. 161, ed. Benedict. Julian, *Misopogon*. p. 361, ed. Spanheim.

[7] See Meursius, *De Mysteriis Eleusyniis*; and Clarkson, *Discourse on Liturgies*, sec. 4.

[8] Cicero, *Disput. Tusculan.* lib. i. cap. xiii. [and *De Leg.* cap. xxiv.; Varro, cited by Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, lib. iv. cap. xxxi.; Eusebius, *Præparat. Evangel.* lib. ii. cap. iii.—*Schl.* [See Warburton's *Divine Legat.* vol. i. lib. ii. sec. 4, who was confronted by J. Leland, *Advantage and Necessity of the Christ. Rev.* vol. i. pages 151—190; Meiners, *über die Mysterien der Alten*, in his Miscel. Philos. Works, vol. iii. Leips. 1776; the Baron de Sainte Croix, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la religion secrete des anciens peuples, &c.* Paris, 1784, 8vo, and (Vogel's) *Briefe über die Mysterien*; which are the 2d collection of *Letters on Freemasonry*. Nuremb. 1784, 12mo. It has been maintained that the design of at least some of these mysteries was, to inculcate the grand principles of natural religion; such as the unity of God, the immortality of the soul, the importance of virtue, &c. and to explain the vulgar polytheism, as symbolical of these great truths. But this certainly needs better proof. It is more probable that the later pagan philosophers, who lived after the light of Christianity had exposed the abominations of polytheism, resorted to this subterfuge in order to vindicate the character of their predecessors.—*Mur.* [See also Dr. Pritchard's *Analysis of the Egyptian Mythology*. Lond. 1819, 8vo.—*R.*

[9] Ovid, *de Tristibus*, lib. ii. v. 287, &c.

Quis locus est templis augustior? hæc quoque vitet,
In culpam si qua est ingeniosa suam.
Cùm steterit Jovis æde, Jovis succurret in æde,
Quàm multas matres fecerit ille Deus.
Proxima adoranti Junonia templa subibit,
Pellicibus multis hanc doluisse Deam.
Pallade conspectâ, natum de crimine virgo
Sustulerit quare, quæret, Erichthonium.

[Compare Plato, *de Leg.* lib. i. p. 776, and *de Republ.* lib. ii. p. 430, &c. ed. Ficini. Isocrates, *Encom. Busiridis*, Orat. p. 462, and Seneca, *de Vita beata*, cap. xxvi. —*Schl.*

[10] See Barbeyrac, Preface to his French translation of Puffendorf, *De Jure Nat. et gentium*, sec. 6. [Yet there were some intelligent pagans who had better views, as Socrates and the younger Pliny. The latter,

punishments of the wicked in the future world, were some of them dubious and uncertain, and others more adapted to promote vice than virtue.[1] Wherefore the wiser pagans themselves, about the time of the Saviour's birth, contemned and ridiculed the whole system.

14. Hence a universal corruption of morals prevailed, and crimes which at this day cannot be named with decency, were then practised with entire impunity.[2] Those who would see proof of this, may read Juvenal and Persius among the Latins, and Lucian among the Greeks; or, if this seems too painful, let them reflect on the gladiatorial shows and unnatural lusts, the facility of divorce, both among Greeks and Romans, the custom of exposing infants and procuring abortions, and the stews consecrated to the gods—all which no law opposed.[3]

15. Men of but common discernment could see the deformity of these religions; but they were met by the crafty priests with two arguments. *First*, the miracles and prodigies which were affirmed to have taken place, and still to be daily witnessed in the temples and before the statues of the gods and heroes; and *secondly*, the divinations and oracles by which they asserted these gods had foretold future events. In regard to both, the common people were miserably imposed upon by the artifices of the priests, and the discerning saw it.[4] But the latter had to laugh with caution in order to be safe. For the priests stood ready to accuse of treason against the gods, before a raging and superstitious multitude, all such as opposed their frauds.

16. At the time chosen by the Son of God for his birth among men, the Roman religion, as well as arms, pervaded a large part of the world. To be acquainted with this religion, is nearly the same as to be acquainted with the Grecian superstition.[5] Yet there is some difference between them; for besides the institutions of Numa and others, invented for political ends, the Romans superadded to the Grecian fables some Italic and Etruscan fictions, and also gave the Egyptian gods a place among their own.[6]

17. In the Roman provinces, new forms of paganism were gradually produced, compounded of the ancient religions of the inhabitants and that of their Roman conquerors. For these nations, who before their subjugation had their peculiar gods and religious rites, were persuaded by degrees to adopt many of the Roman usages. This was good policy in the Romans, whose interests were promoted by the extinction of the inhuman rites of the barbarous nations; and the levity of those nations and their desire to please their masters favoured the object.[7]

18. The most prominent religions beyond the bounds of the Roman empire, may be divided into two classes, the *civil* and the *military*. To the *first* class belong the religions of most of the oriental nations, especially of the Persians, the Egyptians, and the Indians. For, whoever carefully inspects those religions will see that they are adapted merely to answer political ob-

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in his *Panegyric on Trajan*, cap. iii. n. 5, says:—Animadverto,—etiam Deos ipsos, non tam accuratis adorantium precibus, quàm innocentiâ et sanctitate lætari: gratioremque existimari, qui delubris eorum puram castamque mentem, quàm qui meditatum carmen intulerit.—*Schl.*

1 What the Greeks and Romans said of the Elysian Fields, was not only fabulous in its very aspect, but it held out the prospect of voluptuous pleasures, opposed to true virtue. The more northern nations promised a happy immortality only to those who distinguished themselves by a martial spirit and the slaughter of numerous foes; that is, to the enemies of mankind. And the eternal bliss which they promised to these warriors was only a continued indulgence in vile lusts. How could such hopes excite to virtue? Moreover, the doctrine of even these rewards and punishments, was not an article of faith among the Greeks and Romans; but every one believed what he pleased concerning it: and, at the time of Christ's birth, the followers of Epicurus were numerous, and while many denied, most others doubted, the reality of future retributions. Polybius, *Hist.* lib. v. 54. Sallust, *Bell. Catil.* —*Schl.*

2 Cyprian, *Epist* 1. p. 2. ed. Baluz, describes at large the debased morals of the pagans. See also Cornel. Adamus, *Exercit. de malis Romanorum ante prædicationem Evangelii moribus;* in his *Exercit. Exeget.* Gröning, 1712, 4to [and, what is still better authority, St. Paul *to the Romans*, chap. i. passim.—*Mur.*

3 On the subject of this and several preceding sections, the reader may find satisfactory proof in that elaborate and candid work, *The advantage and necessity of the Christian Revelation, shown from the state of religion in the ancient heathen world;* by J. Leland, D.D. 2d ed Dublin, 1765, 2 vols. 8vo —*Mur.* [A still more satisfactory exposition of the origin, character, and influence of heathenism, viewed in the light of Christianity, especially of the Grecian and Roman polytheism, may be found in an admirable essay by Professor Tholuck of Halle, entitled, *Ueber das Wesen u. den sittlichen Einfluss des Heidenthums, &c.* an English translation of which will be found in the 28th number of the Edin. Biblical Cabinet.—*R.*

4 Schlegel here introduces a long note, showing that Mosheim, till towards the close of his life, did not utterly reject that common opinion of the ancients, that evil spirits sometimes aided the pagan priests, particularly in regard to their oracles. But Mosheim did, we are told by his pupil, come at last into the opinion now generally admitted; namely, that the pagan oracles were all mere cheats, proceeding from the craft of the priests. See Van Dale *de Oraculis ethnicorum:* among his *Diss.* Amster. 1696, 4to, and Fontenelle, *Histoire des oracles*, 1687, with the Jesuit, Baltus *Réponse à l'histoire des oracles, &c.* Strasb. 1707, 8vo, and *Suite de la Réponse, &c.* 1701. 8vo.—*Mur.*

5 See Dionys. Halicar. *Antiquitat. Romanor.* lib. vii. cap. lxxii. tom. i. p. 460, ed. Hudson.

6 See Petitus *ad Leges Atticas*, lib. i. p. 71. [Lactantius, *Divinarum Institut.* lib. i. cap. xx.—*Schl*

7 Strabo, *Geograph.* lib. iv. p. 189 &c —*Schl.*

jects; to protect the dignity and authority of kings, to preserve the public tranquillity, and to promote the civil virtues. To the *second* class must be referred the religions of the northern nations. For all that was inculcated among the Germans, Britons, Celts, Goths, and others, respecting the gods and the worship due to them, was evidently suited to awaken and to cherish fortitude, bravery, and contempt of death. A careful examination of these religions will fully verify these statements.

19. No nation was so rude and barbarous as not to contain some persons who had sagacity to discern the absurdity of the popular religions. But some of these men lacked the power and authority, others the disposition, and all the wisdom necessary to produce a reformation. This could scarcely be better illustrated than by the attempts to reform the vulgar superstitions made by the Greek and Roman philosophers. They advanced many tolerably correct ideas respecting the divine nature and moral duties; and, with some success, they exposed the errors of the prevailing religion; but all was so intermixed with wild and baseless speculations, as clearly to show that it belongs to God only, and not to men, to teach the truth free from corruption and error.

20. Among the more civilized nations, at the time the Son of God appeared, two species of philosophy prevailed; namely, the *Grecian*, which was also adopted by the Romans, and the *oriental*, which had many followers in Persia, Syria, Chaldea, Egypt, and even among the Jews themselves. The former was appropriately called *philosophy*: the latter, by such as spoke Greek, was called γνῶσις, that is *knowledge*, namely Θεοῦ, of God; because its followers pretended to restore the lost knowledge of the supreme God.[1] The advocates of both kinds of philosophy were split into numerous contending sects, yet with this difference, that all the sects of oriental philosophy set out with one fundamental principle, and therefore were agreed in regard to many points of doctrine; but the Greeks disagreed about the very first principles of all wisdom. Of the oriental philosophy, we shall give account hereafter: of the Grecian philosophy and its sects, notice will be taken here.

21. Some of the Grecian sects declared open war against all religion: others admitted indeed the existence of God and of religion, but obscured the truth rather than threw light upon it. Of the former class were the *Epicureans* and the *Academics*. The Epicureans maintained that the world arose from chance; that the gods (whose existence they did not dare to deny) neither did nor could extend their providential care to human affairs; that the soul was mortal; that *pleasure*[2] was man's ultimate end; and that virtue was to be prized only for its subserviency to this end. The Academics denied the possibility of arriving at truth and certainty, and therefore held it uncertain, whether the gods existed or not; whether the soul is mortal or survives the body; whether virtue is preferable to vice, or the contrary.[3] These two sects, when Jesus was born, were very numerous and influential; being favoured by men of rank especially, and by nearly all the opulent.[4]

22. To the second class belong the *Aristotelians, Stoics, Platonics*; none of whom

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1 St. Paul mentions and disapproves both kinds of philosophy; namely, the Grecian, *Colos.* ii. 8. and the oriental or γνῶσις, 1 *Tim.* vi. 20. Mosheim has been censured for his confident assertions in regard to the existence and prevalence of an oriental philosophy, going under the name of γνῶσις, so early as the days of Christ and his apostles. On this subject more will be said hereafter.—*Mur.*

2 The ambiguity of the word *pleasure*, has produced many disputes in the explication of the Epicurean system. If by *pleasure* be understood only *sensual* gratifications, the tenet here advanced is indisputably monstrous. But if it be taken in a larger sense, and be extended to intellectual and moral objects, in what does the scheme of Epicurus, with respect to virtue, differ from the opinions of those Christian philosophers who maintain that *self-love* is the only spring of all human affections and actions?—*Macl.* [Epicurus distinguished between *corporeal* pleasure and *mental*. But he accounted both *sensitive*; because he held the soul to be *material*. His conceptions of pleasure did not extend beyond *natural pleasures*, the chief of which he supposed to be a calm and tranquil state of *mind*, undisturbed by any fear of God or any solicitude about the future, and attended with freedom from bodily pain. His system, therefore, denied the very idea of *moral* or *religious* pleasures, and it required *atheism* as its foundation. See Stäudlin's *Geschich. d. Moralphilos.* p. 230, &c. Hanov. 1822, 8vo.—*Mur.*

3 The Academics, or Platonists, became indeed sceptical; especially those of the Middle Academy. Some real Pyrrhonists, likewise, assumed the name of Academics. Still it is probable, the great body of Academics, like Cicero, who is accounted one of them, merely held that all human knowledge is *imperfect*; that is, falls short of certainty; that of course we are obliged, in all cases, to act on *probabilities*, of which there are different degrees.—*Mur.*

4 The Epicureans were the most numerous of the two. See Cicero, *de Finibus*, lib. i. cap. vii; lib. ii. cap. xiv. and *Disput. Tuscul.* lib. v. cap. x. Hence Juvenal, *Satyr.* xiii, v. 86, &c. thus complains of the many atheists at Rome:

Sunt in fortunæ qui casibus omnia ponant,
Et nullo credant mundum rectore moveri,
Naturâ volvente vices et lucis et anni:
Atque ideo intrepidi quæcunque altaria tangunt.

Mosheim, in these sections, is giving the dark side of pagan philosophy. Like his other translators, therefore, I would alm so to soften his pictures, that the less informed reader may not be misled. This, I am persuaded, Mosheim would himself approve, as may be inferred from the following long note, inserted apparently for such a purpose, in the parallel passage of his *Commentarii de Reb. Christ.* pages 17, 18. "I cannot agree with those who maintain that every one of the philosophers of those times, even such as discoursed well on religious subjects, were hostile to all religion. I think those learned moderns have gone too far, who

spoke of God, religion, and moral duties, in a manner to be of much service to mankind. The god of *Aristotle* is like the principle of motion in a machine. He is a being regardless of human affairs and happy in his own contemplations. Such a god, differing but little from the god of Epicurus, we have no reason either to love or to fear. Whether this philosopher held the soul to be mortal or immortal is at least doubtful.[1] Now what solid and sound precepts of virtue and piety can that man give, who denies the providence of God, and not obscurely intimates the extinction of the soul?

23. The god of the *Stoics* has a little more of majesty; nor does he sit musing supinely above the heavens and the stars. Yet he is described as a *corporeal* being, united to matter by a necessary connexion, and moreover as subject to *fate*, so that he can neither reward nor punish.[2] That this sect held the extinction of the soul at death, is allowed by all the learned. Now, such doctrines take away the strongest motives to virtue; and accordingly the moral system of the Stoics is a body that is fair and beautiful, but without sinews and active limbs.[3]

24. *Plato* seems to have exceeded all the other philosophers in wisdom, and not without reason. For he held the world to be governed by an independent, powerful, and intelligent God; and he taught men what to fear, and what to hope for after death. Yet his doctrines not only rest on very slender foundations, and are exceedingly obscure, but they represent the supreme Creator as destitute of several perfections,[4] and as limited to a certain place. His doctrine concerning demons and the human soul, is singularly adapted to produce and encourage superstition.[5] Nor will his system of morals command very high estimation, if we examine it in all its parts, and inquire into its first principles.[6]

25. As all these sects held many things inconsistent with sound reason, and were addicted to never-ending contentions and debates, some moderate and well-disposed men concluded to follow none of them implicitly, but to glean from all whatever was good and consonant to reason, and reject the rest. Hence originated in Egypt, and particularly at Alexandria, a new mode of

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have endeavoured to prove that every sect of the philosophers, either openly or covertly, aimed to rip up the foundations of all religion. Are we to believe that not one of the many great and worthy men of those times, however free from ill intentions, was so fortunate as to make a proper use of his reason? Must all those who professed theism, and spoke sublimely of the divine perfections, be regarded as impostors, who said one thing and meant another? Yet the celebrated and acute Bp. Warburton, to mention no others, lately expended much ingenuity and learning to bring us to such conclusions. See his very elaborate and noted work, entitled *The divine legation, &c.* vol. i. p. 332, &c. and p. 419, &c. He would have us think that all the philosophers who taught the immortality of the soul, secretly denied it; that they held *nature* to be the only deity; and human souls to be particles, severed from the souls of the world, to which they return at the death of the body. But not to mention that he cites only Grecian philosophers, while other nations had their philosophers also, differing widely from the Grecian; the renowned author depends not on plain and explicit testimony, which seems requisite to justify so heavy a charge, but merely on conjectures, on single examples, and on inferences from the doctrines held by certain philosophers. If this kind of proof be allowed, if single instances and inferences are sufficient to convict men of duplicity, when no shadow of suspicion appears in their language, who will be found innocent? Though but an ordinary man and far inferior to Warburton, yet I could prove that all the theologians in Christendom disbelieve utterly what they teach in public, and that they covertly aim to instil the poison of impiety into men's minds, if I might be allowed to assail them in the manner this learned writer assails the philosophers."—*Mur.* [It may be proper to add here, on occasion of this first reference to Mosheim's larger work, his *Commentarii de Rebus Christianis ante Constantinum Magnum*, that a large portion of it, nearly two-thirds, has been translated into English by the late R. S. Vidal, Esq. in 3 vols. 8vo, Lond. 1813—35.—*R.*

1 See the notes on my Latin translation of Cudworth's *Intellectual System*, tom. i. p. 66, 500, tom. ii. p. 1171, and Mourgues, *Plan théologique du Pythagorisme*, tome i. p. 75, &c. [See Note 1, p. 29, below.—*R.*

2 Thus is the Stoical doctrine of *fate* generally represented, but not more generally than unjustly. Their *fatum*, when carefully and attentively examined, seems to have signified no more, in the intention of the wisest of that sect, than the plan of government formed originally in the divine mind, a plan all-wise and perfect, and from which, of consequence, the supreme Being, morally speaking, can never depart. So that when Jupiter is said by the Stoics to be subject to immutable *fate*, this means no more than that he is subject to the wisdom of his own counsels, and acts ever in conformity with his supreme perfections. The following remarkable passage of Seneca, drawn from the 5th chapter of his book *de Providentia*, is sufficient to confirm the explication we have here given of the *Stoical fate:* "Ille ipse omnium conditor et rector, *scripsit* quidem *fata*, sed sequitur. Semper *paret* semel *jussit*."—*Mael.* [This fine apology will not bear a strict scrutiny. The Stoics themselves differed in opinion, and they generally had indistinct notions. But most of them held *fate* to be rather a *physical* than a *moral* necessity; though some of them, at times, confounded it with Jove, nature, or a pantheistic god, as Seneca does in the passage quoted.—*Mur.*

3 These remarks receive some illustration from my note on Cudworth's *Intell. Syst.* tom. i. p. 517.

4 He ascribed to God neither omnipotence, nor omnipresence, nor omniscience.—*Schl.* [But Maclaine here enters his dissent. He says: "*All* the divine perfections are frequently acknowledged by that philosopher." I wish he had given proof of this assertion, if he was able to make it good.—*Mur.*

5 He believed that God employs good and evil demons, in the government of the world, and that men can have commerce with these demons. A person believing this may easily be led to regard idolatry as not altogether irrational.—*Schl.*

6 The defects of the Platonic philosophy are copiously, but not very accurately depicted by Baltus, in a French work, *Défense des pères accusés de Platonisme.* Paris, 1711, 4to. [Plato has, moreover been accused of Spinozism. For Bayle (*Continuation des pensées diverses sur la Comète, &c.* chap. xxv.) and Gundling, (in *Otia*, fasc. 2. and in *Gundlingiana*, sec. 43. 45.) tax him with confounding God with matter. But Zimmermann (*Opuscula*, tom. i. p. 762, &c.) and the elder Schelhorn (*Amœnitat. literar.* tom. ix. xii. and xiii.) have defended the character of Plato.—*Schl.*

philosophising, called the *Eclectic*. One Potamon of Alexandria has been represented as its author; but the subject has its difficulties.[1] That this sect flourished at Alexandria in the age of our Saviour, is manifest from the Jewish Philo, who philosophised according to its principles.[2] These Eclectics held Plato in the highest estimation; but they unscrupulously modified his doctrines by incorporating what they pleased from the other philosophers.[3]

26. It will be easy to see what inference should be drawn from this account of the lamentable state of the world at the time of Christ's birth. It may serve to teach us that the human race was then wholly corrupt, and stood in need of a Divine teacher to instruct mankind in the true principles of religion and morality, and to recall the wanderers into the paths of virtue and piety. And it may teach those who before were ignorant of it, how great the advantages and supports, in all circumstances of life, the human family have derived from the advent of Christ and from the religion which he taught. Many despise and ridicule the Christian religion, not knowing that to it they are indebted for all the blessings they enjoy.

1 Brucker, *Historia crit. philos.* tom. ii. p. 193, has shown that in regard to the controversies maintained by Heumann, Hasæus, and others, respecting this nearly unknown Potamon, the probability is that he lived about the close of the second century; that his speculations had little effect; and that Ammonius is to be regarded as the founder of the Eclectic sect. Yet this will not forbid our believing what Brucker himself admits, that there were *some* Grecian philosophers, as early as the time of Christ, who speculated very much as the Eclectics afterwards did, though the few followers they had did not merit the title of a *sect*. — *Schl.*

2 For he philosophised in the manner of Clemens Alex. Origen, and the other Christian doctors, who were certainly *Eclectics*. For the most part he follows Plato; and hence many account him a pure Platonist. But he often commends the Stoics, Pythagoreans, and others, and adopts their opinions. — *Schl.*

3 See Olearius, *De Philosophia Eclectica;* Brucker and others. [On the philosophy as well as the vulgar polytheism of the ancient pagans, the best works for the mere English reader seem to be those already mentioned (in Note 3 p. 10) Leland's *Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation*, [and Tholuck's *Essay*.] The history of philosophy among the ancients has not been critically and ably written in English, nor by Englishmen. Stanley's *Lives*, &c. 1655, 4to, is full of mistakes; and Enfield's *Abridgment of Brucker* is quite superficial. The best general works are Brucker's *Historia critica philosophiæ*. Lips. 1741—67, 6 vols. 4to, and the more recent German works by Tiedemann, 7 vols. 8vo, 1791—96; Buhle, 7 vols. 8vo, 1800; Tenneman, 12 vols. 8vo, 1798—1810; and Rixner, 3 vols. 8vo, 1822. The history of *Moral* philosophy, or ethics, is well treated by Meiners, *krit. Geschichte*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1800—1; and Stäudlin, *Gesch. der Moralphilosophie*, 1822, 8vo.—*Mur.* [To these works may be added the English translation, by Morrison, of Ritter's celebrated *Geschichte der philosophie alter Zeit*, in four volumes. Lond. 1844—6, 8vo. The student may also consult with profit Brouwer, *Histoire de la civilization morale et religieuse des Grecs*. Gron. 1833—42, 8 vols. 8vo; together with B. Constant, *Du polytheisme romain*. Paris, 1833, 2 vols. 8vo.—*R.*

CHAPTER II.

THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS STATE OF THE JEWS AT THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

1. THE state of the Jewish people, among whom the Saviour chose to be born, was little better than that of other nations. Herod, whose crimes procured him the title of the Great, then governed or rather oppressed the nation, being a tributary king under the Romans. He drew on himself universal hatred by his cruelties, jealousies, and wars, and exhausted the wealth of the unhappy nation by his mad luxury, his excessive magnificence, and his immoderate largesses. Under his administration Roman luxury with great licentiousness spread over Palestine.[4] In religion he was professedly a Jew; but he copied the manners of those who despise all religion.

2. On the death of this tyrant the Romans allowed Archelaus, his son, with the title of Exarch, to reign over half of Palestine; viz. Judea, Samaria, and Idumea. The other half was divided between two other sons of Herod, Antipas and Philip. Archelaus copied the vices of his father, and was therefore, in the tenth year of his reign, publicly accused by the Jews before Augustus, and deprived of his crown.[5] The countries he had governed were now reduced to the form of a Roman province, and annexed to Syria. This change in their form of government brought numerous troubles and calamities upon the Jews, to the ruin and final extinction of the nation.

3. The Romans did not indeed wholly prohibit the Jews from retaining their national laws, and the religion established by Moses. Their religious affairs were still conducted by a high priest, with priests and levites under him, and by their national senate or sanhedrim. The exterior of their worship, with a few exceptions, remained unaltered; but the amount of evil resulting to this miserable people, from the presence of Romans among them who were in their view polluted and detestable, from the cruelty and avarice of the governors, and from the frauds and rapacity of the publicans, is almost incalculable. Unquestionably those who were subject to the other two sons of Herod lived more comfortably.

4. But the measure of liberty and com-

4 See Noldius, *Historia Idumæa*, in Havercamp's edit. of Josephus, tom. ii. pag. 338, &c. Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, tome i. part i. p. 27, &c. Noris, *Cænotaph. Pisan.* ii. 6. Prideaux, *Connexion*, &c. part ii. book viii. Cellarius, *Historia Herodum*, in his *Diss. Acad.* par. i. p. 207, and especially the Jewish historian, Josephus, in his *Wars of the Jews*.

5 Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* lib. xvii. cap. xiii. and *de Bell. Jud.* lib. ii. cap. vi.— *Schl.*

fort allowed to the Jews by the Romans, was wholly dissipated by the profligacy and crimes of those who pretended to be the guardians of the nation. Their principal men, their high priests (as we learn from Josephus), were most abandoned; they had purchased their places by bribes or by deeds of iniquity, and maintained their ill-acquired authority by every species of flagitious acts. The other priests, and all those who held any considerable office, were not much better. The multitude, excited by such examples, ran headlong into every sort of iniquity, and by their unceasing robberies and seditions, armed against them both the justice of God and the vengeance of men.[1]

5. Two religions then flourished in Palestine, viz. the Jewish and the Samaritan, between the followers of which a deadly hatred prevailed. The nature of the former is set forth in the Old Testament; but in the age of the Saviour it had lost much of its primitive form and character. The people universally were infected with certain prevalent and pernicious errors, and the more learned fiercely contended on points of the greatest moment. All looked for a deliverer; not, however, such a one as God had promised, but a powerful warrior and a vindicator of their national liberties.[2] All placed the sum of religion in an observance of the Mosaic ritual, and in certain external duties towards their own countrymen. All excluded the rest of mankind from the hope of salvation, and, of course, whenever they dared, treated them with hatred and inhumanity.[3] To these fruitful sources of vice must be added various absurd and superstitious opinions concerning the divine nature, genii, magic, &c. partly brought by their ancestors from the Babylonian captivity, and partly imbibed from the neighbouring Egyptians, Syrians, and Arabians.[4]

6. The learned, who pretended to a superior knowledge of the law and of theology, were divided into various sects and parties,[5] among which three were most numerous and influential; namely, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes. The first two are often mentioned in the Scriptures: for a knowledge of the Essenes we are indebted to Josephus and Philo. These principal sects agreed, indeed, respecting the fundamental principles of the Jewish religion, but respecting questions of the highest importance, and such as relate to the salvation of the soul, they were engaged in endless contentions. The pernicious effects on the common people of these dissensions of the learned may be easily conceived.

7. They disagreed first respecting the law itself, or the rule which God had given them. The Pharisees added to the written law an oral or unwritten law, handed down by tradition, which both the Sadducees and the Essenes rejected, adhering only to the written law. They differed also respecting the *import of the law*. For while the Pharisees sought a *double sense* in the Scriptures, one the obvious and *literal*, the other recondite and *figurative*, the *Sadducees* held only to the literal sense of the Bible, the greater part of the *Essenes* dissented from them both, maintaining that the *words* of the law were of no authority, but that the *things* expressed by them were representations of sacred and divine things. To these contests concerning the law, others were added on subjects of the highest moment, and particularly respecting the punishments and rewards declared in the law. These, the Pharisees held, referred to both the body and the soul, and extended beyond the present life, while the Sadducees believed in no future retributions. The Essenes took a middle course, admitting future rewards and punishments, but confining them to the soul, holding that the body consists of a malignant substance, and is the temporary prison of the soul.[6]

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[1] See Josephus, *De Bell. Jud.* lib. v. cap. xiii. sec. 6; and Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, tome i. chap. xiv.—*Schl.*

[2] This is proved by Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, tome v. chap. x. That not only Pharisees, but all Jews, of whatever sect, both in and out of Palestine, were expecting a Messias, is shown by Mosheim, in his *Comm. de Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 40, from the following texts:—John i. 20, 25; x 24, &c.; xii. 34; Matt. ii. 4—6; xxi. 9; xxvi. 63, &c.—*Schl.* [See also Bertholdt, *Christologia Judæorum Jesu apostolorumque ætate.* Erl. 1811, 8vo. This expectation of a deliverer was prevalent even among the heathen. See Bp. Blomfield's *Dissertations on the Traditional Knowledge of a Promised Redeemer*, &c. Camb. 1819, 8vo, and a curious work, by Fred. Nolan, entitled, *The Expectations of the Assyrians that a great Deliverer would appear*, &c. Lond. 1826, 8vo.—*R.*

[3] Hence other nations, not without reason, accounted the Jews as enemies of mankind. See the examples collected by Elsner, *Observat. Sacr. in N. T.* tom. ii. p. 274.—*Schl.*

[4] See Gale, *Observ. ad Jamblichum, de Myster. Ægypt.* p. 206; and Sale, Preface to his English transl. of the *Koran*, page 72. Even Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* lib. iii. cap. vi. sec. 2, admits that the Jewish religion was corrupted among the Babylonians.—*Schl.* [See also Milman's *Hist. of Christianity*, vol. i. page 60, &c.—*R.*

[5] Besides the three more noted sects, there were others unquestionably among the Jews. The *Herodians* are mentioned in the sacred volume; the *Gaulonites*, by Josephus; and other sects by Epiphanius and by Hegesippus, in Eusebius; all of which cannot be supposed to be mere fictions. [For further information on the minor sects among the Jews, particularly the Hemerobaptists, see Mosheim's *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* pages 33—5. Vidal's translation, i. 77—9.—*R.*

[6] For an account of the three Jewish sects, see Trigland, *Syntagma Trium Scriptorum illustrium*

8. Notwithstanding these sects contended about points of such vast moment, it does not appear that they molested each other with any violence on religious grounds. But this forbearance and moderation, no one acquainted with the history of those times, will ascribe to sound and generous principles. The Sadducees were supported by the leading men of the nation, and the Pharisees by the common people. Neither sect, therefore, could rise up in hostility against the other without the most imminent hazard. Besides, the Romans on the least appearance of tumult or sedition would doubtless have punished the ringleaders with severity. We may add, that the Sadducees were of accommodating manners, and, from the principles of their sect, were averse from all broils and altercations.[1]

9 The *Essenes* could more easily avoid contention with the others, because they lived for the most part in retired places, and remote from intercourse with mankind. This sect, which was dispersed over Syria, Egypt, and the neighbouring countries, held religion to consist in silence and meditation; and they endeavoured, by a strict mode of life, and by various observances borrowed it would seem from the Egyptians,[2] to raise themselves to higher degrees of virtue. Yet they were not all of the same sentiments. Some lived in celibacy, and made it their care to instruct and educate the children of others. Others married wives, not to gratify their natural propensities, but solely to propagate the human race.[3] Those who lived in Syria held that God may be propitiated by sacrifices, yet that they must be offered in a very different manner from what was common among the Jews; whence it appears they did not reject the literal sense of the Mosaic law. But those who inhabited the deserts of Egypt maintained that no sacrifice should be presented to God, except that of a composed mind, absorbed in the contemplation of divine things, which shows that *they* put an allegorical sense upon the whole Jewish law.[4]

10. The *Therapeutæ*, of whom *Philo* wrote a whole book,[5] are commonly reckoned a branch of the *Essene* family, whence originated the popular distinction of *practical* and *theoretical* Essenes. But whether this classification is correct may be doubted. For nothing is discoverable in the customs or institutions of the Therapeutæ, which evinces absolutely that they were a branch of the Essenes, nor has Philo so represented them. Who can deny that other fanatical Jews besides Essenes, might unite together and form a society? But I agree entirely with those who regard the Therapeutæ as being Jews claiming to be true disciples of Moses, and as being neither Christians nor Egyptians. In reality, they were wild and melancholy enthusiasts, who led a life incongruous alike with the law of Moses and with sober reason.[6]

(viz. J. Scaliger, J. Drusius, and N. Serarius), *De Judæorum Sectis*, Delft, 1703, 2 vols. 4to. After these, Basnage, Prideaux (in their Jewish histories), the authors of *Introductions to the books of the New Testament*, and of works on *Jewish Antiquities*, and many others, have described these sects, some more and some less successfully.—*Mur.* [The various Biblical *Dictionaries*, such as Calmet's, Kitto's, Winer's *Bibl. Realwörterb*, &c. and the larger *Church Histories*, especially Neander's, likewise contain important information respecting them.—*R.*

1 See *Comment. de Reb. Chr.* p. 48, where Mosheim proves from Josephus (*Antiq. Jud.* lib. xviii. cap. i. and lib. xiii. cap. x.), that the Sadducees were all men of wealth; and (from his *Bell. Jud.* lib. ii. cap. viii.) that they had little sympathy for others. Mosheim thinks he finds the picture of a Pharisee in the rich man described, Luke xvi. 19.—*Schl.*

2 See Holstenius, *Notes on Porphyry, de Vitâ Pythagoræ*, p. 11, ed. Kuster.

3 See Josephus, *De Bell. Jud.* lib. ii. cap. viii. sec. 13.—*Schl.*

4 See Mosheim's note on Cudworth's Essay, *De vera Notione cœnæ Domini*, p. 4, subjoined to his *Intellectual System*. [Respecting the Essenes and the reasons why they are not mentioned by the Evangelists, see Burton's *Lectures on the Ecclesiastical History of the first three Centuries*, vol. i. 21—5. See also an Essay on the Essenes in *Blackwood's Magazine*, vol. xlvii. the object of which is to show that the Essenes of Josephus were the primitive Christians.—*R.*

5 Philo, *De Vita contemplativa*, in his Works, p. 889.

6 The principal writers concerning the *Therapeutæ*, are mentioned by Fabricius, *Lux Salutaris Evang. toti orbi exor*, cap. iv. p. 55. [A more ample account of the *Therapeutæ* is given by Mosheim, in his *Com. de. Reb. Chr. &c.* p. 55, &c. from which the following abstract of writers on the subject has been compiled by Schlegel:—"It is still debated whether these Therapeutæ were Christians, Jews, or heathen philosophers. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. xvii.) regarded them as Christian *monks*, established in Egypt by St. Mark; and many Romish writers, to support the high antiquity of monkery, defend this opinion. The whole of this controversy may be seen in the *Lettres pour et contre la fameuse question, si les solitaires appellés* Thérapeutes, *dont a parlé Philon le Juif, étoient Chrétiens*. Paris, 1712, 12mo. The chief advocates of this opinion are Montfaucon, in the Notes to his French translation of Philo, and M. le Quien, *Christianus Oriens*, tom. ii. p. 332. On the other hand, Scaliger, Chamier, Lightfoot, Daillé, the two Basnages, Prideaux, Ittig, Buddeus, Mosheim, Baumgarten, and recently Oral (*Hist. Eccles.* vol. i. p. 77) and Mangey (Preface to Philo's Works), have maintained that they were *Jews*, and of the sect of *Essenes*. Lange, in a Dissertation published in 1721, maintained upon very slender grounds, that they were *oriental philosophers*, of melancholy temperament, who had imbibed some Jewish notions. And Jablonski, in an Essay on the subject, accounts these solitaries *Egyptian priests*, addicted to astrology and other sacred sciences of the Egytians." Mosheim pertinently observes (*Com. de Reb. &c.* p. 50), "The Christian monks, who evidently originated in Egypt, borrowed their peculiarities from the *practical Essenes*, for nothing can be more similar than the rules and regulations of the ancient monks and those of the Essenes, as described by Josephus. On the other hand, the Christian *solitaries* called *Eremites* copied after the *theoretical Essenes*, or *Therapeutæ*."—*Mur.*

11. It was impossible that any of these sects should inculcate and promote true piety and virtue. The *Pharisees*, as our Saviour often laid to their charge, disregarded internal purity, and, by a vain ostentation and an austere life, sought for popular applause, and also ascribed more authority to ancient traditions and institutions than to the holy commandments of God. Matt. xxiii. 13, &c. The *Sadducees* gave a stimulus to iniquity and every lust, by discarding all future rewards and punishments. The *Essenes*, a fanatic and superstitious tribe, made piety to consist in holy indolence and a dislike of mankind, and thus they severed the ties of society.

12. When those who assumed the name and the prerogatives of *the wise* were involved in such darkness and such altercations, who can doubt that the religion and piety of the *common people* were in a low and debased state? They were sunk in deplorable ignorance of divine things; and they supposed that they rendered themselves acceptable to God, by their attention to sacrifices, ablutions, and the other ceremonies prescribed by Moses. From this two-fold source flowed those polluted morals and that profligate life which characterized the greater part of the Jews while Christ lived among them.[1] Hence our Saviour compared *the people* to wandering sheep who had no shepherd, Matt. x. 6, xv. 24, and *their teachers* to blind men who attempt to guide others in a way of which they are themselves ignorant. Matt. xv. 14, John ix. 39.

13. To all these stains on the character of the Jews when Christ came among them, must be added the attachment of many of them to the oriental philosophy in regard to the origin of the world, and to the indubitable offspring of that philosophy, the *Cabbala*.[2] That many Jews were infected with this system, both the sacred books of the New Testament and the early history of the Christian Church prove undeniably.[3] It is certain that the founders of several Gnostic sects were Jews. The followers of this philosophy must necessarily have differed from the other Jews in their views of the God of the Old Testament, and in their views of Moses, of the creation, and of the Messiah; for they held the creator of the world to be a different being from the supreme God, and believed that the Messiah was to destroy the domination of the former over the human race. From such opinions a monstrous system was formed, widely different from the genuine religion of the Jews.

14. The outward *forms* of worship established by Moses were less corrupted than the other parts of religion. Yet very learned men have observed, that various rites were introduced into the temple itself, which we may in vain search for in the divine ritual. It appears that the Jews, on becoming acquainted with the sacred rites of the neighbouring nations and of the Greeks and Romans, were so captivated with a number of the ceremonies practised in idol worship, that they did not hesitate to adopt them, and to add them as an ornament to the rites of God's appointment.[4]

15. Various *causes* may be assigned for this great corruption of a nation which God had selected for his peculiar people. In the first place, their fathers had brought back with them from Chaldea and the adjacent countries, and had introduced into Palestine, many foolish and vain opinions, wholly unknown to the founders of the nation.[5] And from the time of the conquest of Asia by Alexander the Great, the customs and dogmas of the Greeks were disseminated among the Persians, the Syrians, the Arabians, and likewise the Jews, among whom literature and philosophy had not before flourished.[6] The excursions, also, which many Jews were accustomed to make into the neighbouring countries, especially into Egypt and Phœnicia, in pursuit of wealth, caused various errors and fancies of the pagan nations to spread among the Hebrews. And lastly, *Herod* the Great and his sons, and likewise the Roman procurators and soldiers, had undoubtedly introduced into the country many foreign institutions and pollutions. Other causes will readily occur to those acquainted with the Jewish history from the time of the Maccabees.

16. But notwithstanding their numerous faults, the people generally manifested the strongest attachment to the law of Moses, and were very careful that it should not be disparaged. Hence they erected throughout the country houses of worship, called in Greek, *Synagogues*, where the people assembled for prayer and to listen to the

1 A striking passage, relative to the vicious lives of the Jews in our Saviour's time, occurs in Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* lib. x. cap. xiii. sec. 6.—*Schl.*

2 See Millman's *Hist. of Christianity*, i. 64.—*R.*

3 See J. C. Wolf, *Biblioth. Ebraica*, tom. ii. lib. vii. cap. i. sec. 9, p. 206.

4 See Spencer, *De Leg. ritual. veter. Ebræorum*, tom. ii. lib. iv. p. 1089, ed. Cantab. where he treats particularly of Jewish rites borrowed from the Gentiles, and not to be found in the Law of God.

5 See Gale, on Jamblichus *De mysteriis Ægyptiorum*, p. 206. Nor does Josephus conceal this fact, *Antiq. Jud.* lib. iii. cap. vii. sec. 2.

6 Le Clerc, *Epist. crit.* ix. p. 250.—*Schl.*

public expounders of the law. Schools also were established in the principal towns, where literary men instructed the youth in both divine and human knowledge.[1] No one can doubt that these institutions had considerable influence to preserve the law inviolate, and to check in some degree the progress of wickedness.

17. The Samaritans, who worshipped on Mount Gerizim and lived in virulent hostility with their neighbours, the Jews, were equally oppressed and were in an equal degree the authors of their own calamities. It appears from the history of those times, that the Samaritans suffered as much as the Jews did from the machinations of factious men, though perhaps they had fewer religious sects. That their religion was less pure than the Jewish, Christ himself testifies. John iv. 22. Yet they seem to have had more correct views of the offices of the Messiah than the greater part of the Jews. John iv. 25. Though we are not to believe all that the Jews have said respecting their opinions, yet it is undeniable that the Samaritans adulterated the pure doctrines of the Old Testament with the profane errors of the pagans.[2]

18. The narrow limits of Palestine could not contain the very numerous nation of the Jews. Hence, when our Saviour was born, there was almost no considerable province which did not contain a large number of Jews, who lived by commerce and other employments. These Jews, in the countries out of Palestine, were protected against the violence and abuse of the inhabitants, by public laws and by the injunctions of the magistrates.[3] Yet they were in most places exceedingly odious to the mass of people, on account of the remarkable singularity of their religion and customs. The special providence of the Most High is undoubtedly to be recognised in the dispersion of this people (who were the depositaries of the true religion or that which inculcates the worship of the one God) over nearly the whole world, that they might by their example, put superstition to shame, and might in a manner prepare the way for the Christian religion.

CHAPTER III.

THE LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST.

1. So many and so virulent diseases of the human race demanded the aid of a Divine physician. Therefore the Son of God himself descended from heaven, upon Palestine, in the close of the reign of Herod the Great; and joining himself to human nature, he appeared to mortals a teacher that could not err, and a sponsor at the court of heaven, as well as a king there. In what year this salutary light rose upon the world, the most persevering efforts of the learned have not been able fully to ascertain. Nor will this surprise us, if we consider that the earliest Christians knew not the *day* of their Saviour's birth, and judged differently on the subject.[4] But of what consequence is it that we know not the year or day when this light first shone, since we fully know that it *has* appeared, and that there is no obstacle to our enjoying its splendour and its warmth?

2. An account of the birth, lineage, family, and parents of Christ is left us by the four inspired writers who give the history of his life. But they say very little respecting his childhood and youth. When a young child he was rescued from the cruelty of Herod, by the flight into Egypt. Matt. ii. 13. When twelve years of age, he disputed publicly in the temple, with the most learned Jewish doctors, upon religious subjects. Afterwards, till he was thirty years of age, he lived with his parents, as a dutiful and affectionate son. Luke ii. 51, 52. Divine wisdom has not seen fit to give us more particulars; nor is it certain, though many think it so, that Christ worked at the trade of his foster-father Joseph, who was a carpenter. Yet there were anciently

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1 See Vitringa, *De Synagoga Vetere*, lib. iii. cap. v. and lib. i. cap. v.—vii. [Prideaux, *Connection*, &c. part. i. book vi. anno. 445.—*Mur.*

2 The principal writers concerning the Samaritans are enumerated by Carpzovius, *Critica Sacra Vet. Test.* par. ii. cap. vi. p. 595. [The most valuable are Cellarius, *Hist. Gentis Samarit.* in his *Diss. Acad.* p. 109, &c.; Morin. *Antiq. Eccles. Orient.*; Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, tome ii. liv. ii. chaps. i.—xiii.; Reland, *de Samaritanis*, in his *Diss. Miscell.* par. ii.; and Baumgarten, *Geschichte der Religionspart*, p. 274, &c. —*Schl.* [See the entire section (sec. 18) on the Samaritans, in Gieseler's *Lehrbuch der Kirchenq.* with its important quotations and references. The best translation of this valuable compendium is that by Dr. Davidson in Clarke's *Foreign Theological Library.*—*R.*

3 See Gronovius, *Decreta Romana et Asiatica pro Judæis.* Leyden, 1712, 8vo. [For a candid and faithful account of the state of the Jews, both in Palestine and out of it, the English reader is referred to Lardner's *Credibility of the Gospel History*, part i. vol. i. chap. ii.—vi.—*Mur.* [Much additional and more correct information is to be found in Gieseler, *ubi sup.* Davids. Trans. vol. i. pages 42—3. Besides Gronovius, the student ought also to consult Krebsius, *Decreta Romanorum pro Judæis.* Lips. 1768, 8vo.—*R.*

4 Most of the opinions of the learned concerning the year of Christ's birth are collected by Fabricius, *Bibliographia Antiquar.* cap. vii. sec. 9, p. 187. [Ample dissertations on both the *year* and the *day* of our Lord's nativity may be found in most of the *Commentaries* and *Harmonies* of the Gospels, both British and foreign. Perhaps the most satisfactory are the recent disquisitions in Gresswell's *Dissertations on a Harmony of the Gospels.* Oxford, 1830—4, 4 vols. 8vo; and in Browne's *Ordo Sæclorum.* Lond. 1844, 8vo. In connexion with this point see also two Dissertations *De Origine Festi Nativit. Christi.* in Jablonski, *Opuscula* ed. Te Water. Leyden, 1809, vol. iii. p. 317, &c.—*R.*

some vain and deceitful persons, who ventured to fill up this obscure part of our Saviour's life with extravagant and ridiculous fables.[1]

3. In the thirtieth year of his age, he entered on the offices for which he came into the world. To render his ministry more useful to the Jews, John, the son of a Jewish priest, a man grave and venerable in his whole manner of life, was commissioned of God to proclaim the advent of the Messiah promised to the fathers. He called himself the *precursor* of the Messiah, and, being full of holy zeal, exhorted the Jews to amend their lives and purify their hearts, and so prepare for the coming, or rather for the actual presence, of the Son of God; and those who professed repentance and reformation he initiated into the approaching kingdom of the Saviour, by immersion in the Jordan. Matt. iii. 2, &c.; John i. 22, &c. Jesus himself, before commencing his public ministry, chose to receive a solemn lustration in the waters of Jordan at the hands of John, that he might not appear to neglect any part of the Jewish law and religion.[2]

4. It is not necessary to enter here into a particular detail of the life and actions of Jesus Christ. All Christians know, that, for more than three years, amidst great trials and afflictions, and surrounded by snares and perils, he instructed the Jewish people in the counsels and purposes of the Most High; that he omitted nothing which could allure either the ignorant multitude or the well-informed; that he led a life so spotless and holy that no suspicion whatever could attach to him; and finally, that, by stupendous miracles, of a salutary and beneficial character, and such as accorded with the nature of his mission, he placed the truth of the religion he taught beyond all controversy.

5. As this religion was to be propagated throughout the world, it was necessary for him to select some persons to be his constant and confidential companions, who should be able to state and testify to posterity and to the remotest nations, with the greatest confidence and authority, the events of his life, his miracles, and his whole system of doctrine. Therefore, from the Jews about him he chose twelve messengers, whom he distinguished from the rest by the title of *Apostles*. They were plebeians, poor, and illiterate; for he would not employ the rich, the eloquent, and the learned, lest the success of their mission should be ascribed to natural causes and to human means. 1 Cor. i. 21. These he once sent forth among the Jews, during his lifetime Matt. x. 7; but afterwards he retained them constantly near him, that they might witness all that he said or did.[3] But, that the people might not lack religious instruction, he commissioned seventy other disciples to travel at large through Judea. Luke x. i.

6. The learned have inquired why the Saviour appointed just *twelve*, neither more nor less, to be apostles, and *seventy* to be his disciples; and various conjectures are offered on the subject. But as it is manifest from the words of *Christ* himself (Matt. xix. 28; Luke xxii. 30), that the number of the apostles had reference to the number of the tribes of Israel, there can scarcely be a doubt that he wished to indicate to the Jews that he was the supreme Lord and Pontiff over the whole Hebrew race, which was divided into twelve tribes. The seventy disciples were just equal in number to the senators composing the Sanhedrim or grand council of the nation; and this justifies the conjecture that *Christ* intended, by the choice of the *seventy*, to admonish the Jews that the authority of their Sanhedrim was now at an end, and that all power in relation to religious matters was vested in him alone.[4]

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1 See a collection of these fables by Fabricius, *Codex Apocryphus N. Test.* tom. i.

2 See, concerning John the Baptist, Cellarius, two *Diss. de vita, carcere et supplicio Jo. Bapt.* in his *Diss. Acad.* par. i. p. 169, and par. ii. p. 373. Ittig, *Historiæ eccles. primi sæculi selecta capita*, cap. viii. sec. 4; Witsius, *Miscell. Sacra.* tom. ii. p. 464, &c.—*Schl.* [and Winer, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, article *Johannes.*—*Mur.*

3 Mosheim has a long note in the parallel passage of his *Com. de Rebus Chr.* p. 49, the substance of which is this: The title Apostles was given to those principal men whom the high priests retained as their private counsellors, and whom they occasionally sent as their legates to the foreign Jews, either to collect the yearly tax for the temple or to execute other commissions. We have not, indeed, a direct testimony at hand, proving that the title of Apostles was given to such legates of the high priests in the days of Christ Yet there is intimation of this in Gal. i. 1.; and Jerome so understood the passage. See his *Comment.* &c. *Opp.* tom. ix. p. 124. And that after the destruction of Jerusalem, the legates of the Jewish Patriarchs (who stood in the place of high priests) were called apostles, is fully proved. See Jerome, *ubi supra*, and Eusebius on *Isa.* cap. xviii. 2. See also Gothofredus, on *Cod. Theodos.* tom. vi. p. 251, ed. Ritter; Petavius, on *Epiphan ad Hæres.*, xxx.; Wesseling, *De Archontibus Jud.* p. 91; Walch (of Gotting.) *Hist. Patriarch. Jud.*; and Suicer, *Thesaur. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 477.—*Mur.*

4 There are two fictitious lists of the seventy disciples now extant, which are falsely ascribed to Hippolytus and to Dositheus. They may be seen in various works; *e. g.* Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii*, &c. pag. 115—118; and annexed to the books *De Vita et Morte Mosis*, ed. Fabricius; and in Ittig, *Hist. Eccles. primi sæcul.* p. 472. That no sort of credit is due to them, is shown by Ittig, *ubi supra*; by Blondell, *De Episcopis et Presbyt.* p. 93, and by others. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 12, expressly declares that no catalogue of the seventy disciples was to be found anywhere in his day. The two lists nearly agree, and are evidently

7. Jesus himself gave instruction to none but Jews; nor did he allow his disciples to travel among other nations, as teachers, while he continued on earth. Matt. x. 5, 6; xv. 24. Yet the extraordinary deeds performed by him leave no room to doubt that his fame very early extended to other nations. There are respectable writers who state, that *Abgarus*, King of Edessa, being dangerously sick, sent a letter to Christ, imploring his assistance; and that he not only wrote an answer to the king, but also sent him his picture.[1] It is the prevailing opinion, that not only the letters of Christ and *Abgarus*, but likewise the whole story were fabricated.[2] I would by no means venture to defend the credit of the letters; but I see no very weighty reasons for rejecting altogether the whole story.

8. No small part of the Jewish people were excited by the demonstrations of divine authority in *Christ*, to revere him as the Son of God; but the leading men, especially the Pharisees and the chief priests, whose vices and crimes he freely reproved, plotted against his life, being fearful of losing their honours and privileges if *Christ* should continue publicly to preach. For a long time the machinations of these ungodly men were ineffectual. But at last, his ungrateful disciple, *Judas*, disclosing the place of his master's nocturnal retirement, he was seized by soldiers at the command of the Sanhedrim, and ordered to be tried for his life.

9. He was first charged before the Jewish high priest and senate, with having violated the law, and blasphemed the majesty of God. Thence he was dragged to the tribunal of *Pilate*, the Roman procurator, and there accused of sedition and of treason against Cæsar. Neither of these accusations could have satisfied fair and upright judges. But the clamours of the people, which were instigated by the irreligious priests, compelled *Pilate*, though reluctantly, to pass sentence of death upon him. He, as he had come into our world to make expiation for the sins of men, and knew that all the objects of his abode among them were accomplished, voluntarily submitted to be nailed to a cross, on which he yielded up his spotless soul to God.

10. On the third day after his burial, he re-assumed the life which he had voluntarily laid down; and showing himself alive, he made it manifest that men no longer owed anything to divine justice. He now continued forty days with his disciples, employing the time very much in giving them instruction. To his enemies he would not appear visibly: among other reasons, one was, that he knew those unprincipled men who had before accused him of sorcery, would impudently affirm that it was merely a spectre, bearing his likeness and produced by the power of the devil, which had appeared. At length, in the presence of his disciples, he ascended up to heaven, after commissioning them to preach the Gospel to all nations.

made up by collecting together, without the least judgment, nearly all the names of Christians mentioned in the New Testament, and particularly in the salutations of Paul.—*Mur.*

[1] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. xviii. [Here is the earliest notice of these *Letters*. For the earliest history of the *picture*, see Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. xxvii. See the Letters themselves, with notes in] Fabricius, *Codex Apocryphus*, tom. i. p. 317.

[2] See Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, tom. i. chap. xvii. p. 500; Bayer, *Historia Edessena et Osroëna*, lib. iii. p. 104; Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Clem. Vat.* tom. i. p. 554. [As to the *picture*, which is still preserved, and shown at Rome, Beausobre has fully exposed the fable in his *Diss. des Images de mine divine*, in the *Biblioth. Germanique*, tom. xviii. p. 10, &c. Mosheim, *De Rebus Christ.* &c. p. 73.—*Mur.*

CHAPTER IV.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS OF THE CHURCH.

1. WHEN *Jesus* was seated at the right hand of the eternal Father, the first proof he gave of his majesty and power was by the effusion of the Holy Spirit upon his disciples and friends on earth, on the fiftieth day after his death. Acts ii. 1, &c. On receiving this celestial gift and teacher, they were freed from all their former ignorance and blindness of mind, and endued with astonishing alacrity and power to fulfil the duties of their office. With these mental endowments, was joined the knowledge of various foreign languages, which was indispensable to them in giving instruction to different nations,[3] and also a firm reliance

[3] The nature of this "gift of tongues" has been very variously interpreted by divines and historians. A summary of these views may be seen in Townsend's *New Test. chronologically arranged*, in loc. taken chiefly from Kuinoel, *Comment. in lib. N. Test.* iv. 43, &c.; but a fuller list is given in Harles's edition of Fabricius, *Biblio. Græca*, iv. 760, &c. See also Neander, *Gesch. d. Pflanzung, u. Leitung*, &c. i. 10; translated in Clarke's *Biblical Cabinet*, Nos. 45 and 46. The English reader may also consult Middleton's *Essay on the Gift of Tongues*, Misc. Works, 4to, vol. ii. p. 81, but especially Milman's *Bampton Lectures*. Oxford, 1827—lecture V. which presents an excellent survey of this subject. On the collateral topic of the prevalence of the Greek language in Palestine and the East, see Milman, *ubi supra*; Gresswell's *Dissertations on a Harmony of the Gospels*, i. 109—114, and the *Supplementary vol.* pages 1—13; also, the celebrated work of Diodati, entitled *De Christo græce loquente exercitatio*. Nap. 1767; a translation of which is given in the *American Biblical Repository* for 1844-45. In opposition to the extreme views of Diodati, see Hug, *Einleitung in die Schriften des N. T.* vol. ii. sec. 10, translated by Wait, but more correctly in the *Amer. Bib. Rep.* for 1831, p. 350, &c.; and Pfannkuche's *Essay on the Prevalence of the Aramean Language in Palestine*, &c. also translated from the German, in the same excellent periodical for 1831, p. 317, &c. and republished by Clark in his *Philological Tracts*, vol. i. Edin. 1833.—*R.*

on the promise of *Christ*, that God would aid them, as often as should be necessary, by miracles.[1]

2. Relying on this divine assistance, the disciples, in accordance with the Saviour's injunctions, Luke xxiv. 47; Acts i. 8; xiii. 46, first laboured to convert the Jews to *Christ*. Nor was this labour without effect, for many thousands of them soon became Christians. Acts ii. 41; iv. 4. Next they proceeded to the Samaritans, which also their commission required. Acts i. 8. And here, too, they gathered a Christian church. Acts viii. 14. Lastly, after spending many years at Jerusalem, and regulating and confirming the churches of Christ in Palestine and the neighbouring regions, they travelled abroad among various nations, their labours being everywhere attended with the greatest success.[2]

3. The first care of the apostles after the Saviour's ascension was, to complete the number of twelve apostles established by *Christ*, by electing a more worthy person to the place of Judas, who had laid violent hands on himself. Therefore, the little company of *Christ's* servants at Jerusalem being assembled, two men, the most noted for their piety and faith in *Christ*, *Barnabas* and *Matthias*, were proposed as the most worthy of that office. One of these, *Matthias*, being designated by lot, as it is commonly supposed, or elected by the majority of the votes of the persons present, was constituted the twelfth apostle. Acts ii. 15, &c.[3]

4. As these twelve ambassadors of *Christ* were all of them plain, illiterate men, and as the Christian community, now in its infancy, needed a man who could attack and vanquish the Jewish doctors and the pagan philosophers, with their own weapons, *Jesus Christ* himself, a little after the appointment of Matthias, by a voice from heaven, created a thirteenth apostle, namely, *Saul*, who afterwards assumed the name of *Paul;* a man who had been a most virulent enemy of the Christians, but who was well skilled in the Jewish learning and not ignorant of the Grecian. Acts ix. 1, &c. To this truly admirable man, whether we consider his courage, his force of mind, or his fortitude and patient perseverance in labours, how much the Christian world is indebted, is manifest from the *Acts of the Apostles* and his own *Epistles*.

5. The first of all the Christian churches founded by the apostles, was that of Jerusalem; and after the form and model of this, all the others of that age were constituted. That church, however, was governed immediately by the apostles, to whom the *presbyters*, and the overseers of the poor, or the *deacons*, were subject. Though the people had not withdrawn themselves from the Jewish worship, yet they held their own separate meetings, in which they received instruction from the apostles and presbyters, offered up united prayers, celebrated, in the sacred supper, the memorial of *Jesus Christ*, of his death, and the salvation he procured; and then manifested their mutual love, partly by their liberality to the poor, and partly by those temperate repasts which from their design were called *love-feasts*. Acts ii. 42.[4] Among the virtues for which this primitive church of Christ was distinguished, their care of the poor and needy is most conspicuous. For the rich liberally supplied the wants of all the brotherhood, and with such promptitude and tenderness that *Luke* says, *they had all things common*. Acts ii. 44; iv. 32. But it is clear from the expressions used by *Peter*, in Acts v. 4, as well as from other considerations, that the declaration of Luke should not be understood, as it generally has been, of their *possessing* in common, but only of their *using* in common.[5]

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1 In his *Comment. de Rebus Christ. ante C. M.* p. 76, Mosheim states, that he does not account the *power of working miracles* among the supernatural gifts; because such power neither was nor could be conferred on men, omnipotence alone being able to work miracles: so that *faith* to pray for them, and to expect them at the hands of God, was all that the Holy Ghost actually imparted to the apostles.—*Mur.*

2 It appears from the book of *Acts*, that the apostles, or at least most of them, remained in and near Jerusalem, for several years after the ascension; but *how long* they continued together is uncertain. There was anciently a tradition which Eusebius states (*Hist. Eccles.* v. 18) on the authority of Apollonius, a writer of the second century, as does Clemens Alex. (*Strom.* vi. cap. v.) from a spurious work, *Prædicatio Petri*, that the Saviour enjoined upon his apostles not to leave Jerusalem till *twelve years* after his ascension. *About* so long they probably continued there; and their being divinely guided in most of their movements might give rise to the tradition.—*Mur.*

3 Mosheim has a long note in the parallel place in his *Comment. de Rebus Christ.* &c. pag. 78—80, in which he aims to prove, that ἔδωκαν κλήρους αὐτῶν, in Acts i. 26, signifies *they gave their votes;* and not, as it is commonly understood, *they cast their lots.* But his interpretation is very generally rejected.—*Mur.*

4 Mosheim understood Acts ii. 42, as descriptive of the several parts of the *ordinary public worship* of these primitive Christians, rather than of their *Christian character and conduct* in general. See his *Comment. de Rebus Christ.* pag. 113—116. If Mosheim's interpretation of that *text* is erroneous, as most interpreters think it is, this account of the mode of worship in the apostolic church, rests on a slender basis.—*Mur.*

5 "It is an ancient opinion, though not older than the fourth century, that in the church of Jerusalem there was such a *community of goods*, as existed among the ancient Essenes and now among monks; but this opinion is destitute of any solid foundation, resting solely on the declaration of Luke, that they had all things common. See my *Diss. de vera natura communionis bonorum in eccl. Hieros.* which is the first in the second volume of my *Dissert. ad hist. eccl. pertinentes.*"—Mosheim, *de Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 118.

6. The ambassadors of Christ, leaving Jerusalem, travelled over a great part of the world, and in a short time collected numerous religious societies in various countries. Of churches founded by them, not a small number is mentioned in the sacred books, especially in the *Acts* of the Apostles.[1] Besides these, there can be no doubt they collected many others, both by their own efforts and by the efforts of their followers. But how far they travelled, what nations they visited, or when and where they died, is exceedingly dubious and uncertain.[2] The stories often told respecting their travels among the Gauls, the Britons, the Spaniards, the Germans, the Americans, the Chinese, the Indians, and the Russians, are too recent and fantastic to be received by an inquisitive lover of the truth.[3] A great part of these fabulous stories sprang up after the days of *Charlemagne*, when most Christian churches contended as vehemently about the antiquity of their origin as ever did the Arcadians, Egyptians, Greeks, and other people.

7. Many who were unwilling to adopt entirely the religion of Christ, were induced, nevertheless, by the fame of his deeds and the sublime purity of his doctrines, to rank him among men of the highest excellence, and even among the gods, as numerous documents evince. With great veneration, many preserved pictures of Christ and of his apostles in their houses.[4] It is said that a Roman emperor, *Tiberius*, proposed to have *Christ* enrolled among the gods of the empire, but that the senate rejected the proposal. Though many at

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[1] The names of these churches are collected by Hartmann, *De Rebus gestis Christianor. sub Apostolis*, cap. vii p. 107; and by Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii*, cap. v. p 83, &c.

[2] It is a very ancient and current report, confirmed by many witnesses, that all the apostles suffered public martyrdom with the exception of John, who died a natural death at Ephesus. That Peter, Paul, and James died violent deaths, I believe on the testimony of the numerous ancient authors; but that the other apostles did so, I cannot feel so certain. As my first ground of doubt, a very ancient writer of the second century, Heracleon, a Valentinian indeed, but no contemptible man, cited by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* lib. iv. cap. ix. denies that Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi, and others, confessed Christ before magistrates, and were put to death for so doing. He is urging that the public confession of himself required by the Saviour, Matt. x. 32, may be made by a holy and Christian *life*, as well as by a public *avowal* before a persecuting magistrate; and he states as proof, Οὐ γὰρ πάντες δι σωζόμενοι ὡμολόγησαν τὴν δια τῆς φωνῆς ὡμολογίαν, καὶ ἐξῆλθον. Ἐξ ὧν Ματθαῖος, Φιλιππος, Θωμᾶς, Λευις, καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ, *for not all that were saved made that confession in words* (before magistrates), *and so died. Of this number were Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi, and many others.* Clement, though he disapproves several things in the passage he quotes, leaves this statement to stand as it is; which is proof that *he* had nothing to allege against it. Philip is expressly declared not to have suffered martyrdom, but to have died and been buried at Hierapolis, so says Polycrates, in his Epistle to Victor, in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 24. Baronius, indeed (*Annales*, A. D. 35, sec. 141), and after him many others maintain, that this was not *Philip the apostle*, but Philip, one of the seven deacons of Jerusalem. But Polycrates says expressly, that he was *one of the twelve apostles*. A still stronger argument is, that all the writers of the first three centuries, and among them such as contended for the high dignity of the martyrs, in opposition to the Valentinians, viz. Tertullian, Clemens Alex. and Origen, never mention but *three* of the apostles as being *martyrs*; namely, Peter, Paul, and James the elder. See Tertullian, *Scorpiace*, cap xv. I am therefore led to believe that the common reports respecting the sufferings of Christ's ambassadors were fabricated, after the days of Constantine. And two causes might lead to such reports. (1) The extravagant estimation in which martyrdom was held, made it seem necessary to rank the apostles among the martyrs (2) The ambiguity of the word μάρτυρ *martyr*, which properly signifies *a witness*, in which sense Christ himself called his apostles μάρτυρες (Acts i. 8; see also Acts ii. 32), might lead the more ignorant to believe, and to amplify these fables. Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ. ante C. M.* pag. 81—84, abridged considerably.—*Mur.*

[3] Mosheim, in his *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* pag. 80, 81, says: "As to what we are told respecting the transactions of the apostles, their travels, miracles, and deaths, if we except what was gathered from the New Test. and a few other ancient monuments, a large part is dubious and uncertain. Some things, however, have more credibility and veri similitude than others. I would not reject *all* that is clearly attested by Origen, Eusebius, Gregory Nazianzen, Paulinus, Jerome, Socrates, and some more ancient writers quoted by Eusebius; but what is attested only by authors subsequent to these, or unknown, I would not readily believe, unless facts offer themselves to corroborate the testimony." Following these judicious rules of Mosheim, we may believe that Peter, after preaching long in Judea, and other parts of Syria, probably visited Babylon, Asia Minor, and finally Rome, where he was crucified.—Paul's history is given in the Acts to about A.D. 64. He was probably released from captivity, visited Judea, Asia Minor, and Greece, and returning to Rome, was there beheaded about A. D. 67 or 68. John remained many years in Judea, and afterwards removed to Ephesus, where he lived to a very advanced age, dying about A.D. 100 He was banished to Patmos about A D. 95, and was greatly revered. James the elder (brother of John) was put to death by Herod Agrippa, about A D. 44. Acts xii. 1. James the younger, the son of Alphæus, spent his life in Judea, long presided over the church of Jerusalem, and there suffered martyrdom, a little before the destruction of Jerusalem. Andrew probably laboured on the shores of the Black Sea, near the modern Constantinople, and perhaps in Greece. Philip, either the apostle or the evangelist, is reported to have ended his days at Hierapolis, in Phrygia. Thomas seems to have travelled eastward, to Parthia, Media, Persia, and India. Bartholomew took, perhaps, a more southern course, and preached in Arabia. Matthew is also reported to have travelled east, in the modern Persia. Of Simon the Canaanite nothing to be relied on can be said. Thaddeus, Lebbeus, or Jude the brother of James, the author of an epistle, is reported to have preached at Edessa, in the north of Syria. Of the companions of the apostles, Timothy, after accompanying Paul many years, is said to have been stationed at Ephesus, where he suffered martyrdom under Domitian or Nerva. Titus, another companion of Paul, is reported to have been stationed in Crete, where he died. Mark, or John surnamed Mark, attended Paul and afterwards Peter, and probably preached the gospel in Egypt. Of Luke little can be said, except that he accompanied Paul, and wrote his history, viz. the book of Acts and a Gospel. Of Barnabas nothing can be said worth relating, except what is learned from the New Testament See Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii*, &c. &c. cap. v. pag. 95—115. From this account, imperfect as it is, we may conclude that the apostles and their companions scarcely extended their labours beyond the boundaries of the present Turkish empire.—*Mur.*

[4] Eusebius, *Historia Eccles.* lib. vii. cap. xxviii. Irenæus, *Hæres.* lib. i. cap. xxv, p. 250, ed. Massuet.

the present day think this to be improbable, yet there are distinguished men who are led by weighty reasons to a different opinion.[1]

8. The causes must have been divine which enabled men, destitute of all human aid, poor, friendless, neither eloquent nor learned, fishermen, publicans, and, moreover, Jews—that is, persons odious to all other nations—in so short a time to persuade a great part of mankind to abandon the religions of their fathers, and to embrace a new religion which is opposed to the natural dispositions of men. In their very words there was an amazing and a divine power of controlling the minds of men; to which may be added miracles, prophecies, the detection of men's secret designs, magnanimity in the midst of perils, contempt for all the objects of ordinary ambition, a patient, cheerful endurance of sufferings worse than death, as well as of death itself, and finally, lives of the most unblemished character. That the ambassadors of Jesus Christ were thus furnished for their work, is a truth perfectly clear and obvious. And if these holy men had not been so furnished, no probable reason could be offered for this rapid propagation of Christianity by so small and feeble a band.

9. To all this must be added the ability which these ambassadors of God possessed, of transferring the power of working miracles to their disciples. Many, as soon as they were baptized according to Christ's directions, and consecrated to God by prayer and the imposition of hands, were able immediately to express their thoughts in foreign languages which they had never learned, to foretell future events, to heal the sick by pronouncing the name of Jesus, to call the dead to life, and to perform other deeds above the power of man.[2] What must have been thought of the men who had ability to confer such wonderful powers on others!

10. Those who pretend to assign other causes for this surprising revolution in the religious state of the world, recite fictions which will never satisfy an attentive observer of human affairs. Some conjecture that the kindness of Christians to the poor, induced a multitude of idle and vicious persons to embrace Christianity. But they forget that such as embraced this religion exposed their lives to imminent danger; nor do they reflect that vicious, lazy persons, who would not work, were not tolerated among Christians. 2 Thess. iii. 6—12. Equally groundless is the representation of others, that the profligate and flagitious lives of the pagan priests caused many to turn Christians. But the vile character of these priests, though it might bring the ancient systems of religion into contempt, could not produce attachment to Christianity, which exposed its votaries to the loss of property, character, and life. The man must be beside himself who could reason thus: "The priests of the religion in which I was educated lead profligate lives; I therefore will join myself with those who are universally despised, and by the public laws condemned, and thus put my life and fortune to the most imminent hazard."[3]

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1 "Of the favourable disposition of the Roman emperors towards Christianity, there is a remarkable testimony in the Apology of Melito Sardicensis, addressed to Mar. Antoninus which is preserved by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 26. Melito here informs the emperor that his predecessors not only tolerated Christianity among the religions, but also honoured it: ἦν καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι σοῦ πρὸς ταῖς ἄλλαις θρησκείαις ἐτίμησαν, *which sect your progenitors treated with equal respect as the other religions.* He adds, that Nero and Domitian were the *only* emperors who allowed the counsels of certain adversaries to influence them to make Christianity a criminal thing. If what Melito here says of Nero be true, namely, that he was influenced by the counsels of malevolent persons to persecute the Christians, then there may be some foundation for what John of Antioch says, in *Excerptis Valesianis*, p. 808, &c. that Nero was favourable to the Christians and to Christ in the beginning of his reign. Tertullian, *Apologet.* cap. v. p. 57. ed. Havercamp, speaks of Tiberius's desire to have Christ enrolled among the gods, as of a thing universally known. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 2), Orosius (*Chron. Pascal.* vii. 4), and others afterwards repeat the story, relying chiefly on the authority of Tertullian. See Baldwin, *Comment. ad Edicta Veterum Principum Rom. de Christ.* pages 22, 23; and Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii*, &c. p. 221. But very learned men in this age have deemed this wholly incredible, and not at all compatible with the character of Tiberius and with the state of the empire at that time. In what manner men equally learned and ingenious have repelled their arguments, may be seen in the Essay of Theod. Hasæus, *De Decreto Tiberii, quo Christum referre voluit in numerum deorum.* Erfurt, 1715, 4to; and in the French letter of J. C. Iselius on this subject, in the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, tome xxxii. p. 147, and tome xxxiii. p. 12; Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 91, &c. See also Altmann, *Disquisitio historico-critica de Epistola Pilati ad Tiberium*, &c. Berne. 1775, 8vo. In this Essay Professor Altmann maintains: (1) That Pilate was actually informed of the resurrection of Christ by the guard. (2) That he did really send to Tiberius an account of the death and resurrection of Jesus, though not such an account as the one now extant. (3) That Tiberius actually proposed in the senate that Jesus should be honoured as a god. This subject is also examined by Lardner, *Jewish and Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iii. p. 599, &c. Ed. Lond. 1815, 4to.—*Mur.*

2 See, among others, Pfanner, *De Charismatis, sive donis miraculosis antiquæ ecclesiæ.* Francf. 1683, 12mo.

3 See also Mosheim, *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* pages 90—92. [Since the appearance of Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Rom. Emp.* in the fifteenth chapter of which he endeavoured to account for the rapid spread of the Gospel by referring it solely to secondary causes, many excellent works have appeared on this subject, in support of the argument founded on the early propagation of Christianity, in favour of its divine origin and character. See Milman's *Gibbon*, vol. ii. p. 259, &c. and the several answers to Gibbon by Bishop Watson, Sir D. Dalrymple, and others. See also Lardner's *Heathen Testimonies*, Bullet's *Hist. of the Estab. of Christianity*, translated by Salisbury. London, 1776.—*R.*

CHAPTER V.

THE ADVERSE EVENTS OF THE CHURCH.

1. THOUGH the disciples of *Christ* were distinguished for the excellence of their doctrines and the purity of their lives, yet the Jewish priests and rulers not only treated them with extreme contumely and abuse, but put to death as many of them as they could. This appears from the martyrdom of *Stephen*, Acts vii. 55; of *James* the son of Zebedee, Acts xii. 1, 2; and of *James the Just*, who presided over the church of Jerusalem.[1] The true cause of this hostility was undoubtedly the envy of the Jewish priests and doctors, and their fear of losing their personal advantages if Christianity prevailed.

2. No less cruelty was shown to the innocent disciples of *Christ*, by those Jews who lived out of Palestine, in the Roman provinces. It appears from the Acts of the Apostles and from other credible records, that they spared no pains to instigate the magistrates and the populace to destroy the Christians. To this madness, they were excited by the high-priest and the elders of the Jews living in Palestine, who, as we are informed, sent messengers to the foreign Jews, exhorting them to avoid all connexion with the Christians and to persecute them as far as was in their power.[2] To cloak this base procedure under an honourable garb, they gave out that the Christians had treasonable designs against the Roman government; that they acknowledged as their king one *Jesus* a malefactor, whom *Pilate* had most justly punished with death. This rage against the Christians was propagated from father to son, through successive generations; so that the church henceforth had no more bitter enemies than the Jews.[3]

3. But God himself visited this perfidious nation with the sorest judgments, on account of their cruelties to the Saviour and his friends; for he suffered Jerusalem, the capital of Palestine, together with the temple, to be razed to their foundation by the Roman emperor *Vespasian* and his son *Titus*, about forty years after *Christ's* ascension; and an innumerable multitude of the people to perish by the sword, and most of the survivors to be sold into slavery. A more distressing scene than this,—which is described at large by *Josephus*,[4] himself a Jew,—is, perhaps, nowhere to be found in the records of history. From this period, the Jews have been, even more than before, objects of hatred and abhorrence to all nations.

4. The Gentiles, who were polytheists, brought upon the Christian church still greater calamities than the Jews *could* do, whose power was not equal to their malice. The persecutions of the Christians by the Romans, have for many ages been accounted *ten* in number.[5] But the ancient history of the church does not support precisely this number: for if we reckon only the general and more severe persecutions, they were fewer than ten; but, if we include the provincial and more limited persecutions, the number will be much greater than ten. Some Christians of the fifth century were led by certain passages of the Scripture, especially by one in the Revelation, cap. xvii. 12—14, to believe that it was decreed the Christian church must pass through *ten* grievous persecutions; and to this opinion they afterwards endeavoured to accommodate in different ways the reluctant testimony of history.[6]

5. *Nero* first enacted laws for the extermination of Christians. *Domitian* next did the same, and afterwards *Marcus Antoninus* the philosopher, *Severus*, and the other emperors who were hostile to the Christians. Yet these decrees were not all equally severe, nor all founded on the same causes. A celebrated lawyer of the name of *Domitius*, anciently collected all the imperial laws against the Christians, in his treatise *De Officio Proconsulis*;[7] which, if it were now extant, would doubtless throw much light on the history of the church under the pagan emperors. In the meantime very much is left wholly to conjecture.

6. As the Romans were not accustomed to trouble any people on account of their

1 Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* lib. xx. cap. viii.; and Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. xxiii.

2 See Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryphone*, pages 51—53, 109, 138, 318, ed. Jebb.

3 Passages from early Christian writers, who complain of the Jewish persecutions, are collected by Fabricius, *Lux Evang.* cap. vi. sec. I. p. 121. See also the Epist. of the church of Smyrna, *De Martyrio Polycarpi*, sec. xii. xiii.—*Schl.*

4 In his History of the Jewish War. [See also Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, tome i. chap. xvii.—*Schl.*

5 The writers on these persecutions are enumerated by Fabricius, *Lux Evang.* cap. vii. p. 133, &c.

6 See Sulpit. Severus, *Hist. Sacra*, lib. ii. cap. xxxiii. p. 387, ed. Horn.; Augustine, *De Civit. Dei*, lib. xvii. cap. liii. [In the *fourth* century, the number of the persecutions had not been defined. Lactantius, *De Mort. persecut.* reckons up only *six*. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* does not state their number, yet we might make out *nine* from this writer. This is the number given by Sulpitius Severus, in the *fifth* century. But in his times originated the opinion of just *ten* persecutions; and Sulpitius, to make out that number, includes the persecution of Antichrist in the end of the world. See Mosheim, *De Rebus Christ. ante C. M.* p. 98, &c.—*Schl.*

7 See Lactantius, *Instit. Divinar.* lib. v. cap. xi. What remain of these laws, are illustrated by Baldwin, *Comment. ad edicta veter. princip. Romanor. de Christianis*; republished by Gundling, with Baldwin's *Constantinus Magnus*. Halle, 1727, 8vo.

religion, and as they suffered the Jews in particular to live according to their own laws, it is not improperly asked, what could have induced them to inflict so many evils on the Christians, whose religion was so holy, and so friendly both to public and private happiness? The *first* cause of this cruelty I conceive to be, that the Christians contemned and abhorred the public religion of the state, which was so closely connected with the form and administration of the Roman government. For though the Romans tolerated all the religions from which the Commonwealth had nothing to fear, they would not suffer the ancient religion of their nation, as established by the laws, to be derided and the people to be withdrawn from it. Yet both these the Christians dared to do. Nor did they assail only the Roman religion, but likewise the religion of every other nation. Hence the Romans concluded, that the Christian sect was not only arrogant beyond all measure, but was also unfriendly to the public peace and tranquillity, and calculated to excite civil wars. This, if I do not mistake, is that *hatred of the human race* with which *Tacitus* taxes the Christians, and is the true ground of his denominating Christianity *a pernicious superstition*, and of *Suetonius* styling it *malignant*.[1]

7. Another principal cause of the Roman hostility to Christianity was, that the Christian worship had nothing of what was common to other religions. For the Christians had no sacrifices, no temples, no statues, no oracles, no order of priests; and the inconsiderate multitude deemed those who were without these, to be destitute of all religion; and by the Roman laws, those who seemed to deny the Deity or the national gods were regarded as the pests of human society. Besides, the worship of so many deities afforded support to a countless throng of priests, augurs, soothsayers, merchants, and artists—all of whom were in danger of coming to want, if Christianity should prevail; and therefore, with united strength, they rose up against it and wished to exterminate its followers.[2]

8. They whose interest it was to arrest the progress of Christianity, in order to effect their object the sooner, disseminated among the vulgar the basest calumnies against the Christians and their religion. These slanderous stories, the people, who were fickle and credulous, too easily accredited. What they were may be learned from the writers of apologies for Christianity in the early ages.[3] The same persons cunningly persuaded the multitude, that all the calamities, wars, tempests, and diseases, which afflicted mankind, were sent upon them by the angry gods, because the Christians, who contemned their authority, were everywhere tolerated.[4] Other less weighty causes are here omitted.

9. The various kinds of punishment, both capital and corrective, which were inflicted on those who venerated *Christ*, are described by learned men, in works professedly on that subject.[5] The manner of proceeding before the tribunals may be seen in the *Acts of the Martyrs*, in the letters which passed between *Pliny* and *Trajan*, and in other ancient documents.[6] But it is clear, that the mode of proceeding in the courts was not always the same; for the laws and the rescripts of the emperors, by which the magistrates were to be guided, were very different at different periods. Thus, at one time the Christians were carefully sought after; at another, the judges waited till some one came forward to accuse them. Sometimes the confessing or convicted Christians were hurried forthwith to execution, if they did not renounce their religion; at other times, the magistrates laboured, by various species of torture and cruelty, to induce them to apostatize.

10. Those who fell in these perilous days of the church, being put to death in different ways, were called *Martyrs;* a term borrowed from the sacred writings, and denoting that they were *witnesses* for *Christ*. Those who were bold to profess *Christ* before the magistrates, and for his sake incurred the loss of health, or goods, or honours, were denominated *confessors*. Both obtained immense veneration and influence among the Christians; and they enjoyed prerogatives and honours which

[1] See Tacitus, *Annal.* lib. xv. cap. xliv.; Suetonius, *Nero*, cap. xvi. Because such as could not endure the sacred rites and the religion of the Romans, nor those of all the world, seemed to be the foes of mankind and to indulge hatred towards all nations.

[2] See the account of Demetrius the silversmith, *Acts* xix. 25. Pliny, *Epist.* lib. x. ep. 97. "The *temples*, which were *almost deserted*, begin to be frequented again; and the sacred rites, which had been long neglected, are again performed. The victims which hitherto had found *almost no purchasers*, begin to come again to the market," &c.

[3] This subject is nearly exhausted by Kortholt, *Paganus Obtrectator, seu de Calumniis gentil. in Christ.* Keil, 1698, 4to; to which add Huldrich, *De Calumniis gentil. in Christ.* Zur. 1744, 8vo. [See also Turner's *Calumnies on the primitive Christians accounted for.* London 1727, 8vo.—*R.*

[4] See Arnobius, *Adversus Gentes.* [and Tertullian, *Apologet.* cap. xl.—*Schl.*

[5] Gallonius and Sagittarius, *De Cruciatibus Martyrum* the latter printed at Jena, 1673, 4to; the best edition of the former is, Antw. 1668, 12mo. [Both contain mixtures of the doubtful with the true; for the *Acta Martyrum* now extant cannot be relied on. —Mosheim, *De Reb. Chr.* &c —*Mur.*

[6] See Boehmer, *Jus Eccles. Protest.* tom. iv. lib. v. *Decretal.* tit. i. sec. 32.

were altogether peculiar and extraordinary; and such as would furnish matter for a volume which would be useful in various respects. These prerogatives were undoubtedly conferred on the martyrs and confessors, to induce others more readily to encounter evils of every kind for Christ's sake.[1] But as all peculiar privileges, by the fault of men, degenerate into sources of evil, so these were conferred not unfrequently on the undeserving; and they served to encourage superstition and other evils.

11. That a great number of persons of every class and rank, suffered death for the cause of *Christ*, during the first three or four centuries, no impartial person acquainted with those times can entertain a doubt. But since *Dodwell's* attempt to invalidate this ancient opinion,[2] many have agreed with him, and have maintained that only a *few* actually suffered death on account of the Christian religion; but they have met with strenuous opposers, who regard this opinion as derogatory to divine grace. Those who take the middle path between these two extremes, will probably come nearest to the truth. The *martyrs* were not so numerous as they were anciently supposed to be, and as some still account them; but they were more numerous than *Dodwell* and his friends suppose. Into this opinion, I think, *they* will most readily come, who learn from the ancient writers, that even in the most calamitous times of the Church, not *all* the Christians, everywhere, were persecuted and arraigned for trial. Persons in the humbler conditions of life were generally more safe, while greater danger impended over the rich, whose wealth had charms for the judges, over the learned, the doctors and heads of churches, the witty and the eloquent.[3]

12. The words and actions of the martyrs, from the time of their arrest till their last moments, were carefully committed to writing, in order to be read on certain days as examples to posterity. But only a few of these *Acta Martyrum* have reached us;[4] much the greater part of them having been committed to the flames, during the ten years' war of *Diocletian* against the Christians; for that emperor required all the books and papers of Christians at that time to be collected and burned. From the eighth century, both the Greeks and the Latins took great pains to compile lives of the ancient martyrs; but the more discerning even in the Romish Church now admit that the greater part of these accounts are mere fables, dressed up in a style of affected oratory. Nor is more credit due to those catalogues of saints called *Martyrologies*, which were either compiled by ignorant and incompetent men or have since been much falsified. Hence this part of ecclesiastical history enjoys very little light.

13. *Nero* was the first emperor who persecuted the Christians, and his cruelty was extreme. He accused those innocent people of a crime which he himself had committed; namely, that of setting fire to the city of Rome.[5] And to make the punishment correspond with the crime, he caused the streets of the city to be illuminated through the night by the burning bodies of many of them, whom he had sewed up alive in garments covered with pitch. Others were put to death in a different manner. This persecution began in the middle of November, A.D. 64. In it, the ancients tell us, *Paul* and *Peter* suffered death at Rome; but many cannot bring themselves to believe this, because of its repugnance to chronology.[6] This persecution terminated at

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1 This seems quite too philosophical an account of this matter. The early Christians did not thus coldly calculate distant consequences and effects, in order to determine what place in their affections and what rank in the church, they should give to their brethren and pastors who suffered and died for their religion. Nature, religion, and all the ties which united them to Christ, to the church, and to one another, combined to render these holy men and consistent Christians venerable and lovely in their eyes, and of course to procure them a rank and privileges in the church altogether peculiar. Whoever reads the most authentic accounts of the ancient martyrs, of Polycarp, for instance, will see abundant evidence of the operation of these causes; but nothing of that calculating policy of which Mosheim speaks.—*Mur.*

2 In his noted dissertation, *De Paucitate martyrum*, which is the eleventh among his *Dissert. Cyprianicæ.* [Gibbon eagerly seized on Dodwell's conclusions in this dissertation; and in the sixteenth chapter of his *Decline and Fall*, &c. he endeavours to extenuate the cruelties of the Roman authorities against the Christians, and to depreciate their sufferings in the cause of truth. See Milman's excellent notes on this chapter; and some judicious remarks in that most interesting work, Maitland's *Church in the Catacombs.* Lond. 1846, in the fourth chapter, entitled "The Martyrs of the Catacombs." This work contains numerous pictorial illustrations of the sepulchral remains of the primitive Christians in Rome, many of them now published for the first time; and I can vouch, from personal observation, for the extreme accuracy with which they are executed.—*R.*

3 See *Martyrium Polycarpi*, sec. 12; *Acta Fructuosi*, in Ruinart's *Acta Martyr.* p. 219; Cyprian, *Epist.* v. and xlv. p. 10 and 23 ed. Benedict. and many others; Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ. ante C. M.* p. 106. —*Mur.*

4 Such of them as are not wholly unworthy of credit were collected in a moderate sized folio, by Ruinart, *Acta primorum Martyrum sincera et Selecta.* Amster. 1713, folio.

5 See the two French dissertations of Alph. de Vignoles, on the cause and the commencement of Nero's persecution in Masson's *Histoire critique de la République des Lettres*, tome viii. pages 74—117, and tome ix. pages 172—186. See also Tolnard on Lactantius, *De Mortibus persecutorum*, p. 398.

6 Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*, tome I. p. 564, &c.; and Baratier, *De Successione Romanor. Pontif.* cap. v. p. 60. [All agree that both these apostles, Paul and

the death of Nero, who is well known to have been his own executioner, A.D. 68. For about *four years*, therefore, the Christians suffered every species of cruelty at his hands.

14. How *far* the persecution under *Nero* extended is not agreed among the learned. For while the greater number suppose it spread over the whole Roman *empire*, there are those who think it was confined to the *city* of Rome. The former opinion, which is the more ancient,[1] appears to us best supported. We do not hesitate to join with those who think that public laws were enacted against the whole body of Christians, and were sent abroad into the provinces To this opinion we are led, among other reasons, by the authority of *Tertullian*, who clearly intimates that *Nero*, as well as *Domitian*, enacted *laws* against the Christians, which laws Trajan in part repealed or annulled.[2] The noted Spanish or Portuguese *inscription*, in which *Nero* is commended for having purged the province of the *new superstition*, is suspected by the Spaniards themselves, and I place no reliance on it.[3] The Christians, moreover, were condemned, not so much for their religion as on the charge of having set fire to Rome.[4] But who can suppose that a religious sect which the emperor himself charged with such a crime, would be quietly tolerated by him beyond the limits of Rome?[5]

Peter, were put to death in the reign of Nero; but in respect to the year and the place, there is controversy. Many question whether *both* suffered at the same time. They believe, according to the testimony of Prudentius (*Peristephan. Hym.* xii. *De passione beat. Apost. Petri et Pauli*, ver. 5), that Peter suffered one year earlier than Paul, but on the same day. As to the day on which Paul suffered, some make it the 29th of June, and others the 23d of February. The *year* is by some determined to A.D. 64; so Von Henchen, *Acta Sanctor.* April, tom. i.; Papebroch, *Propylæum ad Acta Sanctor.* (May); Pagi, *Critica in Annal. Baron.* tom. i. pages 51, 52;—by others A.D. 65, and again by others A.D. 67; so Baumgarten;—and lastly by others A.D. 68; so, also, Pearson, *Annales Paulini*, p. 25, which is the most probable opinion. The *day* when both apostles suffered was probably the 22d of February. That Paul was beheaded during Nero's persecution, is supported by the testimony of Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. ii. cap. xxv., and of Lactantius, *De Mort. persecut.* cap. ii. p. 1375, ed. Bünemann. As to the *place*, an obscure writer, Valesius, in a book, *Quo Petrus Romam non venisse demonstratur*, 1660, 4to, p. 40, denies that either apostle suffered at Rome, and endeavours to prove that their martyrdom was at Jerusalem, which also Bale maintains in regard to Peter, *Centur. Scriptor. Britan.* p. 16. This opinion is confuted by various writers, who are mentioned in Walch's *Biblioth. theol. selecta*, tom. iii. p. 458. On this whole subject, consult Cave, *Life of Paul*, chap. vii. sec. 9, p. 424, of his *Antiq. Apostol.* Tillemont, *Mém. pour servir à l'histoire de l'église*, tom. i. part ii. n. 42, p. 768; and Fabricius, *Codex Apocryph. N. T.* par. i. p. 450. On the fabulous circumstances related of Paul's martyrdom, see Walch's *Hist. Eccles. N. T.* p. 277.—*Schl.* [On the chronology of Paul's life and labours, see Witsius, *Meletemata Leidensia*, 1703, 4to; Pearson, *Annales Paul.*; the Introductions to the N. T. by Eichhorn, Bertholt, Horne, &c. and other works referred to in Winer's *Biblisches Realw.* art. *Paul.*—*Mur.* [See also Burton's *Attempt to ascertain the Chronology of the Acts of the Apostles*, &c. Oxf. 1830; Gresswell's *Dissert. on a Harm. of the Gospels*, vol. i. diss. xiii. vol. ii. diss. 1; and the Supp. vol. Brown's *Ordo Sæclorum*, p 96, &c.; and the older Works by Lardner, Benson, Macknight, &c.—*R.*

1 The first who rejected the common opinion, so far as I know, was Baldwin [an eminent civilian of Paris, who died A.D. 1573], in his *Comment. ad edicta Imperator. in Christianos*, pag. 27, 28. After him, Launoi, in *Diss. qua Sulpitii Severi locus de prima martyrum Galliæ epocha vindicatur*, sec. i, pag. 139, 140, *Opera*, tom. ii. par. i. Still more learned, and on the same side, was Dodwell, diss. xi. in his *Dissert. Cyprian.* sec. 13, p. 59, whom many others have followed: among whom are Le Clerc, *Hist. Eccles. N. T.* Sæcul. i. p. 428; Lange, *Hist. Eccles.* p. 360; Gurtler, *Syst. theol. prophet.* p. 491; Baumgarten, *Auszug der Kirchengesch*, vol. i. p. 376, who supposes the persecution extended only so far as the power of the Prætorian Præfect; Semler, *Selec. Capita Hist. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 24. [Also Schmidt, *Handbuch der christl. Kirchengesch*, vol. i. p. 120; and Neander, *Algem. Gesch. d. christl. Rel. &c.* vol. i. part i. p. 137.—*Mur.* [The arguments for both opinions are stated in Walch, *Hist. Eccles.* p. 548, who thinks the question to be altogether doubtful. Jablonski was of the same sentiment, *Institut. Historiæ Christ. antiq.* p. 40 — *Schl.*

2 Tertullian, *Apologet.* cap. iv. p. 46, ed. Havercamp. [Considering Tertullian's fervid and rhetorical style, his vague assertions that Nero first "drew the sword" against the Christians, and that the vilest of the emperors enacted persecuting laws are now generally rejected as insufficient evidence, in the absence of well-attested *facts*, either that Nero enacted public laws against the Christians, or that his persecution of them in the city extended to the provinces. On this subject, and on the causes which implicated the Christians with the burning of Rome, see Milman's *Hist. of Christ.* chap. ii. pages 36—38, and note in p. 45.—*R.*

3 This inscription may be seen in Gruterus, *Inscriptiones*, vol. i. page 218, note 9. [It is this: Neroni, ob provinciam latronibus et his qui *novam* generi humano *superstitionem* inculcabant, purgatam.] But the best Spanish writers do not venture to defend the authority of this inscription, because it has not been seen by any one; and Cyriac of Ancona, who first produced it, is acknowledged by all to be unworthy of credit. I will subjoin the decision of that excellent and judicious historian of Spain, Ferreras, *Histoire générale d'Espagne*, tome i. p. 192: "I cannot refrain from remarking, that Cyriac of Ancona was the first who published the inscription and that from him all others had derived it. But as the credibility of this writer is suspected in the judgment of all the learned, and as not a vestige nor any recollection of this inscription remains in the places where it is said to have been found, and no one now knows where to find it; every one may form such opinion of it as he pleases." [Yet this spurious inscription found a zealous defender in the younger Walch, who published a Dissertation, entitled *Persecut. Christianorum Neron. in Hisp. ex antiquis monim. probanda, uberior explanatio.* Jena, 1753, 4to.—*R.*

4 SeeRuinart, *Præf. ad Acta Martyrum*, p. 31, &c.

5 Nearly all the facts relating to this persecution, except the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, we owe to Tacitus, the Roman historian, *Annal.* lib. xv. cap. xliv. After describing the conflagration, which utterly consumed *three* of the fourteen wards, and spread ruin in *seven* others, and likewise the efforts of Nero to soothe the indignant and miserable citizens, he says: "But no human aid, no munificence of the prince, nor expiations of the gods, removed from *him* the infamy of having ordered the conflagration. Therefore, to stop the clamour, Nero falsely accused and subjected to the most exquisite punishments, a people hated for their crimes called *Christians*. The founder of the sect, Christ, was executed in the reign of Tiberius, by the procurator Pontius Pilate. The pernicious superstition, repressed for a time, burst forth again, not

15. *Nero* being dead, the fury of this first war against the Christians ceased. But in the year 93 or 94,[1] a new assault was made upon them by *Domitian*, an emperor little inferior in crime to Nero.[2] The cause of the persecution, if we give credit to *Hegesippus*, was the fear of losing his empire; for the emperor had learned in some way that a person would arise from among the relatives of *Christ*, who would attempt a revolution and would produce commotion in the empire.[3] This persecution undoubtedly was severe, but it was of short continuance, as the emperor was soon after murdered.[4] The principal martyrs named are *Flavius Clemens*, a consul, and *Flavia Domitilla*,[5] his niece or wife. In the midst of this persecution *John*, the apostle, was banished to the isle of Patmos; but whether he was first cast into a caldron of boiling oil by order of the emperor, and came out alive and unhurt, though asserted by *Tertullian* and others, has appeared to many to be uncertain.[6]

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only through Judea, the birth-place of the evil, but at Rome also, where everything atrocious and base centres and is in repute. Those first seized confessed; then a vast multitude, detected by *their* means, were convicted, not so much of the crime of burning the city as of hatred to mankind. And insult was added to their torments; for, being clad in skins of wild beasts, they were torn to pieces by dogs, or affixed to crosses to be burned, were used as lights to dispel the darkness of night when the day way gone. Nero devoted his gardens to the show, and held Circensian games, mixing with the rabble, or mounting a chariot clad like a coachman. Hence, though the guilty and those meriting the severest punishment suffered, yet compassion was excited because they were destroyed, not for the public good, but to satisfy the cruelty of an individual." The *commencement* of this persecution is determined by the time of the conflagration, which Tacitus says (*Annal.* cap. xv. pages 33—41) began the 18th of July, A.D. 65 (or xiv. *Kalend. Sextiles*, C. Lecanio et M. Licinio Coss.), and lasted six days. Some time after, but in the *same year*, the persecution broke out; but *how long it continued* is uncertain. If Paul and Peter suffered in the very last year of Nero's reign, as the fathers state (Eusebius, *Chronicon;* and Jerome, *De Viris illustr.* cap. i. and v.), the persecution doubtless ceased only on Nero's death. But if they suffered earlier, then we have no proof of the continuance of the persecution so long.—*Mur.*

1 The precise year in which the persecution by Domitian began is not certain. Toinard has discussed the point in his notes on Lactantius, *De Mort. persecut.* cap. iii. That it *raged* in the year 95, is stated by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* cap. iii. p. 18, but how long before this it *commenced* is not clear. Pagi (*Crit. annal. Baron.* tom. i. pages 85—87) supposes it began A.D. 93. Toinard (*ubi supra*), A.D. 94, and Dodwell (*Diss. Cyprian.* cap. xi. p. 71), A.D. 95. Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ. ante C. M.* says A.D. 94 or 95.—*Mur.*

2 See Ruinart, *Præf. ad Acta Mart.* p. 32. [Ittig, *Selecta Hist. Eccles. capita*, sæcul. i. cap. vi. sec. 11, p. 531.—*Schl.*

3 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. cap. xix. xx.

4 The termination of this persecution is stated differently by the ancients. Some say that Domitian himself put an end to it before his death. Hegesippus (in Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* lib. iii. cap. xx.) states that Domitian, having learned that there were Christians of the lineage of David and kinsmen of Christ, still living in Palestine, had them brought to Rome, and interrogated them closely respecting their pedigree, their wealth, and the future kingdom of Christ. And from their answers and their whole appearance, he concluded he had nothing to fear from them, and dismissed them; and thereupon he published a decree terminating the persecution. So likewise Tertullian (*Apologet.* cap. v. p. 60) says of Domitian, "He *receded* from his attempt and *re-called* those he had banished." But Lactantius (*De Mort. persecut.* cap. iii.) represents his acts and edicts as repealed *after his death*, when it was that the Church recovered its former state. And Xiphilin, on Nerva (*Dion Cassius*, lib. lxviii. cap. i. abridged by Xiphilin), says that "Nerva re-called those banished for impiety," *i.e.* the Christians. Perhaps Domitian published an edict favourable to the Christians a little before his death, the benefits of which they began to enjoy first after his decease.—*Schl.*

5 See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. cap. xviii. and *Chronicon*, ann. 95. Some have supposed that the wife and niece of Clemens *both* had the same name, and that the first was banished to the island of *Pandataria* near Italy, and the second to another island called *Pontia*. See Tillemont, *Mém. pour servir à l'histoire de l'église*, tom. ii. p. 124, &c. and Fleury, *Histoire*, &c. livr. ii. sec. 52.—*Schl.* [See Burton's *Lect. on the Ecc. Hist. of the first three centuries*, vol. i. pages 367-8, for an account of this interesting case of martyrdom. He observes that Domitian had destined the sons of this Clemens and Domitilla to succeed him in the empire; and therefore if the tyrant had been cut off before they suffered, "a Christian prince might have been seated upon the throne of the Cæsars at the end of the first century."—*R.*

6 See the amicable discussion between the Rev. Mr. Heumann and myself, in my *Syntagma Diss. ad historiam eccles. pertinentium*, tom. i. pages 497—546. [The whole controversy seems to rest on a passage in Tertullian, *De Præscript adv. hæret.* cap. xxxvi. as the only original authority for the story, which is in itself improbable. All the more discerning, of late, either doubt or deny the truth of the story.—*Mur.* [See Jortin's *Remarks on Ecc. Hist.* vol. i. pages 290—1. —*R.*

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LEARNING AND PHILOSOPHY.

1. IF it were known what opinions were advanced and maintained by the men of most intelligence among the oriental nations at the time when the Christian religion began to enlighten mankind, many things in the early history of the Church might be more fully and more accurately explained. But only a few fragments of oriental philosophy, as all know, have come down to us; and those which have reached us still need the labours of a learned man to collect them all, arrange them properly, and expound them wisely.[1]

2. The prevailing system in Persia was that of the Magi, who, as is well known, placed two principles or deities over the universe—the one good, the other evil. The followers of this system, however, were not agreed in respect to the precise nature of these principles.[2] Yet this doctrine spread over no small portion of Asia and Africa, particularly among the Chaldeans, Assyrians, Syrians, and Egyptians, though under different modifications; nor did it leave the Jews untinctured with its principles.[3] The Arabians of that and the subsequent age were more remarkable for strength and courage than for intellectual culture; for they attained to no celebrity for learning before the times of *Mohammed*. This their own writers do not deny.[4]

3. The Indians, from the earliest times, were much famed for their love of profound knowledge. Of their philosophical tenets we could perhaps form an opinion, at the present day, if their very ancient sacred book which they denominate *Veda* or *the law* were brought to light, and translated into some language better known. The accounts given by travellers among the Indians concerning this book are so contradictory and fluctuating that we must wait for further information.[5] The Egyptians

1 There is extant an English work of Thomas Stanley, on *The History of Oriental Philosophy*, which Le Clerc translated into Latin. But that learned man has left the field of oriental philosophy not to be gleaned only, but to be reaped by others. He is much inferior both in genius and erudition to Brucker, whose *Hist. Crit. Philos.* should by all means be consulted.

2 See Hyde, *Historia religionis veterum Persarum*. Oxon. 1700, 4to, a very learned work, but ill-digested and full of improbable conjectures. [For more recent information, see a work by Dr. Tholuck of Halle, entitled, *Sufismus sive theosophia Persarum pantheistica*, &c. Berl. 1821, 8vo; also, Milman's *Hist. of Christ.* vol. i. p. 65, &c. with the references in the notes. Matter, in his valuable *Histoire critique du Gnosticisme*, &c. 2d edit. 1843, throws additional light on the religious and philosophical views of the principal Persian and Indian sects, and on their influence primarily on Judaism and afterwards on the corrupters of Christianity. See vol. i. pages 105—130.—*R.*

3 See Wolf, *Manichæismus ante Manichæos*. Hamb. 1707, 8vo; Mosheim, *Notes on Cudworth's Intell. Syst.* pages 328—423, &c. [See also Burton's *Bampton Lectures*, pages 45, &c.—*R.*

4 See Abulpharajus, *De Moribus Arabum*, p. 6, published by Pocock.

5 I have recently learned that this most desirable book has been obtained by some French Jesuits residing in India; and that it has been or will be deposited in the King of France's library. See *Lettre du P. Calmette à M. de Cartigny*, in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses des Miss. Etrangères*, tom. xxi. Recueil, p. 455, &c. and tom. xxiii. Rec. p. 161. [The Hindoo literature and theology were little known when Mosheim wrote. Since that time, and especially since the establishment of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, by Sir William Jones in 1793, this field of knowledge has been explored with equal industry and success. See the *Asiatic Researches*, 13 vols. 4to; Sir William Jones's works, 6 vols. 4to; Rev. William Ward's *View of the Hist. &c. of the Hindoos*, 3 vols. 8vo; and numerous other works. But it is not true that the *Vedas* have been brought to Europe, as Mosheim had been informed. On the contrary, Mr. Holbrooke, in the 8th vol. of the *Asiatic Res.* describes them as not worth translating. He says: "They are too voluminous for a complete translation of the whole; and what they contain would hardly reward the labour of the reader, much less that of the translator." The *Vedas* are *four* in number, called Rig Veda, Yajush Veda, Saman Veda, and Atharvan Veda. The *first* consists of five sections, in 10,000 verses; the *second* is divided into eighty sections, in 9,000 verses; the *third* consists of one hundred sections and 3,000 verses; the *fourth* of nine sections, with subdivisions, and 6,000 verses. Besides the four Vedas, the Hindoos have fourteen other sacred books, of later date and inferior authority; viz. four Upavedas, six Angas, and four Upangas. All these were supposed to be the productions of divine persons, and to contain all true knowledge, secular as well as sacred. The commentaries on these books, the compilations from them, and digests of their principles, are almost innumerable, and constitute the whole encyclopædia of the Hindoos. Several of these have been translated into European languages; namely, *L'Ezour-Vedam*, or *ancien commentaire du Vedam*, &c. à Yverdon, 1778, 2 vols. 12mo. The *Bhaguat-Geeta*, or *Dialogues of Kreeshna and Arjoon*, in eighteen Lectures, with notes by Wilkins. London, 1785, 4to; *Bagavadam, ou doctrine divine, ouvrage Indien canonique sur l'Etre suprême, les dieux, les géans, les hommes, les diverses parties de l'univers* (by Foucher d'Obsonville), à Paris, 1788, 8vo. *Oupnekhat*, h. e. Decretum legendum, *opus ipsa in India rarissimum, continens antiquam et arcanam, seu theolog. et philosoph. doctrinam, e quatuor sacris Indorum libris excerptam—e Persico idiomate in Latinum versum—studio et opera* Anquetil du Perron, 1801-2, 2 vols. 4to. *Institutes of Hindoo Law, or the ordinances of Menu*, translated by Sir William Jones. Lond. 1796, 8vo. The last is supposed to follow next after the Vedas in age. Sir Wm. Jones thinks it was, most probably, compiled about 880 years before Christ, and the Vedas about 300 years earlier. The other sacred books of the Hindoos are much later, yet all are now ancient. From the similarity of views between the Hindoo philosophers and those of Greece, it has been thought that they must have had some intercourse, or that one borrowed from the other. The ideas of the fathers in the Christian Church, and of some moderns, would make the Greeks indebted to the Orientals; but Meiners (*Historia doctrinæ de uno Deo*) and others would reverse the stream of philosophic knowledge, by supposing it followed the march of Alexander's army from Greece to India. It is to be hoped this subject will receive more light from

were unquestionably divided into various sects, disagreeing in opinion;[1] so that it is a vain attempt of some to reduce the philosophy of this people to one system.

4. But of all the different systems of philosophy which were received in Asia and in a part of Africa in the age of our Saviour, none was so detrimental to the Christian Church as that which was styled γνῶσις, or *science;* i.e. the *way to the knowledge of the true God,* and which we have above called the *oriental* philosophy, in order to distinguish it from the *Grecian.* For, from this school issued the leaders and founders of those sects which, during the three first centuries, disturbed and troubled the Christian Church. They endeavoured to accommodate the simple and pure doctrines of Christianity to the tenets of their philosophy; and in doing so they produced various fantastic and strange notions, and obtruded upon their followers systems of doctrine, partly ludicrous, and partly intricate and obscure, in a very high degree. The ancient Greek and Latin fathers, who contended against these sects, supposed indeed that their sentiments were derived from *Plato;* but those good men, being acquainted with no philosophy but the Grecian and ignorant of everything oriental, were deceived by the resemblance between some of the doctrines of *Plato* and those embraced by these sects. Whoever compares the Platonic philosophy carefully with the Gnostic, will readily see that they are widely different.[2]

5. The first principles of this philosophy seem to have been the dictates of mere reason. For the author of it undoubtedly thus reasoned: There is much evil in the world, and men are hurried on, as by the instinct of nature, to what reason condemns. Yet that Eternal Mind from whom all other spirits emanated, is doubtless perfectly free from evil, or is infinitely good and beneficent. Hence the source of the evils with which the world abounds, must be something *external* to the Deity. But there is nothing external to him, except what is material; and therefore *matter* is to be regarded as the source and origin of all evil and vice. From these principles the conclusion was that matter existed eternally, and independently of God; and that it received its present form, not from the will or fiat of God, but from the operation of some being of a nature inferior to God: in other words, that the world and the human race came from the creating hand, not of the supreme Deity, but of one of inferior capacity and perfections. For who can believe that the supreme God, who is infinitely removed from all evil, would fashion *matter* which is in its nature evil and corrupt, and would impart to it any portion of his rich gifts? But, attempting to go farther and to explain *how,* or by what accident or contrivance, that rude and malignant substance called matter became so skilfully arranged and organized, and especially how souls of celestial origin became joined with bodies composed of it, both reason and common sense forsook them. They therefore resorted to their imaginative faculty and to mere fables, in order to explain the origin of the world and of mankind.

6. But as those who undertake to explain what is obscure and difficult of solution by means of mere conjecture, can very seldom agree; so those who attempted to solve this difficulty split into various sects. Some conceived there must be *two eternal first principles,* the one presiding over *light,* the other over *matter;* and by the contests between these principles they accounted for the mixture of good and evil in our world. Others assigned to matter, not an *eternal lord* but an *architect* merely; and they supposed that some one of those immortal

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the investigations which are going forward with such success in the present age.—*Mur.* [The result of recent inquiries into the nature of the Indian philosophy may be seen in Ritter's *Geschichte d. Philos. alter Zeit.* translated by Morrison, vol. iv. p. 330, &c.—*R.*

1 See Mosheim's *Notes on Cudworth's Intellectual System,* tom. i. p. 415. [It ought to have been stated in a previous note, where this work was first referred to, that all these valuable notes and dissertations in the Latin translation of Cudworth, published in Germany by Mosheim in 1733, have been recently translated into English by Mr. Harrison, in his edition of Cudworth, published in London in 1845, in three volumes.—*R.*

2 Mosheim, in this and the four following sections, describes an *oriental philosophy,* the supposed parent of the Gnostic system, as if its existence was universally admitted, and its character well understood. Yet the system here described is of his own formation, being such a system as must have existed, according to his judgment, in order to account for the Gnosticism of early ages. In his *Comment. de Rebus Christ,* &c. pag. 19—21, and in his *Hist. de Causis supposititorum librorum inter Christianos sæculi primi et secundi,* secs. 3—6, (in his *Dissert. ad Hist. Eccles pertinentes,* tom. i. pag. 223—232), he confesses that he has little evidence, except the *necessity* of the supposition, for the existence of this philosophy. He also admits that the fathers knew nothing of it; and he might have added that they testify that *Gnosticism* had no existence till the days of Adrian, in the *second* century. That Gnosticism as such had no existence in the *first* century, and that it is in vain sought for in the New Testament, appears to be satisfactorily proved by Tittmann, *Tractatus de vestigiis Gnosticorum in N. T. frustra quæsitis.* Lips. 1773. That notwithstanding many points of resemblance can be traced, it is materially different from any system of either Grecian or oriental philosophy, it is the object of Lewald to show, *Comment. ad historiam, &c. de doctrina Gnostica.* Heidelb. 1818. For very ingenious and profound speculations on the subject generally, see Neander, *Allgem. Gesch. der christl. Religion und Kirche,* vol. i. part ii. pages 627—670.—*Mur.*

beings whom God produced from himself, was induced by some unforeseen event to attempt the reduction of matter, which lay remote from the residence of God, into some kind of order, and also to fabricate men. Others again imagined a sort of *Triumvirate;* for they distinguished the supreme Deity from the prince of matter and the author of all evil on the one hand, and from the architect of the world on the other. When these three systems came to be dilated and explained, new controversies unavoidably arose, and numerous divisions followed, as might be expected from the nature of the case, and as the history of those Christian sects which followed this philosophy expressly declares.

7. Yet, as all these sects set out upon one and the same first principle, their disagreement did not prevent their holding in common certain doctrines and opinions respecting God, the world, mankind, and some other points. They all therefore maintained the existence from eternity of a Being full of goodness, wisdom, and other virtues, of whom no mortal can form an adequate idea —a Being who is the purest *light,* and is diffused through that boundless *space* to which they gave the Greek appellation of *Pleroma;* that this eternal and most perfect Being, after existing alone and in absolute repose during an infinite period, produced out of himself two sprits of different sexes, and both perfect resemblances of their parent; that from the marriage of these two spirits, others of a similar nature originated; that successive generations ensued; and thus, in process of time, a *celestial family* was formed in the *Pleroma.* This divine progeny being immortal and unchangeable in their nature, these philosophers were disposed to call Αἰῶνες, *Æons,* a term which signifies *eternal* and beyond the influence of time and its vicissitudes.[1] But how numerous these *Æons* were was a subject of controversy among them.

8. Beyond the region of light, where God and his family dwell, exists a rude and unformed mass of matter, heaving itself continually in wild commotion. This mass, one of the celestial family, at a certain time either accidentally wandering beyond the *Pleroma* or sent out by the Deity, undertook to reduce to order, to decorate with various gifts, and to people with human beings and animals of different species, and finally to endow and enrich with a portion of the celestial light or substance. This builder of the world, who was distinct from the supreme God, they called the *Demiurge.* He is a being who, though possessed of many shining qualities, is arrogant in his very nature and much inclined to domination. He therefore claims absolute authority over the new world he has built, as being his sovereign right, to the exclusion altogether of the supreme God; and he requires of mankind to pay divine honours exclusively to him and to his associates.

9. Man is composed of a terrestrial, and therefore a vicious body, and of a celestial soul, which is in some sense a particle of the Deity himself. This nobler part, the soul, is miserably oppressed by the body, which is the seat of his base lusts; for it is not only drawn away by it from the knowledge and worship of the true God, to give homage and reverence to the Demiurge and his associates, but it is likewise filled and polluted with the love of terrestrial objects and sensual pleasures. From this wretched bondage, God labours to rescue his daughters in various ways, and especially by the messengers whom he often sends to them. But the Demiurge and his associates, eager to retain their power, resist, in all possible ways, the divine purpose of recalling souls back to himself, and, with great pains, labour to obscure all knowledge of the supreme Deity. In this state of conflict, such souls as renounce the framers and rulers of the world, and aspire after God their parent, and suppress the emotions excited by depraved matter, will, when freed from the body, ascend immediately to the *Pleroma;* while those which continue in the bondage of superstition and of corrupt matter, must pass into other bodies till they awake from this lethargy. Yet God will ultimately prevail, and having restored to liberty most of the souls now imprisoned in bodies, will dissolve the fabric of the world; and

1 The word *αἰὼν* properly signifies an *infinite,* or at least indefinite, *duration,* and is opposed to a finite or a temporary duration. But by metonymy, it was used to designate immutable *beings* who exist for ever It was so used even by the Greek philosophers about the commencement of the Christian era, as appears from a passage in Arrian, *Diss Epictet.* lib. ii. sec 5, where *αἰὼν* is opposed to *ἄνθρωπος,* or to a frail, changeable being. *Οὐ γὰρ εἰμὶ αἰὼν ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπος μέρος τῶν πάντων, ὡς ὥρα ἡμέρας· ἐνστῆναι με δεῖ ὡς ὥραν, καὶ παρελθεῖν ὡς ὥραν.* "I am not an *Æon* (an eternal and unchangeable being), but a *man,* and a part of the universe, as an hour is a part of the day: like an hour I must exist, and then pass away." It was therefore not a novel application of the term *αἰὼν* by the Gnostics, to use it as the designation of a celestial and immortal *being* And even the fathers of the ancient church apply the term to *angels,* both good and bad. That *all* who were addicted to the oriental philosophy, whether Greeks or not, used the term in this sense, appears from a passage in Manes, the Persian, who, as Augustine testifies, called the celestial beings *αἰῶνες,* or, as Augustine translates it, *sæcula.* Some have supposed it so used even in the New Test. *e.g.* Ephes. ii. 2, and Heb. i. 2 —Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ. ante C.M.* p. 30.—*Mur.*

then the primitive tranquillity will return, and God will reign with the happy spirits in undisturbed felicity to all eternity.[1]

10. The state of learning, and especially of philosophy among the Jews, is manifest from what has already been said respecting the condition of that nation. It appears from the books of the New Testament, that the recondite science which they called *Cabala*, was then taught and inculcated by not a few among them. This science was, in many respects, very similar to that philosophy which we have called *oriental;* or rather, it is this philosophy itself, accommodated to the Jewish religion and tempered with some mixture of truth.[2] Nor were the Jews, at that time, wholly ignorant of the doctrines of the Greeks; for some of these doctrines had, from the days of *Alexander* the Great, been incorporated into their own religion. Of the opinions which they had adopted from the Chaldeans, the Egyptians, and the Syrians, I shall say nothing.[3]

11. The Greeks are regarded by most writers as continuing to hold the first rank in learning and philosophy. There were among them at that time, especially at Athens, acute and eloquent men, who taught the precepts of philosophy, as held by the ancient sects founded by Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, and Epicurus, and who also instructed youth in the principles of eloquence and in the liberal arts. Hence, those who were eager for learning resorted to Greece from all quarters. And at Alexandria in Egypt, Grecian philosophers and rhetoricians were no less numerous; so that thither also, there was a general resort of scholars, as to a literary market.

12. Among the Romans in this age every branch of learning and science was cultivated. The children of good families were from their earliest years instructed especially in Grecian learning and eloquence; they next applied themselves to philosophy and the civil law, and at last repaired to Greece to complete their education.[4] Among the sects of philosophers, none were more acceptable to the Romans than the Epicureans and Academics, whom the leading men followed in great numbers in order to indulge themselves in a life of pleasure without fear or remorse. While *Augustus* reigned, the cultivation of the fine arts was held in high honour. But after his death, the succeeding emperors being more intent on the arts of war than those of peace, these studies gradually sank into neglect.

13. The other nations, as the Germans, Celts, and Britons, were certainly not destitute of men distinguished for their genius and acumen. In Gaul, the inhabitants of Marseilles had long been much famed for their attention to learning,[5] and they had, doubtless, diffused knowledge among the neighbouring tribes. Among the Celts, the *Druids*, who were priests, philosophers, and legislators, were renowned for their wisdom, but the accounts of them now extant are not sufficient to acquaint us with the nature of their philosophy.[6] The Romans moreover introduced literature and philosophy into all the countries which they brought under their subjection, for the purpose of softening their savage tempers and promoting their civilization.[7]

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1 The reader will find some excellent observations on these Eastern systems of theosophy, on the supposed malignity of Matter, on the connexion of this central dogma of orientalism with asceticism and celibacy, and on its subsequent combination with the Christian system, in Milman's *Hist. of Christ.* ii. 82, &c. Nearly the same view is given by Isaac Taylor in his *Ancient Christianity*, vol. i. p 147, &c, and p. 177, &c.—*R.*

2 Ritter (*Hist. of Philos.* vol. iv. p. 402) says, "As to the Cabala of the Jews, recent investigations fully justify us in asserting that it belongs to a much later date." Tholuck is also of opinion that the Caballstical works now in existence are, comparatively speaking, of recent date. In Europe the earliest vestiges of the Cabbala date in the twelfth century, but in Asia they go back to the eighth. See his *Comment. de vi Græc. Philos in Theolog. Muham et Judæor.* Part ii. *De Ortu Cabalæ.* Hamb. 1837. On the other hand, Matter traces it up to a period antecedent to Christianity. See his *Hist. du Gnost.* i. 135.—*R.*

3 See Buddeus, *Introductio in historiam philos. Hebræorum;* and the writers named by Wolfius, *Bibliotheca Hebraica*, tom. iii. [but, especially Brucker's *Hist. Crit. Philos* tom. ii. period ii. par. i. lib. ii. cap i. p. 652.—*Schl.* [See also Matter, *Hist. du Gnost.* vol. i pages 76—105 and 164—186, for a view of the dogmas which the Jews had borrowed from the Egyptians and Syrians.—*R.*

4 See Gaudentius, *Liber de Philosophiæ apud Romanos initia et progressu*, in the 5th vol. of the *Nova Variorum Scriptorum Collectio*, Halle, 1747, 8vo, 2nd edition.

5 See the *Histoire littéraire de la France, par les Religieux Bénédictins*, Diss. prelim. p. 42, &c.

6 Martini's *Religion des Gaulois*, liv. i. chap. xxi. p. 175, and various others who have written concerning the Druids. [This work of Martin is said to be far inferior to the following, viz *Histoire des Celtes et particulièrement des Gaulois et des Germains, par Sim. Pelloutier, augmentée par M. de Chiniac.* Paris, 1771, 8 vols. 12mo, and 2 vols 4to.; also, Fréret, *Obs. sur la nature et les dogmes de la relig. Gauloise*, in the *Histoire de l' Acad. des Inscrip.* tome xviii.; and his *Obs. sur la relig. des Gaulois*, &c. in the *Mémoires de Littérature, tirés des régistres de l' Acad. des Inscript.* tome xxiv. Paris, 1756; also the introductory part of *Alsatia Illustrata*, by M. Schoepflin, tom. i sec. 96 Colmar, 1751, fol.—*Mur.* [The works here referred to have been superseded by those of more recent inquirers. Among these modern works perhaps the fullest and most valuable is, Thierry, *Histoire des Gaulois depuis les temps les plus reculés, jusqu' à l'entière soumission de la Gaule à la domination romaine;* 2nd edition, 1835, 3 vols. 8vo. The Ethnography of the Celts is admirably traced by Dr Pritchard, in the 3rd vol. of his *Researches into the physical history of mankind* London 1841.—*R.*

7 Juvenal, *Satyra* xv. 110—113.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS, AND OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

1. As it was the design of our Saviour to gather a church from among all nations, and one which should continue through all ages, the nature of the case required him first to appoint *extraordinary teachers* who should be his *ambassadors* to mankind, and everywhere collect societies of Christians, and then that he should cause to be placed in these societies *ordinary teachers* and interpreters of his will, who should repeat and enforce the doctrines taught by the extraordinary teachers, and keep the people steadfast in their faith and practice; for any religion will gradually be corrupted and become extinct, unless there are persons continually at hand to explain and inculcate it.

2. The *extraordinary teachers* whom *Christ* employed in setting up his kingdom, were those intimate friends of his whom the Scriptures denominate *apostles*, and those *seventy disciples* of whom mention was made above. To these, I apprehend, must be added those who are called *evangelists*, that is, as I suppose, those who were either sent forth to instruct the people by the apostles, or who, of their own accord, forsaking other employments, assumed the office of promulgating the truths which *Christ* taught.[1] And to these we must further add those to whom, in the infancy of the church, God imparted ability to speak in foreign languages which they had never learned; for he on whom the divine goodness conferred the *gift of tongues*, ought in my judgment to infer from this gift, that God designed to employ *his* ministry in propagating the Christian religion.[2]

3. Many have undertaken to write the history of the *apostles*, a history full of fables, doubts, and difficulties, if we pursue it farther than the books of the New Testament and the most ancient ecclesiastical writers can guide us.[3] An apostle was a man who was *divinely instructed*, and who was invested with the power of *making laws*, of *punishing the guilty and wicked* when there was occasion, and of *working miracles* when they were necessary, and who was *sent by Christ himself* to make known to mankind the divine pleasure and the way of salvation, to separate those who obeyed the divine commands from all others, and to unite them in the bonds of a religious society.[4]

4. Our knowledge of the *seventy disciples* of Christ is still more imperfect than that of the apostles, for they are but once mentioned in the New Testament. Luke x. 1. Catalogues of them indeed are extant, but these being fabricated by the Greeks have little or no authority or credibility. Their mission was, as appears from the words used by *Luke*, solely to the Jewish nation. Yet it is very probable that, after the Saviour's ascension to heaven, they performed the duties of *evangelists*, and taught in various countries the way of salvation which they had learned from *Christ*.[5]

5. As to the external *form* of the church and the mode of governing it, neither *Christ* himself nor his apostles gave any express precepts. We are therefore to understand, that this matter is left chiefly to be regulated by circumstances, and by the discretion of civil and ecclesiastical rulers.[6] If, however, what no Christian can

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1 Ephes. iv. 11. See Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.* lib iii. c. xxxvii.

2 1 Cor. xiv. 22, &c.

3 Writers of the lives of the apostles are enumerated by Sagittarius, *Introductio ad historiam eccles.* cap. i. p. 2; and by Buddeus, *De Ecclesia Apostolica*, p. 673, &c. [The English reader may consult Cave's *Lives of the Apostles and Fathers of the first three centuries*, fol. Lond. 1677, a diffuse and uncritical compilation; and Lardner's *History of the Apostles and Evangelists*, in vols. v. and vi. of his Works, Lond. 1838, marked with all the care and accuracy of that distinguished writer.—*R.*

4 See Spanheim, *De Apostolis et Apostolatu*, tom. ii. *Opp.* p. 289, &c. In ascribing *legislative powers* to the apostles I have proceeded considerately, and, as I think, on good grounds. I am aware that eminent men at this day deny them this power, but perhaps they differ from me more in words than in reality. [Mosheim founded his opinion on Matt. x. 20; John xiii. 20; Luke x. 16; 1 Tim. iii. 1; 1 Cor. xi. 1—4, 34; and Titus i. 5. See his *Instit. hist. Christ. majores*, p. 158, &c.—*Schl.*

5 Catalogues of the seventy disciples are extant, subjoined to the *Libri* iii. *de Vita et Morte Mosis*, elucidated by Gaulmin, and again published by Fabricius, *Append. ad Hippol. Op.* tom. i. p. 41. [See an account of these catalogues in note 4, p. 18, above.—*Mur.*

6 Those who imagine that *Christ* himself, or the *apostles* by his direction and authority, appointed a certain fixed *form of church government*, are not agreed what that form was. The *principal opinions* which have been adopted upon this head may be reduced to the *four* following. The *first* is that of the *Roman Catholics*, who maintain that Christ's intention and appointment was, that his followers should be collected into *one sacred empire, subjected to the government of St. Peter and his successors*, and divided, like the kingdoms of this world, into several provinces; that, in consequence thereof, *Peter* fixed the seat of ecclesiastical dominion at *Rome*, but afterwards, to alleviate the burthen of his office, divided the church into three greater provinces, according to the division of the world at that time, and appointed a person to preside in each who was dignified with the title of *patriarch*; that the European patriarch resided at *Rome*, the Asiatic at *Antioch*, and the African at *Alexandria*; that the *bishops* of each province, among whom there were various ranks, were to reverence the authority of their respective patriarchs; and that both bishops and patriarchs were to be passively subject to the supreme dominion of the *Roman Pontiff*. See Leo Allatius, *De perpetua Consensu eccles. Orient et Occident.* lib i. cap ii.; and Morin, *Exercitat. ecclesiast.* lib. i. exer. i. This romantic account scarcely deserves a serious refutation. The *second* opinion concerning the government of the church, makes no mention of a *supreme head* or of *patriarchs* constituted by divine authority; but it sup-

doubt, the apostles of *Jesus Christ* acted by divine command and guidance, then that form of the primitive churches, which was derived from the church of Jerusalem erected and organized by the apostles themselves, must be accounted *divine;* yet it will not follow that this form of the church was to be perpetual and unalterable. In those primitive times, each Christian church was composed of the *people*, the *presiding officers*, and the *assistants or deacons.*[1] These *must be* the component parts of every society. The highest authority was in the *people*, or whole body of Christians; for even the apostles themselves inculcated by their example, that nothing of any moment was to be done or determined on, but with the knowledge and consent of the brotherhood. Acts i. 15; vi. 3; xv. 4; xxi. 22. And this mode of proceeding, both prudence and necessity required in those early times.

6. The assembled people therefore elected their own rulers and teachers, or received without constraint those recommended to them. They also by their suffrages rejected or confirmed the laws which were proposed by their rulers in their assemblies—they excluded profligate and lapsed brethren and restored them—they decided the controversies and disputes which arose—they heard and determined the causes of presbyters and deacons;—in a word, the people did everything which belongs to those in whom the *supreme power* of the community is vested. All these rights the people paid for, by supplying the funds necessary for the support of the teachers, the deacons, and the poor, the public exigencies and unforeseen emergencies. These funds consisted of voluntary contributions in every species of goods, made by individuals according to their ability, at their public meetings, and usually called *oblations.*

7. Among all members of the church, of whatever class or condition, there was the most perfect equality, which they manifested by their love-feasts, by their use of the appellatives *brethren* and *sisters*, and in other ways. Nor in this first century was there any distinction between the initiated and the candidates for initiation, for whoever professed to regard *Jesus Christ* as the Saviour of the world, and to depend on him alone for salvation, was immediately baptized and admitted into the church; but in process of time, as the churches became enlarged, it was deemed advisable and necessary to distribute the people into two classes, the *faithful* and the *catechumens.* The former were those who had been solemnly admitted into the church by baptism, and who might be present at all the parts of religious worship, and enjoy the right of voting in the meetings of the church. The latter, not having yet received baptism, were not admitted to the common prayers, nor to the sacred supper, nor to the meetings of the church.

8. The rulers of the church were denominated sometimes *presbyters* or *elders*, a designation borrowed from the Jews, and indicative rather of the wisdom than the age of the persons, and sometimes, also, *bishops;* for it is manifest that *both terms* are promiscuously used in the New Testament for one and the same class of persons. Acts xx. 17—28; Phil. i. 1; Tit. i. 5—7; 1 Tim. iii. 1. These were men of gravity, and distinguished for their reputation, in-

poses that the apostles divided the Roman empire into as many *ecclesiastical provinces* as there were secular or civil ones; that the *metropolitan bishop, i. e.* the prelate who resided in the capital city of each province, presided over the clergy of that province; and that the *other bishops* were subject to *his* authority. This opinion has been adopted by some of the most learned of the Romish church (Petrus de Marca, *De Concord sacerd. et imperii*, lib. vi. cap. i; Morin, *Exerc. eccles.* lib. i. exerc. xviii.; and Pagi, *Critica in Annal. Baronii*, ad ann 37, tom. i. p. 29), and has also been favoured by some of the most eminent British divines (Hammond, *Diss. de Episcop.;* Beveridge, *Cod. Canon vet. eccles. vindic.* lib. ii. cap. v. tom. ii. *Patr. Apostol.;* and Ussher, *De Origine episcop. et metropol.* p. 20.) Some Protestant writers of note have endeavoured to prove that it is not supported by sufficient evidence (Basnage, *Hist. de l' Eglise*, tome i. livr. i. chap. viii.; Bœhmer, *Annot. ad Petrum de Marca de Concordia sacerd. et imperii*, p. 143.) The *third* opinion is that of those who acknowledge that when the Christians began to multiply exceedingly, metropolitans, patriarchs, and archbishops were indeed created, but only by *human* appointment and authority; though they confess, at the same time, that it is *consonant to the orders and intentions of Christ* and his apostles, that there should be in every Christian church one person invested with the highest authority, and clothed with certain rights and privileges above the other doctors of that assembly. This opinion has been embraced by many English divines of the first rank in the learned world, and also by many in other countries and communions. The *fourth* and last opinion is that of the *Presbyterians*, who affirm that *Christ's* intention was, that the Christian doctors and ministers should all enjoy the same rank and authority, without any sort of preeminence or subordination, or any distinction of rights and privileges. The reader will find an ample account of these *four* different opinions with respect to church government in Mosheim's larger history of the first century.—*Mael.* [On the question whether a fixed form of government binding on all churches was instituted by Christ and his apostles, see, on the negative side, Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, books i. ii. iii. and Stillingfleet's *Irenicum*, Lond. 1662, p. 170, &c.; and for the affirmative, Rutherford's *Divine Right of Church Government*, &c. Lond. 1646; and the *Jus divinum regiminis ecclesiastici* of the London ministers. Lond. 1647.—*R.*

[1] Eusebius (*Demonstratio Evang.* lib. vii. cap. ii.) omits the *deacons*, unless he includes them among the rulers, for he divides a church into ἡγουμένους, πιστοὺς, and κατηχουμένους, *the rulers, the faithful*, and *catechumens.*—*Schl.*

[2] On this subject see the authorities quoted and the extracts given by Gieseler, *Lehrbuch*, &c. Davids. trans. vol. i. p. 88, note 1.—*R.*

fluence, and sanctity. 1 Tim. iii. 1, &c.; Tit. i. 5, &c. From the words of St. Paul (1 Tim. v. 17), it has been inferred that some elders *instructed* the people, while others served the church in other ways. But this distinction between *teaching* and *ruling elders*, if it ever existed (which I will neither affirm nor deny), was certainly not of long continuance; for St. Paul makes it a qualification requisite in *all* presbyters or bishops, that they be *able to teach* and instruct others. 1 Tim. iii. 2, &c.[1]

9. As few among the first professors of Christianity were learned men, and competent to instruct the rude and uninformed on religious subjects, it became necessary that God should raise up in various churches extraordinary teachers, who could discourse to the people on religious subjects in their public assemblies, and address them in the name of God. Such were the persons who in the New Testament are called *prophets*. Rom. xii. 6; 1 Cor. xii. 28; xiv. 3—39; Ephes. iv. 11. The functions of these men are limited too much by those who make it to have been their sole business to expound the Old Testament Scriptures, and especially the prophetic books.[2] Whoever professed to be such a herald of God, was allowed publicly to address the people; but there were present among the hearers divinely constituted judges, who could not fail, by infallible criteria, to discriminate between true and false prophets. The order of prophets ceased when the necessity for them was past.

10. That the church had its public servants or *deacons*, from its first foundation, there can be no doubt, since no association can exist without its servants; and least of all such associations as the first Christian churches. Those *young men* who carried out the corpses of *Ananias* and his wife, were undoubtedly the *deacons* of the church at Jerusalem, who were attending on the apostles and executing their commands. Acts v. 6—10.[3] These first deacons of that church were chosen from among the Jewish Christians born in Palestine; and as they appeared to act with partiality in the distribution of alms among the native and foreign Jewish Christians, seven other deacons were chosen by order of the apostles, out of that part of the church at Jerusalem which was composed of strangers or Jews of foreign birth. Acts vi. 1, &c. *Six* of these new deacons were foreign Jews as appears from their names; the other *one* was from among the *proselytes;* for there was a number of proselytes among the first Christians of Jerusalem, and it was suitable that *they* should be attended to as well as the foreign Jews. The example of the church of Jerusalem being followed by all the other churches, in obedience to the injunctions of the apostles, *they* likewise appointed *deacons*. 1 Tim. iii. 8, 9. There were also in many churches, and especially in those of Asia, female public servants, or *deaconesses*, who were respectable matrons or widows, appointed to take care of the poor and to perform other offices.[4]

[1] See, concerning the word *presbyter*, Vitringa, *De Synagoga vetere*, lib. iii. par. i. cap. i. p. 609; and Carpzov, *Exercit. in epist. ad Hebræos, ex Philone*, p. 499. On the thing itself, or rather the *persons* designated by this title, see Buddeus, *Ecclesia Apostol.* cap. vi. p. 719, and Pfaff, *De Originibus juris eccles.* p. 49.

[2] See Mosheim, *Diss. de illis, qui prophetæ vocantur in N. T.* [in the 2nd vol. of his *Diss. ad Hist. Eccl. pertinentes*, p. 125, &c.; also, Witsius, *Miscell. Sacra*, tom. i.; Koppe, *Excurs.* iii. *in Epistolam ad Ephes.*; and Schleusner, *Lexicon in N. Test. art.* προφήτης, No. 10.—*Mur.*

[3] Those who may be surprised that I should consider the *young men* who interred the bodies of *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, to be the *deacons* of the church at Jerusalem, are desired to consider that the words νεώτεροι and νεανίσκοι *young men*, are not always indicative of age, but often, both among the Greeks and Latins, indicate a *function* or office; for the same change is made in these words as in the word *presbyter*, which, every one knows, is indicative, sometimes of age, and sometimes merely of office. As, therefore, the word *presbyter* often denotes the rulers or head men of a society or association, without any regard to their age, so also the terms *young men* and *the younger* not unfrequently denote the *servants*, or *those that stand in waiting;* because, ordinarily, men in the vigour of life perform this office. Nor is this use of the word foreign from the New Testament. The Saviour himself seems to use the word νεώτερος in this sense, Luke xxii. 26, ὁ μείζων ἐν ὑμῖν, γενέσθω ὡς ὁ νεώτερος. The word μείζων he himself explains by ἡγούμενος, so that it is equivalent to *ruler* or *presbyter;* and instead of νεώτερος he in the next clause uses ὁ διακονῶν, which places our interpretation beyond all controversy. So that μείζων and νεώτερος are not here indicative of certain ages, but of certain offices; and the precept of *Christ* amounts to this: "Let not him that performs the office of a presbyter or elder among you, think himself superior to the public servants or deacons."—Still more evident is the passage, 1 Peter v. 5, ὁμοίως νεώτεροι ὑποτάγητε πρεσβυτέροις. It is manifest from what goes before that *presbyter* here is indicative of rank or office, denoting *teacher* or *ruler* in the church; therefore, its counterpart νεώτερος, has the same import, and does not denote persons young in years, but the servants, or *deacons* of the church. *Peter*, after solemnly exhorting the *presbyters* not to abuse the power committed to them, turns to the *deacons* and says: "And likewise ye younger, *i. e.* ye *deacons*, despise not the orders of the presbyters, but perform cheerfully whatever they require of you."—In this same sense the term is used by *Luke*, Acts v. 6—10, where νεώτεροι or νεανίσκοι are the *deacons* of the church at Jerusalem, the very persons whom, a little after, the Hellenists accused before the apostles of not distributing properly the contributions for the poor. I might confirm this sense of the term *young men*, by numerous citations from Greek and Latin writers, both sacred and profane; but this is not the place for such demonstrations.

[4] For an account of the deacons and deaconesses of the ancient churches, see Ziegler, *De Diaconis et diaconissis.* Wittemb. 1678, 4to; Basnage, *Annales Polit. eccles.* ad. ann. 35, tom. i. p. 453; Bingham, *Origines Ecclesiast.* book ii. chap. xx. [and Mosheim, *De Rebus Christ. ante C. M.* p. 118, &c. where he defends, at great length, his somewhat peculiar views respecting the seven deacons of the church at Jerusalem.—*Mur.*

11. In this manner Christians managed ecclesiastical affairs so long as their congregations were small or not very numerous. Three or four presbyters, men of gravity and holiness, placed over those little societies, could easily proceed with harmony, and needed no head or president. But when the churches became larger, and the number of presbyters and deacons, as well as the amount of duties to be performed, was increased, it became necessary that the council of presbyters should have a *president*, a man of distinguished gravity and prudence, who should distribute among his colleagues their several tasks, and be, as it were, the central point of the whole society. He was at first denominated *the angel* (Rev. ch. ii. and iii.),[1] but afterwards *the bishop*, a Greek title indicative of his principal business. It would seem that the Church of *Jerusalem*, when grown very numerous, after the dispersion of the apostles among foreign nations, was the *first* to elect such a president, and that other churches in process of time followed the example.[2]

12. But whoever supposes that the bishops of the first and golden age of the church corresponded with the bishops of the following centuries, must blend and confound characters which are very different. For, in this century and the next, a bishop had charge of a *single* church, which might ordinarily be contained in a private house; nor was he its *lord*, but was in reality its *minister* or servant; he instructed the people, conducted all parts of public worship, and attended on the sick and the necessitous in person; and what he was unable thus to perform, he committed to the care of the presbyters, but without power to determine or sanction anything except by the votes of the presbyters and people.[3] The emoluments of this singularly laborious and perilous office were very small. For the churches had no revenues except the voluntary contributions of the people or the *oblations*, which, moderate as they doubtless were, were divided among the bishop, the presbyters, the deacons, and the poor of the church.

13. It was not long, however, before the extent of episcopal jurisdiction and power was enlarged. For the bishops who lived in the cities, either by their own labours or by those of their presbyters, gathered new churches in the neighbouring villages and hamlets; and these churches continuing under the protection and care of the bishops by whose preaching or advice they received Christianity, ecclesiastical provinces were gradually formed, which the Greeks afterwards denominated *dioceses*. The persons to whom the city bishops committed the government and instruction of these village and rural churches, were called *chorepiscopi*, τῆς χώρας ἐπίσκοποι, or bishops of the suburbs and rural districts. They were an intermediate class between the bishops and the presbyters, being inferior to the former and superior to the latter.[4]

14. All the Churches in those primitive times were *independent* bodies, none of them subject to the jurisdiction of any other. For though the Churches which were founded by the apostles themselves frequently had the honour shown them to be consulted in difficult and doubtful cases, yet they had no judicial authority, no control, no power of giving laws. On the contrary, it is clear as the noon-day, that all Christian churches had *equal rights*, and were in all respects on a footing of equality. Nor does there appear in this first century any vestige of that *consociation* of the Churches of the same province, which gave rise to *councils* and to *metropolitans*. Rather, as is manifest, it was not till the *second* century that the custom of holding ecclesiastical councils began, first in Greece, and thence extended into other provinces.[5]

1 The title of *angel* occurs only in the Revelation, a highly poetic book. It was not probably the *common* title of the presiding presbyter, and certainly was not an *older* one than that of *bishop*, which is so often used by *St. Paul* in his Epistles, written long before the Apocalypse.—*Mur.*

2 Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ. ante C. M.* p. 134, has a long note, in which he argues from the traditional accounts of a longer catalogue of bishops in the Church of Jerusalem, than in any other church, during the first ages, that the Church of Jerusalem must be supposed to have had bishops *earlier* than any other.—*Mur.*

3 All that is here stated may be clearly proved from the records of the first centuries, and has been proved by Bingham, *Origines Ecclesiast;* Beveridge, *Codex Canon. primit. ecclesiæ*, and others. Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 136.—*Mur.*

4 Learned men, who have written largely on the subject, have debated whether the *chorepiscopi* ranked with *bishops*, or with *presbyters*. See Morin, *De sacris eccles. ordinat.* par. i. exerc. iv.; Blondel, *De Episc. et Presbyt.* sec. iii.; Beveridge, *Pandect. Canon.* tom. ii. p. 176; Ziegler, *De Episcopis.* lib. i. cap. 13, p. 105, &c.; Peter de Marca, *De Concordia sacerd. et imperii*, lib. ii. cap. 13, 14; Bœhmer, *Adnot. ad Petrum de Marca*, pages 62, 63; Thomassin, *Disciplina eccles. vet. et nova*, par. i. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 215. But they did not belong entirely to either of those orders. Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ. ante C. M.* p. 137.—*Mur.*

5 It is commonly said, that the meeting of the church in Jerusalem, which is described Acts xv. was the *first Christian council*. But this is a perversion of the import of the term *council;* for that meeting was a conference of only a single church, called together for deliberation; and if such meetings may be called *ecclesiastical councils*, a multitude of them were held in those primitive times. An ecclesiastical *council* is a meeting of *delegates* from a number of *confederate churches* [This is the view of Archbishop Whately, in his *Kingdom of Christ*. Lond. 1842, p. 105. It is also that of the Independents. The Presbyterian view, as embraced

15. Among the Christian teachers and ecclesiastical writers, the first rank is most clearly due to the *apostles* themselves, and to certain of their disciples whom God had moved to write histories of the transactions of *Christ* and his apostles. The writings of these men are collected into one volume, and are in the hands of all who profess to be Christians. In regard to the history of these sacred books,[1] and the arguments by which their divine authority and their genuineness are evinced,[2] those authors are to be consulted who have written professedly on these subjects.

16. As to the time *when*, and the persons *by whom*, the books of the New Testament were collected into one volume, there are various opinions, or rather conjectures, of the learned; for the subject is attended with great and almost inexplicable difficulties to us of these latter times.[3] It must suffice to know, that before the middle of the *second* century, most of the books composing the New Testament were in every Christian Church throughout the known world, and were read and regarded as the divine rule of faith and practice. And hence it may be concluded, that it was wh le some of the apostles were still living, and certainly while their disciples and immediate successors were everywhere to be met with, that these books were separated and distinguished from all human compositions.[4] That the *four Gospels* were combined during the life-time of the apostle *John*, and that the first three Gospels received the approbation of this inspired man, we learn expressly from the testimony of *Eusebius*.[5] And why may we not suppose that the other books of the New Testament were collected into one body at the same time?

17. There were various causes requiring this to be done at an early period, and particularly this, that, not long after the Saviour's ascension, various histories of his life and doctrines full of impositions and fables, were composed by persons of no bad intentions perhaps, but who were superstitious, simple, and addicted to pious frauds; and afterwards various spurious writings were palmed upon the world, inscribed with the names of the holy apostles.[6] These worthless productions would have wrought great confusion, and would have rendered both the history and the religion of Christ uncertain, had not the rulers of churches seasonably interposed, and caused the books which were truly divine and which came from apostolic hands, to be speedily separated from that mass of trash into a volume by themselves.

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by many, may be seen most succinctly stated by Rutherford, in his *Due right of Presbyteries*. Lond. 1644, pages 355—377.—*R.*

1 See, on this subject, Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*, lib. iv. cap. v. pages 122—227; [and Jones, *Method of settling the canonical authority of the N. T.* 3 vols. 8vo.; and the modern *Introductions to the books of the N. T.* in English, by Horne, and Michaëlis, ed. Marsh; and in German, by Haenlin, Krug, Bertholdt, Eichhorn, &c.—*Mur.*

2 The early writers in defence of the divine authority of the N. T. are enumerated by Fabricius, *Delectus argumentorum et syllabus scriptor. pro verit. relig. Christianæ*, cap. xxvi. p. 502. [On the subject itself, the modern writers are numerous, and generally known. Lardner and Paley still hold the first rank among the English.—*Mur.*

3 See Ens, *Biblioth. sacra. seu diatriba de libror. N. T. canone.* Amster. 1710, 8vo; and Mills, *Prolegom. ad N. T.* sec. 1, p. 23, &c. [On this "inexhaustible question," see the account given by Bishop Thirlwall, in the preface to his translation of Schleiermacher's *Critical Essay on the Gospel of Luke.* Lond. 1825, of which account Milman says, "It would be difficult to point out a clearer and more satisfactory exposition of any controversy."—*Hist. of Christ.* chap. i. p. 144.—*R.*

4 See Frick, *De Cura veteris ecclesiæ circa canon.* cap. iii. p. 86, &c.

5 Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. cap. xxiv.

6 Such as remain of these spurious works have been carefully collected by Fabricius, *Codex Apocryphus N. T.* 2 vols. 12mo. Hamb. second ed. 1719. Many learned remarks on them occur in Beausobre, *Histoire critique des dogmes de Manichée*, livr. ii. p. 337, &c. [No one of all the books contained in the *Codex Apocryphus N. T.* of Fabricius speaks disrespectfully of Christ, of his religion, his apostles and followers, or of the canonical books of the N. T." They were evidently composed with a design to subserve the cause of Christianity. The following account of the contents of the *Codex Apocryphus N. T.* may not be unacceptable:—On opening the first volume, we meet with, 1. "The Gospel of the Nativity of Mary," Latin. 2. "The Previous Gospel (Prot-evangelium), ascribed to James the Just, the brother of our Lord," Gr. and Lat. 3. "The Gospel of the Infancy of Christ, ascribed to Thomas the Apostle," Gr. and Lat. 4. "The Gospel of the Infancy, translated from the Arabic, by Henry Sikes," Lat. It is the aim of all these to supply deficiencies in the beginning of the true Gospels, by acquainting us more fully with the history of the Virgin Mary, Joseph, Elizabeth, &c. and with the birth, infancy, and childhood of Christ. Next follow, 5. "The Gospel of Nicodemus," or, as it is sometimes called, "The Acts of Pilate," relating to the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ, Latin. 6. Three "Epistles of Pilate to Tiberius the Emperor," giving an account of the condemnation, death, and resurrection of Christ, Latin. 7. "The Epistle of Lentulus to the Roman senate," describing the person and manners of Christ, Latin. The last three (Nos. 5, 6, 7) were intended to be valuable appendages to the true Gospels, and to contain irrefragable proofs that Jesus was the Messiah, and clothed with divine authorithy. Then follow the writings ascribed to Christ himself; viz. his correspondence with Abgarus, King of Edessa, which is to be found in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. xiii. and in various modern works. Fabricius next gives a catalogue of about forty apocryphal Gospels, or of all the spurious Gospels of which the slightest notice can be found in antiquity. These are all, of course, now lost, except the few which are contained in the previous list. Vol. i. part ii. begins with "The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, or the history of their conflicts, ascribed to Abdias, the first Bishop of Babylonia," Latin. This history summarily recounts what the canonical books relate of each of the twelve apostles, and then traces them severally through their various travels and labours, till their death or martyrdom. Then follows a catalogue of all the ancient biographies of individual apostles and apostolic men, which Fabricius could hear of; in all, thirty-six in number. Most of those which have been published are to be met with in Martyrologies and in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Fabricius next

18. Next after the apostles, *Clement*, the Bishop of Rome, obtained very high reputation as one of the writers of this century. The accounts we have at this day of his life, actions, and death, are for the most part uncertain.[1] There are still extant *two epistles to the Corinthians*, bearing his name and written in Greek: of these, it is generally supposed that the first is genuine, and that the second is falsely palmed upon the holy man by some deceiver.[2] Yet even the first epistle seems to have been corrupted by some indiscreet person, who was sorry to see so little erudition and genius in a production of so great a man.[3]

19. The other works which bear the name of *Clement*, namely, *the apostolic Canons*, *the apostolic Constitutions*, *the Recognitions of Clement*, and *the Clementina*,[4] were fraudulently ascribed to this eminent father, by some deceiver, for the purpose of procuring them greater authority. This all now concede. The *apostolic Canons* are LXXXV *ecclesiastical Laws*, and exhibit the principles of discipline received in the Greek and oriental churches, in the second and third centuries. The VIII *Books of apostolical Constitutions*, are the work of some austere and melancholy author, who designed to reform the worship and discipline of the church, which he thought were fallen from their original purity and sanctity, and who did not hesitate to prefix the names of the apostles to his regulations, in order to give them currency.[5] The *Recognitions of Clement*, which differ but little from the *Clementina*, are ingenious fables, composed by

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gives us apocryphal Epistles, ascribed to the Virgin Mary, to Paul, and to Peter. Mary's letters are but three, and those very short. One is addressed to St. Ignatius, in nine lines; another, to the people of Marseilles, in eleven lines; and the third, to the people of Florence, in four lines. To St. Paul is attributed a short Epistle to the Laodiceans, Gr. and Lat. It is a tolerable compilation from his genuine epistles. Then follows a courteous but vapid correspondence in Latin, said to have passed between St. Paul and Seneca, the Roman philosopher. It comprises fourteen short letters, full of compliments and of very little else. Paul's third Epistle to the Corinthians has not had the honour to be published. There is one Epistle of the apostle Peter, addressed to the apostle James, still extant, in the *Clementina*, or spurious works of Clemens Romanus. Of spurious Revelations, Fabricius enumerates twelve; most of which are either lost or have not been judged worth publishing. The second volume of the *Codex* opens with the ancient liturgies, bearing the names of the apostles and evangelists. They are six; namely, those which bear the names of the Apostles James, Peter, John, Matthew, and Luke; together with a short prayer ascribed to John. These liturgies, doubtless, are quite ancient. To these are subjoined nine canons or ecclesiastical laws, said to have been adopted in a council of the apostles held at Antioch; and finally, the Apostles' Creed, which, many of the ancients supposed, was formed by the apostles themselves. The appendix to the *Codex* gleans up some fragments and additional notices of the pieces before mentioned, and then closes with the Shepherd of Hermas, accompanied with notes. —*Mur.* [Most of these spurious pieces were translated, and published in studied imitation of the books of the New Testament by the late W. Hone, with the view of discrediting the divine authority of the sacred volume; but he lived to regret this intended injury, and suppressed the book. It is, notwithstanding, an interesting work to the student. See Hone's *Apocryphal New Testament*. London, 1820, 8vo.—*R.*

1 Subsequent to Tillemont [*Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de l'Eglise*, tome ii. part i. p. 279], Cotelier [*Patres Apostol.*], and Grabe [*Spicileg. Patrum*, sæc. i. p. 264, &c.], Philip Rondininus has collected all that is known of this great man, in the first of his two books, *De S. Clemente, papa et martyre, ejusque Basilica in urbe Roma*. Rome, 1706, 4to. [See also Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. i. pages 14—20, 2d ed. Clemens. was, perhaps, the person mentioned by Paul, Philip. iv. 3. He was one of the most distinguished Roman Christians, became Bishop of Rome towards the close of the century, and is said to have lived till the third year of Trajan's reign, or A.D. 100.—*Mur.*

2 The editions of Clement's epistles to the Corinthians, are mentioned by Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, lib. iv. cap. v. p. 175, &c. to which must be added, the edition of Wotton, Cantab. 1718, 8vo, which is preferable to the preceding editions in many respects. [The English reader may find them both, together with some account of this author, in Archbishop Wake's *Genuine epistles of the apostolical Fathers, translated*, &c. An ample account of them is given by Lardner, *Credibility of the Gospel History*, part ii. vol. i. p. 283, ed. Lond. 1835.—*Mur.* [A more accurate translation of the first, and indeed only genuine, epistle may be seen in Chevallier's *Translation of the Epistles of Clement, Polycarp*, and *Ignatius*, &c. London, 1833.—*R.*

3 See Cotelier, *Patres Apostolici*, tom. i. pages 133, 134, and Bernhard, *Adnotatiunculæ ad Clementem*, in the last edition of the *Patres Apostol.* by Le Clerc. These annotations Wotton has in vain attempted to confute, in his notes on the epistle of Clement. [Besides the two epistles to the Corinthians, there are extant, in Syriac, two other epistles, ascribed to Clement, entitled, *De Virginitate, seu ad Virgines*. They were first brought to Europe by Sir James Porter, British ambassador at Constantinople; and were published with a Latin translation accompanying the Syriac text, by Wetstein, at the end of the 2d vol. of his very learned *Greek N. T.* Leyden, 1752. Lardner assailed their genuineness, in a *Diss.* of sixty pages, 8vo. London, 1753, and Venema followed, in three printed letters, 1754. Wetstein replied to the former; but, dying in March, 1754, he left the controversy with the latter to Galand, who prosecuted it in his *Bibliotheca vet. Patrum*, Dissert. ii. cap. ii.; also, in Sprenger's *Thesaurus rei Patrist.* tom. i. p. 60, &c. These epistles are not mentioned by any writer till near the end of the fourth century. They were, probably, composed in the oriental church at the close of the second, or in the third, century; and for the double purpose of recommending celibacy and reprehending the abuses of such a life. See Neander's *Allgem. Geschichte*, vol. i. part iii. p. 1103, &c.—*Mur.*

4 For the history and various editions of these works, see Ittig, *Diss. de Patribus Apostol.* prefixed to his *Bibliotheca patrum Apostol.* and his *Diss. de Pseudepigraphis Apostol.* annexed to his *Appendix ad librum de Hæresiarchis ævi Apostol*; also, Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, lib. v. cap. i. p. 31, &c.; and lib. vi cap. i. p. 4. &c.

5 The various opinions of the learned respecting the *Apostolic Canons* and *Constitutions*, are collected by Buddeus, *Isagoge in Theologiam*, par. ii. cap. v. p. 746. [See Bishop Beveridge, *Notes on these Canons*, and his *Codex Canonum eccles. prim.* Lond. 1678, 4to. The *Canons* themselves make a part of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, and are also inserted in Binius's and other large collections of the Councils. They are valuable documents respecting the order and discipline of the church, about the third century. The *Apostolic Constitutions* seem to have undergone changes since their first formation, and probably by Arian hands in the fourth century. They are voluminous and minute regulations respecting ecclesiastical discipline and worship. They are of considerable use in determining various points of practice in the church, during the third, fourth, and fifth centuries.—*Mur.* [They may be found in the second volume of Whiston's *Primitive Christianity* in Greek, with an English translation in parallel columns.—*R.*

some Alexandrine Jewish Christian and philosopher of the *third* century, to meet the attacks of the Jews, Gnostics, and philosophers upon the Christian religion, in a new manner. A careful perusal of them will assist a person much in gaining a knowledge of the state of the ancient Christian church.[1]

20. The *Apostolic Fathers*, as they are called, are those Christian writers who were conversant either with the apostles themselves, or with their immediate disciples. Among these the next after *Clement* was *Ignatius*, Bishop of Antioch, a disciple and companion of the apostles. He suffered martyrdom under *Trajan*, being exposed to wild beasts in the theatre at Rome[2] There are extant several epistles bearing his name, and concerning which the learned have had long and sharp contests. The *seven*, written while he was on his way to Rome, as published A.D. 1646, by *Is. Vossius*, from a Florentine MS. are, by most writers, accounted genuine; but the others they reject as forged. To this opinion I cheerfully accede; and yet I must acknowledge that the genuineness of the *Epistle to Polycarp*, on account of its difference of style, appears to me very dubious; and indeed the whole subject of the Ignatian epistles in general, is involved in much obscurity and perplexity.[3]

21. *Polycarp*, Bishop of Smyrna, suffered martyrdom at an extreme age, in the middle of the second century. The epistle addressed to the Philippians, which is ascribed to him, is by some accounted genuine, and by others spurious; which of these

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1 See Mosheim's *Diss. de turbata per recentiores Platonicos ecclesia*, in the first vol. of his *Dissert. ad historiam eccl. pertinentes*, sec. 34, p. 174, &c. [The *Apostolic Canons* and *Constitutions* were ascribed to Clement as the collector and publisher only. The *Recognitions*, *Clementina*, &c. are ascribed to him as the author. The writings belonging to this latter class are three different works on the same subject, and written after the same general plan. They all, doubtless, had one and the same author, who re-wrote his own work, for the sake of giving it a better form. The substance of them all is Clement's history of his own dissatisfaction with paganism; his first and slight knowledge of Christianity, which induced him to journey from Rome to Palestine; there he met with Peter, and for some time resided and travelled with him, heard his public discourses, and witnessed his combats, particularly with Simon Magus; and in private conversations with the apostles, everything pertaining not only to Christianity, but to cosmogony, physics, pneumatology, &c. was fully explained to him. The three works often relate precisely the same things, and in the same words; but they not unfrequently differ in the fulness of the details and in many of the minor points both of doctrine and of fact. The first is entitled *Sti Clementis Romani Recognitiones*. The original is lost, so that we have only the Latin translation of Rufinus. The second is the *Clementina* (τὰ Κλημέντινα), first published, Greek and Latin, by Coteller. It commences with an epistle of Peter, and another of Clement, addressed to the apostle James. The body of the work, instead of being divided into books and chapters, like the *Recognitions*, is thrown into nineteen discourses or homilies (ὁμιλίαι), as delivered by Peter, but committed to writing by Clement. The third is the *Clementine Epitome*, or abridged account of the acts, travels, and discourses of Peter, together with the epistle of Clement to James, Greek and Latin. This is, as its title implies, a mere abridgment of the two preceding works.—*Mur.*

2 See Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de l'Eglise*, tome ii. part ii. pages 42—80.

3 In regard to these epistles, consult Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*, lib. v. cap. i. pages 38—47. [Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 36, makes very honourable mention of Ignatius and his epistles; and describes his conduct while on his way to Rome, the place of his martyrdom. The account of his martyrdom, which is printed along with his epistles, gives a still fuller account of this eminent father. It is clear that he suffered death in the reign of Trajan; but whether A.D. 107, or 116, is uncertain. Rome was the place of his martyrdom, and wild beasts his executioners. On his way from Antioch, he was enraptured with his prospect of dying a martyr, and wrote probably all his epistles. Eusebius says: "He confirmed the churches in every city through which he passed, by discourses and exhortations, warning them most especially to take heed of the hereseis which then first sprung up and increased." From Smyrna (according to Eusebius), he wrote four of his epistles; namely, to the churches of Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles and Rome. The last of these was to entreat the Roman Christians not to interpose and prevent his martyrdom. From Troas he wrote three other epistles; namely, to the Churches of Philadelphia and of Smyrna, and to his friend Polycarp. Of these seven epistles, there are duplicate copies still extant; that is, copies of a larger and of a smaller size. The latter are those published by Vossius, which many suppose to be genuine. Besides these, there are extant five other Greek epistles, and as many more in Latin, which are now universally rejected; namely, *ad Mariam Cassibolitam, ad Tarsenses, ad Antiochenos, ad Heronem Antiochenum diaconem, ad Philippenses;* also, one in Latin, from the Virgin Mary to Ignatius, and his reply; two from Ignatius to St. John; and one of Maria Cassibolita to Ignatius. It is the singular fortune of the seven first epistles of Ignatius, to have become the subject of sectarian controversy among Protestants. In these epistles, the dignity and authority of bishops are exalted higher than in any other writings of this age. Hence, the strenuous advocates for the apostolic origin of episcopacy, prize and defend these epistles with no ordinary interest, while the Reformed divines, and especially those of Holland, Germany, France, and Switzerland, assail them with equal ardour. The most prominent champions are Bishop Pearson, in his *Vindiciæ epistolarum Ignatii*. Cambridge, 1672, 4to; and Daillé, *De Scriptis quæ sub Dionysii Areop. et Ignatii Antioch. nominibus circumferuntur*. Geneva, 1666, 4to. But each of these is supported by a host of able polemics. Moderate men of various sects are disposed to admit the genuineness of the epistles in their shorter form; but to regard them as interpolated and altered. An English translation of them and of the martyrdom of Ignatius, may be seen in Archbishop Wake's *Genuine Epistles of the Apostolic Fathers.*—*Mur.* [A preferable translation is given by Chevallier, *ubi supra;* and a translation of both the larger and shorter copies may be found in Whiston's *Primitive Christianity*. Lond. 1711, vol. i. pages 102—391. Whiston was a strenuous supporter of the genuineness of these larger copies, now almost universally repudiated. Additional interest has been very recently imparted to this long-protracted controversy by the discovery, in a monastery in the Egyptian desert of Nitria, of a Syriac version, of undoubted antiquity, of three of these epistles of Ignatius; namely, those to *Polycarp*, the *Ephesians*, and the *Romans*. These have been translated and very carefully edited by the Rev. W. Cureton of the British Museum, together with extracts in Syriac from these and others of the Ignatian epistles, and a Syriac version of his martyrdom. Lond. 1845, 8vo. The copies thus unexpectedly brought to light are much shorter than the short Greek copies previously extant; and among the many passages of the Greek omitted in the Syriac, it is remarkable that those which magnify the office and authority of the bishop, and those which give additional force to the doctrine of the Deity of Christ, are the most numerous. See Mr. Cureton's *Preface*, p. 16, &c. —*R.*

are in the right, it is difficult to determine. The *Epistle of Barnabas*, as it is called, was, in my judgment, the production of some Jewish Christian who lived in this century, who had no bad intentions, but possessed little genius and was infected with the fabulous opinions of the Jews. He was clearly a different person from *Barnabas*, the companion of *St. Paul*.[2] The book entitled the *Shepherd of Hermas* (so called because an *angel*, in the form and habit of a *shepherd*, is the leading character in the drama) was composed in the *second* century by *Hermas*, the brother of *Pius*, the Roman bishop.[3] The writer, if he was indeed sane, deemed it proper to forge dialogues held with God and angels, in order to insinuate what he regarded as salutary truths more effectually into the minds of his readers. But his celestial spirits talk more insipidly than our scavengers and porters.[4]

22. All these writers of this first age of the church possessed little learning, genius, or eloquence; but, in their simple and unpolished manner, they express elevated piety [5] And this is honourable, rather than reproachful, to the Christian cause. For, that a large part of the human race should have been converted to *Christ* by illiterate and untalented men, shows that the propagation of Christianity must be ascribed, not to human abilities and eloquence, but to a Divine power.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINES AND RELIGION.

1. THE whole of the Christian religion is comprehended in two parts: the one of which teaches what we are to believe in regard to religious subjects, and the other how we ought to live. The former is, by the apostles, denominated the mystery or the truth; and the latter, piety or godliness. 1 Tim. iii. 9; vi. 3. Tit. i. 1. The rule and standard of both are, those books which God dictated to certain individuals, either before or after the birth of Christ. These books it has long been the custom to denominate the Old and the New Testaments.

2. Provision, therefore, was early made, both by the apostles and their disciples, that these books should be in the hands of all Christians, that they should be publicly read in their assemblies, and be applied both to enlighten their minds with truth and to advance them in piety. Those who expounded the Scriptures studied simplicity and plainness. Yet it is not to be denied that, even in this century, the perverse Jewish custom of obscuring the plain language of Scripture by forced and frigid allegories, and of diverting words from their natural and proper meaning, in order to extort from them some recondite sense, found some admirers and imitators among Christians. Besides others, Barnabas,

1 Concerning Polycarp and his epistle, see Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de l'Eglise*, tome ii. part ii. p. 287; and Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* lib. v. cap. i. p. 47. [Also, Cave's *Life of Polycarp*, in his *Apostolici; or, Lives of the Primitive Fathers*. Lond. 1677, folio. The epistle of Polycarp (the genuineness of which, if not certain, is highly probable), and the epistle of the Church of Smyrna concerning the martyrdom of Polycarp (which none now call in question), are given in English, in Archbishop Wake's *Genuine Epistles*, &c.—*Mur.* [and also by Chevallier *ubi supra*, and by Clementson, *Epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp*. Bright. 1827, 8vo.—*R.*

2 Concerning Barnabas, see Tillemont, *Mémoires*, &c. tome i. part iii. p. 1043; Ittig, *Select. hist. eccles. cap.* sec. i. cap. i. sec. 14, p. 20; and Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* lib. iv. cap. v. sec. 14, p. 173; and lib. v. cap. i. sec. iv. and various others. [This ancient monument of the Christian Church, is likewise translated by Archbishop Wake, *Genuine Epistles*, &c.—*Mur.*

3 This is now manifest from the very ancient *Fragment of a Treatise on the Canon of the Holy Scriptures*, published a few years ago by Muratori (from an ancient MS. found at Milan), in his *Antiq. Italicar. medii ævi*, tom. iii. diss. xliii. p. 853, &c. [But the genuineness of this treatise itself is now very much questioned by the learned; so that the true author of the *Shepherd of Hermas* is still unknown.—*Mur.*

4 For the best edition of *Hermas*, we are indebted to Fabricius, who subjoined it to the third vol. of his *Codex Apocryph. N. T.* He also treats of this writer, in his *Bib. Græca*, lib. v. cap. ix. sec. 9, p. 7. See also Ittig, *De Patribus Apostolicis*, sec. 55, p. 184, &c.; [and in his *Select. historiæ eccles. capita*, sec. 1. pag. 65, 135, 179. The *Shepherd of Hermas* is translated by Archbishop Wake, *Genuine Epistles*, &c. and though wild and fanciful, yet, from the pious spirit which it breathes, and the insight it gives us into the speculations of the early Christians, it is not a useless book.—*Mur.* [Archbishop Wake's translation of the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas is also given in Hone's *Apocryphal New Test.*—*R.*

5 The writers abovenamed are denominated the Apostolic Fathers; and they are often published together. The best editions are by Cotelier. Paris, 1672, re-edited by Le Clerc. Antw. 1698; and again, Amsterd. 1724, 2 vols. fol. with numerous notes by both the editors and others. [This last and best edition, Gr. and Lat. contains all that has been ascribed to the Apostolic Fathers, whether truly or falsely. The value of the genuine works of these fathers is, to learned theology, very small; but, as affording us acquaintance with the true spirit, and sentiments, and reasonings of Christians in the very first age after the apostles, they are of inestimable value.—*Mur.* [Many critics are disposed to place among these remains of the apostolic age, the anonymous *Letter to Diognetus*, formerly ascribed to Justin Martyr, and contained among his works. Some even consider it as having been written before the destruction of Jerusalem, and therefore as among the very earliest uninspired productions of the first century. See a satisfactory dissertation on this point in Semisch's *Justin Martyr*, vol. i. p. 193, &c. being Ryland's translation, in vol. xli. of the *Edin. Bib. Cab.* The Greek epistle itself may be found in the works of Justin Martyr; and in Hefele, *Patrum Apostolicorum opera*. Tub. 1839, 8vo, a very cheap and convenient collection of these works, which may be had either with or without a Latin translation. An excellent critical edition of the *Apostolical Fathers*, with Notes, Indices, &c. was published at Oxford, in Greek and Latin, in 2 vols. 8vo, by Dr. Jacobson, of which a second edition appeared in 1840. This collection, however, does not include the *Letter to Diognetus*.—*R.*

whose epistle is still extant, is proof of this.

3. The manner of teaching religious truths was perfectly simple, and remote from all the rules of the philosophers, and all the precepts of human art. This is manifest, not only from the epistles of the apostles, but from all the monuments of this century which have come down to us. Nor did any apostle, or any one of their immediate disciples, collect and arrange the principal doctrines of Christianity in a scientific or regular system. The circumstances of the times did not require this; and the followers of Christ were more solicitous to exhibit the religion they had embraced by their tempers and their conduct, than to explain its principles scientifically, and arrange them according to the precepts of art.

4. There is indeed extant a brief summary of Christian doctrines, which is called the Apostles' Creed, and which, from the fourth century onward, was attributed to Christ's ambassadors themselves. But at this day, all who have any knowledge of antiquity, confess unanimously that this opinion is a mistake, and has no foundation.[1] Those judge far more wisely and rationally, who think that this creed arose from small beginnings, and was gradually enlarged, as occasions required, in order to exclude new errors from the church.[2]

5. At the first promulgation of the gospel, all who professed firmly to believe that Jesus was the only redeemer of mankind, and who promised to lead a holy life conformably to the religion he taught, were received immediately among the disciples of Christ; nor did a more full instruction in the principles of Christianity precede their baptism, but followed it. But afterwards, when churches were everywhere established and organized, for very just reasons this custom was changed; and none were admitted to the sacred font unless previously well instructed in the primary truths of religion, and affording indubitable evidence of a sincere and holy character. Hence arose the distinction between catechumens, or such as were in a course of instruction and discipline under the care of certain persons, and the faithful who were admitted to all the mysteries, having been initiated and consecrated by baptism.[3]

6. The instruction given to the catechumens was different, according to their genius and capacity. For those of feeble minds were instructed only in the more general and fundamental principles of religion, while those who appeared capable of comprehending all Christian knowledge, were instructed in everything which could perfect and fortify a Christian, according to the views of that age. The business of instructing those of superior capacity and genius was committed to men of gravity and erudition in the larger churches. Hence, the ancient doctors generally divide their flocks into two classes of persons, the one comprising such as received solid and thorough instruction, the other embracing the more ignorant. Nor do they conceal the fact, that different modes of teaching were adopted in reference to these two classes.[4]

7. There is no doubt, that the children of Christians were carefully trained up from their infancy, and were early put to reading the sacred books and learning the principles of religion. For this purpose, schools were erected everywhere, from the beginning. From these schools for children, we must distinguish those seminaries of the early Christians erected extensively in the larger cities, at which adults, and especially such as aspired to be public

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[1] See Buddeus, *Isagoge ad Theologiam*, lib. ii. cap. ii. sec. 2. p. 441; and Walch, *Introduct. in libros symbolicos*, lib. i. cap. ii. p. 87, &c.

[2] This is shown, with no less learning than ingenuity, by Lord Chancellor King, in his *History of the Apostles' Creed*, which Olearius translated into Latin, and published. Lips. 1704, 8vo. But those who read this book should be apprised, that the noble author often gives us conjectures instead of arguments, and that his conjectures do not always deserve to be implicitly received. [Although the Apostles' Creed was not composed in a council of apostles, as was supposed in the days of Rufinus (Ruf. *De Symbolo*, subjoined to Cypriani *Opera*), yet it appears to have been the general creed of the Christian church, from, at least, the close of the second century down to the reformation. Nor did it undergo any very great or material change, as appears from comparing the formulæ of faith given by Irenæus, A.D. 175 (*Adv. Hær.* i. 10. and iii. 4.), and by Tertullian, A.D. 192 (*De Virgin. veland.* cap. i.—*contra Praxeam*, cap. ii.—*Præscript. adv. Hæret.* cap. xiii.), with the forms of the creed, in all subsequent writers down to the present time. See these forms, collected by Walch, in his *Bibliotheca symbolica vetus*. Lemgov, 1770, 8vo. Besides those mentioned by Mosheim, the principal writers on this creed are Cyril (*Catechesis*), Rufinus (*De Symbolo*), and Augustine, (*Sermo I. ad Catech. Opera*, v. 6, p. 399, ed. Bened.), Vossius (*De Tribus Symbolis, Opp.* tom. vi. p. 507, &c.), Abp. Ussher (*De Rom. Eccles. aliisq. Fidei Symbolis*), Bishop Pearson (on the Creed), Suicer, (*Thesaur. Eccles.* voce Σύμβολον), and Bingham, *Orig. Eccles.* book x.—*Mur.*

[3] See Bingham, *Orig. Eccles.* book iii. chap. iv. and Pfanner, *De Catechuminis veterum*. Weimar, 1688. 12mo.—*Mur.*

[4] See Origen, *Adv. Celsum*, lib. iii. p. 143. The apostles themselves seem to have been the authors of this practice, of which we have vestiges, 1 Cor. iii. 2; Heb. v. 12.—*Schl.* [See an interesting dissertation, bearing on this subject, in the elder Walch's *Miscell. Sacra*. Amst. 1774. Exercit. prima, entitled *De Apostolorum institutione catechetica*. He considers Heb. vi. 1, 2, as embodying the heads of the catechetical instructions given by the apostles and primitive teachers.—*R.*

teachers, were instructed and educated in all branches of learning, both human and divine. Such seminaries, in which young men devoted to the sacred office, were taught whatever was necessary to qualify them properly for it, the apostles of Christ undoubtedly both set up themselves, and directed others to set up. 2 Tim. ii. 2. St. John at Ephesus, and Polycarp at Smyrna, established such schools.[1] Among these seminaries, in subsequent times, none was more celebrated than that at Alexandria, which is commonly called a catechetic school, and was said to be erected by St. Mark.[2]

8. What many tell us that the ancient Christians had their popular and their secret doctrines, and did not communicate to all classes the same instructions, may be admitted as true, if it be rightly explained. For those whom they would induce to embrace Christ were not introduced at once to the high mysteries of religion which exceed the grasp of the human mind, but were first instructed in the doctrines which reason can comprehend, till they were able to bear the more sublime and difficult truths. And afterwards, those who ranked among believers were not all instructed in the same manner; but one was directed to study and treasure up in his mind more or fewer things than another. Whoever would understand more than this, by the secret doctrine of the first century, should beware lest he confound the faults of subsequent ages with the excellencies of this.[3]

9. Most authors represent the lives and morals of Christians in this age as patterns of purity and holiness, worthy of the imitation of all subsequent ages. This representation, if it be understood of the greater part of the professed Christians and not of all, is undoubtedly true. But whoever supposes the primitive churches were perfectly free from vices and sins, and estimates the lives of all the Christians by the conduct of some of them, and by the precepts and exhortations of their teachers, as most of those have done who have written books and tracts concerning the innocence and holiness of the early Christians, may be confuted by the clearest evidence of both testimony and facts.

10. The external purity of the churches was much promoted by that law which deprived of ordinances, and excluded from the community, persons of vile character or who were addicted to gross sin, provided they would not reform on being admonished. Such a law we know was established by the apostles, soon after churches began to be formed.[4] All classes in the church united in executing this law. The teachers and rulers generally pointed out the persons who seemed unworthy of sacred privileges, and the people sanctioned or rejected the proposal at discretion. Excluded sinners, although they had committed the very highest offences, if they gave satisfactory evidence of repentance and of amendment, were allowed to return to the church, at least in most places, yet but once only; for those who were restored, if they returned to their former sinful practices and were again excluded from the brotherhood, forfeited all hope of forgiveness.[5]

11. As the Christian churches were composed of both Jews and Gentiles, between whom there had been an inveterate aversion, and as these recent converts retained many erroneous impressions received and cherished from their infancy, it

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1 Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* lib. ii. chap. xxii. p. 148, ed. Massuet; Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.* lib. v. chap. xx. [The proofs referred to here are quite insufficient to evince, that, in the *first* century, or even in the former part of the *second*, Christians established *regular schools* for their children, and *academies* for young men. Paul's direction to Timothy (2 Tim. ii. 2)—"The things thou hast heard of me, the same *commit thou to faithful men*, who shall be able to teach others also"—seems to have no distinct reference to a *regular public school* either for boys or for *young men*. And the passages in Irenæus and Eusebius referred to, speak only of the *general instruction* and advantages which the neighbouring *clergy* and others derived from the apostle John, and of the interesting *conversations* of Polycarp. Considering the poverty and embarrassments of the first Christians, we can hardly suppose they *could* have erected such schools and academies. And from the great penury of writers, and of learned men of any sort, in the early church—Justin Martyr, a converted philosopher in the middle of the second century, being the first learned writer after the apostles—it seems most probable, that till past the middle of the *second* century, the means of education among Christians were very slender, and by no means so general and so ample as Mosheim supposes.—*Mur.*

2 See Schmidt, *Diss. de Schola catechet. Alexandr.* prefixed to the tract of Hyperius, *De Catechesi*; also Aulisius, *Delle Scuole sacre*, lib. ii. cap. i. ii. pages 5—17, and cap. xxi. p. 92, &c. Concerning the larger schools of Christians in the East, at Edessa, Nisibis, Seleucia, and concerning the ancient Christian schools in general, see Asseman, *Biblioth. orient. Clem. Vat.* tom. iii. par. ii. pages 914—919. [The ancient tradition preserved by Jerome (*De Scriptor. Illustr.* cap. xxxvi.), that St. Mark was the founder of the catechetic school at Alexandria, deserves but little credit; since all antiquity is silent respecting a Christian school there, or any teacher or student in it, till the days of Pantænus and his pupil, Clemens Alex. near the close of the *second* century. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. iii. p. 188, &c.—*Mur.*

3 Concerning this secret doctrine, much is collected by Pfaff, *Diss. posterior de præjudiciis theolog.* sec. xiii. p. 149, &c. in his *Primitiæ Tubingensia.*

4 See 1 Cor. v. For the discussions which have taken place respecting this law, see Pfaff, *De Originibus juris ecclesiast.* pages 10—13, 71—78.

5 See Morin, *Comment. de discip. pœnit.* lib. ix. cap. xix. p. 670, and others. [See Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles. N. T.* sæc. iii. diss. vii.; and Orsi, *Diss. quo ostenditur, cathol. ecclesiam tribus prior. sæculis capital. crim. reis pacem et absolut. neutiquam denegasse.* Milan, 1730, 4to. But all these writers describe rather the practice of the second and third centuries than that of the first.—*Mur.*

could not but happen that various disagreements and contests would early arise among them. The first of these controversies related to the necessity of observing the law of Moses. It broke out in the Church of Antioch, and its issue is stated by Luke, Acts xv. This contest was followed by many others, partly with Jewish Christians too much attached to their national religion, partly with persons captivated with a species of fanatical philosophy, and partly with some who abused the Christian doctrines, which they ill understood, to the gratification of their appetites and lusts.[1] St. Paul and the other apostles often mention these controversies, but so cursorily and concisely, that we can hardly ascertain the exact points controverted.

12. Of all these controversies, the greatest and most important was, that relating to the way of attaining to justification and salvation, which Jewish teachers excited at Rome and in other Christian churches. For while the apostles everywhere inculcated, that all hopes of justification and salvation should be placed solely on Jesus Christ and his merits, these Jewish teachers ascribed to the law and to the works which Christ enjoined, the chief influence in procuring everlasting happiness. This error not only led to many others, which were prejudicial to the religion of Christ, but was connected with the highest dishonour to the Saviour; for they who maintained that a life regulated according to the law, would give a title to eternal rewards, could not hold Christ to be the true Son of God and the Saviour of mankind, but merely a prophet or a divine messenger among men. It cannot, therefore, appear at all strange that St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans and elsewhere, took so much pains to extirpate this capital error.

13. The controversy respecting the necessity of the Mosaic rites in order to salvation, was wisely decided by the apostles. Acts xv. But great as the apostolic influence was, that deep-rooted love of the Mosaic law which was handed down from their fathers, could not be wholly eradicated from the minds of the Jewish Christians, and especially of those living in Palestine. It diminished a little after the destruction of Jerusalem and the overthrow of the temple by the Romans, yet it did not wholly subside. Hence it was, as we shall afterwards see, that a part of the Jewish Christians separated from the other brethren, and formed a distinct sect attached to the law of Moses.

[1] Conducive to the illustration of these controversies, are the investigations of Witsius, *Miscell. Sacra*, tom. ii. exerc. xx, xxi. xxii. p. 668, &c.; Vitringa, *Observat. Sacra*, lib. iv. cap. ix. x. xi. p. 952. [Buddeus, *Eccl. Apos.* and especially Walch, *Vollständige Hist. der Ketzereyen, Spaltungen, u. Religionsstreit.* &c. Leip. 1762—85, 11 vols. 8vo, vol. i. p. 68, &c.; also, the Commentators on the Scriptures.—*Mur.*

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

1. ALTHOUGH the Christian religion is most simple and requires nothing but faith and love, it could not wholly dispense with external rites and institutions. Jesus himself established but two ordinances, which it is not lawful either to change or to abrogate, namely, baptism and the Lord's supper. Yet these are not to be considered as mere ceremonies, or as having only a symbolical import, but as having also a sanctifying influence on the mind. That he chose to establish no more rites, ought to convince us that ceremonies are not essential to the religion of Christ; and that this whole matter is left by him to the discretion and free choice of Christians.

2. Many considerations leave us no reason to doubt, that the friends and apostles of the Saviour sanctioned, in divers places, the use of various rites, which they either tolerated from necessity or recommended for substantial reasons. Yet we are not to suppose that they have anywhere inculcated an established and permanent system of canon law, nor that they prescribed the same rites and forms in all churches. On the contrary, many things go to show that Christian worship was from the beginning regulated and conducted differently in different places, and this, no doubt, with the approbation of the apostles and their coadjutors and disciples; and that, in this whole matter, much regard was shown to ancient opinions, customs and laws of different nations.[2]

[2] It appears that even so late as the third and fourth centuries, there was considerable difference in the mode of conducting religious worship among Christians. See Irenæus, quoted by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. cap. xxiv.; Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. cap. xix.; Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. cap. xxii.; Augustine, *Epist.* liv. *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 93. A part of this difference in rites and ceremonies, appears to have come down from the apostolic times; for when a contest arose in the second century, between the eastern and western Christians, respecting the day on which Easter should be observed, we are informed by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. cap. xxiii. xxiv.), that the former maintained, that John was the author of their custom; and the latter, that Peter and Paul were the authors of theirs. Both churches were probably correct; for it is very likely, that John, for certain reasons, did ordain in Asia, that the feast of Easter should be kept at the time the Jews kept it; and that Peter and Paul ordered otherwise at Rome. Further, the Greek and Latin churches had a contest on the question, whether leavened or unleavened bread should be used in the sacred supper. And both churches claimed to have

3. I am therefore induced to dissent from those who think, that the Jewish rites and forms were everywhere transferred by the apostles and their disciples to the Christian assemblies. In those churches indeed which were composed either wholly or principally of Jews, I can easily believe the Jewish rites were so far retained as the different characters of the two religions would permit. And this may be evinced by a good many examples. But that the same took place in other churches, in which either no Jews or only a few were found, is not only uncertain but incredible; because it was proper that the rituals of those early times should be variously modelled, according to the peculiarities of genius and character in different nations.

4. As there was diversity in the practice of Christians, it will be very difficult to make statements relative to their mode of worship and other customs and regulations, which will be equally applicable to all the countries in which Christianity flourished. Yet there are a few regulations which may be considered as common to all Christians, and of these we shall give a brief account. The Christians of this century assembled for the worship of God and for their advancement in piety, on the first day of the week, the day on which Christ reassumed his life; for, that this day was set apart for religious worship by the apostles themselves, and that after the example of the church of Jerusalem it was generally observed, we have unexceptionable testimony.[1] Moreover, those congregations whose members either lived intermingled with Jews, or were composed in great measure of Jews, were accustomed also to observe the seventh day of the week as a sacred day,[2] which the other Christians did not consider wrong. As to annual religious days, they appeared to have observed two; the one in memory of Christ's resurrection, the other in commemoration of the descent of the Holy Spirit on the apostles.[3] To these may be added those days on which holy men met death for Christ's sake, which, it is most probable, were sacred and solemn days from the very commencement of the Christian church.[4]

5. The places of assembling were unquestionably the private dwelling-houses of Christians. But as necessity required that when a congregation was formed and duly regulated, some fixed, uniform place should be appointed for its meetings; and as some furniture was requisite for their accommodation, such as books, tables, and benches, which could not conveniently be transported from place to place, especially in those perilous times, it was undoubtedly the case that the place of their assemblies soon became, instead of a private room, a sort of public one.[5] These few remarks, I conceive, are sufficient to determine that long controversy, whether the early Christians had temples or not?[6] If the word temple may denote a dwelling-house or even a part of one, devoted to the public exercises of religion, yet without any idea of holiness attached to it, and not set apart from all profane or secular uses, then I can readily admit that the earliest Christians had temples.

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their customs handed down to them from the apostles; and for the reasons before mentioned, both were probably in the right. Even the Catholics often admit this diversity of ceremonies in the apostolic church; *e.g.* Bona, *Rerum Liturg.* lib. i. cap. vii. sec. 2, *Opp.* p. 208; and the Jesuit, Harduin, makes no scruple to assert, that Paul enjoined on the Greeks one form for the consecration of priests, and Peter, on the Romans another. His book is entitled, *La dissertation du P. le Courayer sur la succession des Evesques Anglois et sur la validité de leur ordination refutée*, tom. ii. p. 13. Paris, 1725, 8vo. [Add Krazer *De Apostolicis, nec non antiquis eccl. occident. Liturgiis*, sec. 1, cap. i. sec. 2, p. 3, ed. Augsburg, 1786. See Mosheim's *Institut. majores. hist. Christ.* p. 375.—*Schl.*

1 Hartmann, *De Rebus gestis Christianor. sub Apostolis*, cap. xv. p. 387; Böhmer, *Diss. I. Juris eccles. antiqui de statu die Christianor.* p. 20, &c. [See also Acts. xx. 7—ii. 1; 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2; Apoc. i. 10; Pliny, *Epist.* lib. x. ep. 97. n. 7.—*Schl.*

2 Curcellæus, *Diatriba de esu sanguinis*; *Opp. Theol.* p. 958. Albaspinæus, *Observat. Eccles.* lib i. obs. xiii. p. 53. In vain some learned men labour to persuade us that, in all the early churches, both days or the first and last days of the week, were held sacred. The churches of Bithynia mentioned by Pliny, devoted but one stated day to their public worship; and beyond all controversy, that was what we call the Lord's day, or the first day of the week. [Gieseler refers to a recent dissertation on this subject by Franke, entitled *De Diei Dominici apud veteres Christ. celebratione.* Halle, 1826. See also Neander, *Allgem. Gesch.* vol. i. p. 198.—*R.*

3 Although some have doubted whether the day called Pentecost (Whitsunday) was a sacred day, so early as the first century (see Bingham, *Origines Eccles.* lib. xx. cap. 6.), yet I am induced by very weighty reasons, to believe that, from the beginning, it was held equally sacred with the Passover [or Easter day]. Perhaps also [Good Friday] the Friday on which our Saviour died was, from the earliest times, regarded with more respect than other days of the week. See Gothofredus, in *Codicem Theodos.* tom. i. p. 138; Asseman, *Biblioth. orient. Vatican.* tom. i. pag. 217—237. Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 66.

4 These were called *Natalitia martyrum* (the martyrs' birth-days). See Sagittarius, *De Natalitiis martyrum*, republished by Crenius, Syntagma i. *Diss. philol.* 1699. In the second century these *natalitia* were everywhere observed; and they are often mentioned by Tertullian and Cyprian. Nay, in the epistle of the church of Smyrna to Philomelius in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. 15, the observance of the day of Polycarp's martyrdom is spoken of.—*Schl.*

5 See Vitringa, *De Synagoga vetere*, lib. i. par. iii. cap. i. p. 432. [It may be inferred from Acts xix. 8, 1 Cor. xi. 22—xiv. 35, and James ii. 2, that Christians then had certain determinate places for holding public worship.—*Schl.*

6 See Blondell, *De Episcopis et Presbyt.* sect. iii. pag. 216, 243, 246; Böhmer, Diss. ii; *Juris eccles. antiq. de antetwanis Christianorum cœtibus*, sec. iv. p. 39; Bingham, *Origines Eccles.* book viii. chap. i. and others.

6. In these public assemblies of Christians the holy Scriptures were read, which for that purpose were divided into portions; then followed an exhortation to the people, neither eloquent nor long, but full of warmth and love. If any signified that they were moved by a divine influence they were allowed successively to state what the Lord commanded; the other prophets who were present judging how much authority was due to them. 1 Cor. xiv. 16. Next, the prayers, which constituted no inconsiderable part of public worship, were recited after the bishop.[1] To these succeeded hymns, which were sung not by the whole assembly, but by certain persons during the celebration of the sacred supper and the feasts of charity.[2] The precise order and manner of performing all these parts of religious worship in the various Christian churches, cannot be fully ascertained; yet it is most probable, that none of these exercises was wholly omitted in any church.[3]

7. The prayers of Christians were followed by oblations of bread, wine, and other things, for the support of the ministers of the church and the poor. For every Christian who had anything to spare, brought his gift and offered it in a sense to the Lord.[4] From these gifts so much bread and wine as were requisite for the Lord's supper were set apart and consecrated by prayer, offered up by the presiding minister alone, the people responding amen.[5] The distributors of the sacred supper were the deacons. To this most holy ordinance were annexed those temperate meals, which from their design were denominated *agapæ*, or feasts of charity.[6] The various difficulties which occur in the accounts respecting these feasts will undoubtedly be solved with ease, by admitting that the earliest Christians were governed by different rules, and did not everywhere celebrate either this or any other ordinance in precisely the same manner.

8. In this century baptism was administered in convenient places not in the public assemblies, and by immersing the candidates wholly in water.[7] At first, all who were engaged in propagating Christianity administered this rite; nor can it be called in question, that whoever persuaded any person to embrace Christianity could baptize his own disciple. But when the churches became better regulated and were provided with rules of order, the bishop alone exercised the right of baptizing the new converts; though in process of time, as the limits of his church were enlarged, he imparted this right to the presbyters and chorepiscopi, reserving however the confirmation of those baptisms which were administered by the presbyters.[8] As to the ceremonies which in this early period were added to baptism for the sake of order and decency, we are not able to say anything with certainty; nor do we think it safe to gather the rules of this century from the customs of subsequent times.

9. The Grecian Christians when dangerously sick, sent for the elders of the church, agreeably to James v. 14; and after the sick man had confessed his sins, they commended him to God in devout supplication, and anointed him with oil. Many things in regard to this rite may be, and have actually been, subjects of controversy. But the silence of the ancient writers prevents our coming to any certain conclusions; for though there is no reason to doubt that this rite prevailed extensively among Christians, yet it is rarely mentioned in the writings of the ancients.[9]

10. No law was enacted by Christ and his apostles concerning fasts; but the cus-

1 See Justin Martyr, *Apologia secunda*, p. 98, &c.

2 See Walch's *Miscell. Sacra. Exercit.* ii.; *De Hymnis Eccl. Apostolicæ*, for the nature of these psalms and hymns; and Isidor. Hispal. *De Ecc. Officiis*, lib. i. cap v. for their manner of singing, which is glanced at in the well-known letter of Pliny, lib. x. ep. 97. The celebrated Augusti has also published a tract on these early hymns, as evidences of the doctrines then professed in the church. Jena, 1810, 4to.—*R.*

3 This must be understood of the churches which were fully established and regulated; for in the infant churches which had not become duly organized, I can believe one or other of these exercises might be omitted.

4 See Pfaff, *Dissert. de oblat. et consec. Eucharistica*; in his *Syntagma Dissert. Theolog.* Stut. 1720, 8vo.

5 Justin Martyr, *Apologia secunda*, p. 98, &c. The writers on the ceremonies of the sacred supper are mentioned by Fabricius, *Bib. Ant.* cap. xi. p. 395, &c.

6 The writers concerning the *agapæ*, are mentioned by Ittig, *Select. histor. eccles. capita*, sæcul. ii. cap. iii. p. 180, &c.; and Pfaff, *De Orig. juris eccles.* p. 68.

7 See Vossius, *De Baptismo*, disp. i. Thes. vi. p. 31, &c. and the authors recommended by Fabricius, *Bibl. Antiq.* cap. xi. sec. 25, p. 389, &c.

8 These remarks, I conceive, go to elucidate and determine the questions so strenuously debated among the learned, concerning the right of administering baptism. See Böhmer, diss. xi. *Juris eccles. antiqui*, p. 500, &c.; Le Clerc, *Biblioth. universelle*, tome iv. p. 93, &c. [Mosheim's assertions in this section being applicable only to the first century, need to be somewhat qualified, for they certainly exceed his authorities. The English reader will see a very careful digest of information and references on the question of baptism, but not limited to the first century, in Coleman's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, p. 115, &c.—*R.*

9 Most of the ancient testimonies concerning this custom are collected by Launoi, *De Sacramento unctionis infirmorum*, cap. i. p. 444. *Opp.* tom. i. Among these passages very few are to be found in the writers of the first two or three centuries, yet there is here and there one which has escaped the notice of this very learned man. [The principal writers on this subject are mentioned by Wolf, *Curæ philol. et crit.* tom iv. on Ja. v. 14.—*Mur.*

tom obtained, that most Christians occasionally and privately joined abstinence from food with their prayers, and especially when engaged in undertakings of great importance. 1 Cor. vii. 5. How much time should be spent in this duty, was left to the private judgment of each individual; nor was a person despised who thought it sufficient to observe only the rules of strict temperance.[1] Of any solemn public fasts, except only on the anniversary day of the crucifixion of Christ, there is no mention in the most ancient times. Gradually, however, days of fasting were introduced; first by custom and afterwards by legal sanction. Whether any thing of this nature occurred in the first century, and what days were devoted to fasting, we have not the means of deciding. And yet I would not deny that weighty arguments are adduced by those who think, that while the apostles were still living or soon after their decease, the Christians in most places abstained from food, either wholly or partially, on the fourth and on the sixth days of the week.[2]

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF RELIGIOUS SEPARATIONS OR HERESIES.

1. CHRISTIAN churches had scarcely been gathered and organized, when here and there men rose up who not being contented with the simplicity and purity of that religion which the apostles taught, attempted innovations, and fashioned religion according to their own notions. This appears from various passages in the epistles left us by the apostles, and particularly from those of Paul. For in these there is frequent mention of persons, who either endeavoured to mould the Christian doctrines into conformity with that philosophy or γνῶσις[3] to which they were addicted; or who were disposed to combine with Christianity Jewish opinions, customs, and institutions. Several of these corrupters of religion are likewise expressly named, as Hymenæus and Alexander, Philetus, Hermogenes, Phygellus, Demas, and Diotrephes.[4] If however from this list, Alexander, Hymenæus, and Philetus be excepted, the others appear to be rather apostates from the practice of religion, than corrupters of its principles.[5]

2. So long as the greater part of the personal disciples of the Saviour were alive, these innovators were not very successful, and seem to have had no great number of followers. But gradually they acquired more influence; and before the decease of all those whom Christ had himself instructed, they laid the foundations of those sects which afterwards exceedingly disturbed the Christian community, and gave rise to so many controversies. The history of these sects is very obscure; indeed, the most obscure part of ecclesiastical history. This obscurity arises, partly from the deficiency of ancient records; partly from the tenets of these sects, which for the most part were singularly obscure and remote from common apprehension; and partly from the ignorance and hostility of those who have written concerning them. This however is perfectly clear, that no one who loves the truths which the Bible inculcates can find anything to commend in the peculiarities of these sects.[6]

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1 *Shepherd of Hermas*, lib. iii. similit. v. pag. 9—31, 935, ed. Fabricii, at the close of vol. iii. of his *Codex Apocryph. N. T.* [The best writer on this subject is Daillé, *De Jejuniis et Quadragesimâ*. Davent. 1654, 8vo.; against whom, however, Beveridge brings some objections, in *Codex Canon. vind.*— *Schl.*

2 See Beveridge, *Codex Canon. vindic.* tom. ii. *Patr. Apostol.* p. 166.

3 1 Tim. vi. 20; and cap. i. 3, 4; Tit. iii. 9; Colos. ii. 8.

4 Concerning Diotrephes, there is a particular tract, by Stemler, 1758.— *Schl.*

5 2 Tim. ii. 18, and elsewhere. See also the elaborate discussions concerning these men, by Vitringa, *Observ. Sacræ*, lib. iv. cap ix. p. 952; Ittig, *De Hæresiarchis ævi apostol.* sec. i. cap viii. p. 84; Buddeus, *De Eccl. Apost.* cap. v. p. 292, &c. [As to Hymenæus and Philetus, we are informed by St. Paul (2 Tim. ii. 17, 18, comp. 1 Tim. i. 19, 20), that they had swerved not only in general from sound doctrine, but their particular error is pointed out. They taught that a resurrection of the dead was no longer to be anticipated, it being already past; and they laboured to make proselytes to this opinion. See *Exercitat. de Hymenæo et Phileto*, in his *Miscell. Sacra*, p. 81, &c. As to Alexander, it is still contested whether the Alexander in 1 Tim. i. 20; and 2 Tim. iv. 14; and Acts ix. 33, be one and the same person. The greater part believe the affirmative. But Heumann (*Erklärung d. N. T.* vol. vi. p. 363) and Mosheim (*De Rebus Christ. ante C. M.* p. 178) support the negative; being inclined to believe that there were two persons of this name. The younger Walch (*Historie der Ketzer.* p. 127) prefers abiding by the common opinion. Hermogenes and Phygellus are accused by Paul (2 Tim. i. 15) of only having forsaken him when he was imprisoned at Rome, which was inconstancy but not heresy. As to Demas, Paul tells us (2 Tim. iv. 10) that from love to the world, he had forsaken him. But this gives no ground for charging him with being a heretic. Diotrephes, mentioned in the 3d Ep. of John, is accused of a twofold fault; viz. refusing to receive those whom the apostle recommended to his kind offices; and setting himself in opposition to the apostle. But neither of these offences is sufficient to constitute him a heretic.— *Schl.*

6 Professed histories of the sects which arose in this and the next century, have been written by Ittig, *De Hæresiarchis ævi apostolici et apostolico proximi*. Lips. 1690, 4to, and an Appendix. Lips. 1696, 4to, by Renatus Massuet, *Dissertat. Irenæo præmissæ*; and by Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de l'Eglise*. But all these, and others whom I pass over, have rather collected materials for a history of these sects, than written the history itself. Among the Lutherans, Hinckelmann, Thomasius, Horbius; and among the Reformed, Basnage and Dodwell, have either promised the world such a history or attempted to write it, but have done no more. We must therefore still wait for some per-

3. At the head of all the sects which disturbed the peace of the church stand the Gnostics; who claimed ability to restore to mankind the lost knowledge (γνῶσις) of the true and supreme God; and who announced the overthrow of that empire, which the Creator of the world and His associates had set up. It is indeed the common opinion, and supported by the testimony of Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromat.* l. vii. cap. xvii. pages 898, 899), that the Gnostic sects first arose, after the decease of the apostles, in the reign of Adrian; and that previously no discords had produced separations from the church. But the sacred Scriptures themselves—to say nothing of other ancient documents—put it beyond controversy, that even in the first century, in various places, men infected with the Gnostic leprosy began to erect societies distinct from the other Christians. 1 John ii. 18; 1 Tim. vi. 20; Col. ii. 8.[1] Yet these stray flocks did not become distinguished for their numbers, or for their fame and notoriety till the times of Adrian. Under the appellation of Gnostics are included all those in the first ages of the church, who modified the religion of Christ by joining with it the oriental philosophy, in regard to the source of evil, and the origin of this material universe. The leading principles of this philosophy have already been stated.

4. All those eastern philosophers, believing that rational souls became connected with matter and inhabitants of bodies, contrary to the will and pleasure of the supreme God, were in expectation of a mighty legate from the Deity, possessed of consummate wisdom and power; who would imbue with a knowledge of the true God, the spirits now oppressed with the load of their bodies, and rescue them from their bondage to the lords of this material world. When, therefore, some of them perceived that Jesus and his friends wrought miracles of a beneficent character, they were ready to believe that Jesus was that mighty legate of God, come to deliver men from the power of the genii who governed this lower world, and to rescue souls from the influence of their material bodies. This supposition being admitted into minds polluted with gross errors, they interpreted or rather perverted, whatever Christ and his disciples taught, so as to make it harmonize with their other opinions.

5. Hence there necessarily arose among them a multitude of opinions which were extremely foreign from the precepts of Christ. Their belief that the world was not created by the supreme God in whom is all perfection, but by one or more inferior deities of a bad or at least of an imperfect character, would not allow them to admit the Divine authority of the Old Testament Scriptures; and it led some of them to venerate and extol the serpent, the prime author of sin among men, and likewise several of the vilest persons mentioned in the Jewish Scriptures. The same belief induced them to contemn Moses and the religion he taught; and to represent him as instigated to impose such hard and unsuitable laws on the Jews, by the world's Creator who had no regard for human happiness, but only for his own glory and authority. Their belief that matter is eternal and the source of all evil, prevented them from putting a due estimate upon the human body, and from favouring marriage whereby bodies are produced; and also from admitting the doctrine of the future resurrection of the body. Their belief that malevolent genii ruled over the world, and that from them originated all the diseases, wars, and calamities of men, led them almost universally to addict themselves to magic, or the art of weakening and paralyzing the power of those genii. I omit many other points incompatible with so summary a history as this.

6. Their principles required that while they admitted Christ to be the Son of the supreme God, and a messenger sent, for the benefit of miserable souls, from the *Pleroma* or upper world where God and his family dwell, they should hold most unworthy sentiments concerning his person and offices. They could not admit him to be truly God, nor truly man. Not truly God, because they held him, though begotten of God, to be yet much inferior to the Father; nor truly man, because everything concrete and corporeal they believed to be intrinsically and essentially evil: therefore most of them divested Christ of a material body, and denied him to have suffered for our sakes what he is recorded to have endured. The cause of Christ's coming among men, they said, was simply to strip the tyrants of this

son of adequate sagacity, fairness, and skill in ancient philosophy and literature, to accomplish this difficult undertaking. [This has been since attempted by Walch, in the work already referred to under the running title of *Hist. der Ketzer.*; Lardner, *Hist. of the Heretics*. London, 1780, 4to; Lewald, *De Doctrina Gnostica*. Heidelb. 1818, 8vo; Neander, *Genetische Entwickelung d. vornehmsten Gnost. Systeme*. Berlin, 1818, 8vo; and still better, in his *Algem. Gesch. der Chr. Relig. u. Kirche*, vol. i. part ii. pages 602—859.—*Mur.*

[1] The reader will recollect, that Mosheim's opinions, concerning an oriental philosophy in the apostolic age, have been much questioned (see above, Note 2, p. 29); and that these texts which speak only of false teachers who corrupted the truth, afford no certain evidence of the existence of Gnostic churches or congregations existing as distinct religious bodies.—*Mur.* [See Burton's *Heresies of the Apostolic Age*, Lecture i.—*R.*

world, those impotent genii, of their power over the virtuous and heaven-born souls of men; and to teach men how to withdraw their divine minds from these impure bodies, and fit them for a union with God.

7. Their systems of morals, we are informed, were widely different. For most of them recommended abstinence and austerity, and prescribed the most severe bodily mortifications, in order that the soul, whose ill fate it was to be associated with a body, might enjoy greater liberty, and be able the better to contemplate heavenly things. For, the more this depraved and grovelling habitation of the soul is weakened and attenuated, the less will it be able to withdraw the mind from the contemplation of divine objects. But some of them maintained, on the contrary, that we may safely indulge all our libidinous desires; and that there is no moral difference in human actions.[1] This contrariety of opinions needs not surprise us, because the one principle naturally produced both systems. For persons who believed that their bodies were the very essence of evil and calculated only to hold their souls in bondage, might, according as they were of a voluptuous or of a morose and austere disposition, either fall into the conclusion, that the acts of the body have no connexion with the soul when it has attained to communion with God, or, on the contrary, suppose that the body must be strenuously resisted and opposed as being the enemy of the soul.

8. As these extraordinary opinions required proof, which it was not easy to find in the writings of the apostles, recourse was had to falsehoods and impositions. Therefore when asked, where they had learned what they had so confidently taught, some produced fictitious books under the names of Abraham, Zoroaster, and Christ, or his apostles; some pretended to have derived their principles from a concealed and secret doctrine taught by Christ; some affirmed that they had arrived at this high degree of wisdom by an innate energy which existed in their own minds; and some pretended that one Theudas, a disciple of St. Paul, or Matthias, one of Christ's disciples, had been their teacher. Those of them who did not wholly reject the books of the New Testament, either interpreted them most absurdly neglecting the true import of words, or wantonly corrupted them by retrenching what they disliked, and adding what they pleased.

9. It is easy to see how these persons, after assuming the name of Christians, became divided into numerous sects. In the first place, it appears from what has been already stated, that they held very different opinions before they professed Christianity. Hence, as each one endeavoured to accommodate his own philosophical opinions to the Christian religion, it was the necessary consequence that various systems of religion were produced. Moreover, some of them were born Jews as Cerinthus and others, and did not wish to appear contemners of Moses; while others were wholly estranged from the Jewish religion, and could indulge themselves in liberties which the former could not. And lastly, this whole system of philosophy and religion was destitute of any fixed and solid basis, and was, in a great measure, the creature of their own fancy; and who does not know, that systems and institutions which are the productions of the imagination, never have uniformity?

10. The heads and leaders of the philosophical sects which troubled the church in the first century, next come to be considered. The first place among them is by many given to Dositheus, a Samaritan. And it is sufficiently proved that there was a man of this name among the Samaritans, about the time of our Saviour; and that he left a sect behind him. But all the accounts we have of him clearly show that he is to be ranked, not among those called heretics, but among the enemies of the Christian name; or, if it be thought more correct, among the delirious and insane; for he wished to be accounted the Messiah or that Prophet whom God had promised to the Jews; he could not, therefore, have held Jesus Christ to be a divine ambassador, nor have merely corrupted his doctrines.[2]

11. What I have said of Dositheus I would likewise say of Simon Magus. This impious man is not to be ranked among those who corrupted Christianity by an in-

[1] See Clemens Alex. *Stromat.* lib. iii. cap. v. p. 529, ed. Potter.

[2] Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, livr. ii. chap. xiii. p. 307. Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclés.* par M. du Pin, tome iii. chap. xiii. p. 304. [Mosheim, *Inst. hist. Chris. majores*, p. 376. Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. i. p. 182. All the accounts make Dositheus to have lived among the Samaritans; one writer represents him as an apostate Jew. According to Origen (*Philocal.* i.), he was a rigorous observer of the law of Moses; and particularly allowed no one to move from the spot where the Sabbath overtook him. According to Epiphanius (*Hæres.* lib. i. par. i. hær. 13, previous to the Christian heresies), he was an apostate Jew whose ambition being disappointed, he retired among the Samaritans, lived in a cave, and fasted so rigorously as to occasion his death. Other ancient accounts simply mention him among the founders of sects; as Hegesippus, in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv. cap. xxii. It is said, his followers accounted him the Messiah (Photius, *Biblioth.* cxxx.); and that at first he claimed to be so; but afterwards retracted in presence of his pupil Simon

termixture of errors or among the heretics, but is to be classed among those who declared open war against Christianity, although nearly all the ancient and modern writers account him the head, father, and ringleader of the whole heretical crew. For it is manifest from all the records we have of him, that after his defection from the Christians, he ascribed to Christ no honour at all; but set himself in opposition to Christ and claimed to be the supreme power of God.

12. What the ancients relate of the life and opinions of Simon are so different and inconsistent, that some very learned men have concluded they could not all relate to one person; and therefore they suppose two Simons; the one, Simon Magus, who abandoned the Christian religion; and the other, a Gnostic philosopher. On this point men will judge as they see right; but to me it appears neither safe nor necessary to reject the testimony of the ancients that there was only one Simon.[1] He was by birth either a Samaritan or a Jew; and after studying philosophy at Alexandria,[2] professed to be a magician, as was common in that age: and by his fictitious miracles persuaded the Samaritans among others, that he had received from God the power of controlling those evil spirits which afflict mankind. Acts viii. 9, 10. On seeing the miracles which Philip performed by Divine power, Simon joined himself to him, professed to be a Christian, and hoped to learn from the Christians the art of working miracles. When cut off from this hope by the pointed reproof of St. Peter (Acts viii. 9, 10), he not only returned to his old course of sorcery, but wherever he went he laboured to obstruct the progress of Christianity. The accounts of his tragical death and of a statue decreed him at Rome, are rejected with great unanimity by the learned at the present day. They are at least uncertain and improbable.[3]

13. Simon undoubtedly belonged to that class of philosophers who admitted, as co existent with the supreme and all-perfect God, not only eternal matter but an evil deity who presided over it. And if I mistake not, he was one of those in this class who believed matter to have been eternally animated, and at a certain period to have brought forth, by its inherent energies, that depraved being who now rules over it, surrounded by numerous attendants. From this opinion of Simon, the other gross errors ascribed to him by the ancients concerning fate, the indifference of human actions, the impurity of the human body, the power of magic, &c. would very naturally follow.[4] The most shocking of all his abominations was, his pretence that the greatest and most powerful of the Divine Æons of the male sex resided in himself; and likewise that another Æon of the female sex, the mother of all human souls, resided in his mistress Helena; and his proclaiming that the supreme God had dispatched him down to this world, to break up the empire of the world's fabricators, and to deliver Helena out of their hands.[5]

Magus (Clemens, *Recogn.* lib. ii. 8, &c.) Eulogius, Bishop of Alexandria, in the seventh century wrote against the Dositheans (according to Photius, *Biblioth.* cxxx.), and besides his pretended Messiahship, he attributes to Dositheus various errors, all of which coincided with either Sadducean or Samaritan opinions. See Schmidt, *Handb. d. christl. Kirchengeschichte*, vol. i. sec. 50, p. 214, &c.—*Mur.*

1 See the Dissertation by Voelger, revised and published by Mosheim, *Diss. ad Histor. Eccles. pertinentes*, vol. ii p. 55, &c. *De uno Simone Mago.* [The idea of two Simons, the one a Samaritan mentioned Acts viii. the other a Jewish philosopher in the reign of Domitian, and the father of all the Gnostic sects, was first thrown out as a conjecture by Vitringa, *Observ. Sacrar.* lib. v. cap. xii. sec. 9, p. 159, and afterwards defended by Heumann, *Acta erudit.* Lips. for April, A.D. 1717, p. 179; and Beausobre, *Diss. sur les Adamites*, part ii. subjoined to L'Enfant's *Histoire de la guerre des Hussites*, sec. 1. p. 350, &c. But this hypothesis is now generally given up.—*Mur.*

2 *Clementina*, Homil. ii. in *Patr. Apostol.* tom. ii. p. 533.

3 See Beausobre, *Histoire de Manichée*, pages 203—395; Van Dale, *Diss. de Statua Simonis*, annexed to his book *De Oraculis*, p 579; Deyling, *Observat. Sacrar.* lib. i. Observ. xxxvi. p. 140; Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p 340, and numerous others. [What Arnobius, *Adv. Gentes*, lib. ii. p. 64, ed. Herald, and after him, many others relate, with some variety, concerning Simon's death; viz. that while practising magic at Rome, in order to ingratiate himself with Nero, he attempted to fly being assisted by evil spirits; but that by the prayers of St. Peter, the evil spirits were compelled to let him fall, which either killed him outright or broke his bones, and so mortified him that he killed himself,—is too improbable and has too much the aspect of fiction to gain credit in this enlightened age. And the mistake of Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. cap. xxxiv. who says he saw a public statue inscribed to Simon on an island in the Tiber at Rome, has been satisfactorily accounted for, since the discovery, in the year 1574, of a stone in the Tiber at Rome, bearing this inscription: "Semoni Sanco, Deo Fidio Sacrum." For this inscription, which Justin, being an Asiatic, might easily misunderstand, was undoubtedly intended for an ancient pagan god.—*Mur.*

4 The dissertation of Horbius, *De Simone Mago*, though a juvenile production and needing correction in style, I prefer to all others on this subject. It will be found republished by Voigtius, in the *Biblioth. Hæresiologica*, tom. i. par. iii. p. 511. Horblus treads closely in the steps of his preceptor, Thomasius, who very clearly saw the source of those numerous errors by which the Gnostics and especially Simon, were infected. The other writers who have treated of Simon, are enumerated by Voigtius, *ubi supra*, p. 567. [See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. i. p. 152, &c. The English reader will find a full, but not a very accurate, account of Simon in Calmet's *Dictionary of the Bible.*—*Mur.* [But he ought especially to refer to Burton's *Heresies of the Apost. Age*, Lec. iv. with the illustrative Notes 38 to 43, inclusive; and to Milman's *Hist. of Christ.* vol. ii. p. 96, &c.—*R.*

5 Some very learned men, I am aware, have supposed that the ancient accounts of Simon's *Helena* should be interpreted allegorically; and that Simon intended, by

14. From Simon Magus, it is said, Menander, who was also a Samaritan, learned his doctrine; which is no more true than what the ancients relate, that all the heretical sects derived their origin from this Simon. Menander is to be removed from the list of heretics strictly so called, and classed among the lunatics and madmen, who foolishly arrogated to themselves the character of the Saviour of mankind. For it appears from the testimony of Irenæus, Justin Martyr, and Tertullian,[1] that he wished to be thought one of the Æons, sent from the upper world or the Pleroma, to succour the souls which were here suffering miserably in material bodies; and to afford them aid against the machinations and the violence of the demons who governed our world. As he erected his religious system on the same fundamental principles as Simon did, the ancients supposed that he must have been his disciple.

15. If those now mentioned are excluded from the number of the heretics of the first century, the first place among the Christian sectaries, and also among those denominated Gnostics, seems to belong to the Nicolaitans, of whom Jesus Christ himself expressed his detestation. Rev. ii. 6, 14, 15. It is true the Saviour does not tax them with errors in matters of faith, but only with licentious conduct and a disregard of the injunction of the apostles to abstain from meats offered to idols, and from fornication. Acts xv. 29. But the writers of the second and the following centuries, Irenæus, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus,[2] and others, declare that they taught the same doctrines with the Gnostics concerning two principles of all things, and concerning the Æons and the origin of the present world. Whether this testimony is to be admitted, or whether we are to suppose that the ancients confounded two different sects which bore the same name; the one, the Apocalyptical Nicolaitans, and the other, a Gnostic sect of the second century founded by a man named Nicolaus; is a question which admits of doubt.[3]

16. With greater propriety we may reckon among the Gnostics, Cerinthus, a Jew by birth,[4] but was taught literature and philosophy at Alexandria.[5] Though some of the learned have chosen to assign him rather to the second century than to the first,[6] yet it appears it was while St. John was still living, that he endeavoured to form a singular system of religion, compounded of the doctrines and principles of Jesus Christ, and those of the Gnostics and Jews. From the Gnostics he borrowed the notions of a Pleroma, Æons, a Demiurge, &c. but these he so modified, that they appeared not wholly inconsistent with the opinions of the Jews. Therefore to the Creator of this world, whom also he acknowledged to be the Sovereign and the Lawgiver of the Jewish nation, he ascribed a nature possessed of the highest virtues, and derived from the true God; but which, he affirmed, had gradually receded from its primitive excellence and become deteriorated. Hence God had determined to subvert his power by means of one of the blessed Æons, whose name was Christ. This Christ had entered into a certain Jew named Jesus (a very righteous and holy

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the name of Helena, to indicate matter or the soul or something I know not what. But for such an allegorical interpretation, it would be easy to show there is little foundation.

1 Irenæus, lib. i. cap. xxiii.; Justin Martyr, *Apol.* ii. p. 69; Tertullian, *De Anima*, cap. 50; and *De Resurrect.* cap. v.—*Mur.*

2 Irenæus, lib. iii cap. xi. and lib. ii. cap. xxvii.; Tertull. *De Præscript.* cap. xlvi.; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* lib. iii. cap. iv.—*Mur.*

3 See *Demonstratio Sectæ Nicolaitarum, adv. doctiss. ejus oppugnatores, cum Supplemento;* in Mosheim's *Dissert. ad Histor. Eccles. pertin.* vol. i. pag. 389—495; also, Mosheim's *Institut. Hist. Christ. major.* p. 46, and *Comment. de Reb. Christ. ante C. M.* p. 195, and especially Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. i. p. 167. All the ancients, except John Cassianus (*Collatio*, xviii. cap. xvi.), supposed that Nicolaus of Antioch, the Deacon (Acts vi. 5), was either the founder or accidental cause of this sect. Irenæus makes him to have been the founder of it. But Clemens Alex. states that an incautious speech or act of his gave occasion only to this sect. For he being one day accused of too much attention to his wife, when he came to defend himself he publicly divorced her, using the expression, ὅτι παραχρήσασθαι τῇ σαρκὶ δεῖ, it is proper to abuse the flesh; *i.e.* to subdue its corrupt propensities. This speech was afterwards perversely applied, by a Gnostic association, to justify their abominations. With this account agree Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. cap. xxix.; Theodoret. *Fab. Hæret.* lib. iii. cap. i. *Opp.* tom. iv. p. 226, and Augustine, *De Hæres.* cap. v. Now the question arises, whether there actually was, in the time of St. John, an heretical party holding different fundamental principles from the orthodox, and distinguished by the name of Nicolaitans. Some say there was, others say there was not. Mosheim takes the affirmative on account of the historical credibility of the Fathers, and the literal import of the words used in the *Revelation*. The next question is, who was the founder of this sect? Here, some follow Irenæus; others follow Clemens Alex.; and some, among whom is Mosheim, think it probable there were two persons of the name of Nicolaus. If this supposition be admitted, it will be easy to account for the fact that the Nicolaitans of the Fathers are accused of Gnosticism, while there is no mention of it in the *Revelation*. Baumgarten's *Auzug der Kirchengesch.*—*Schl.*

4 For Epiphanius states, *Hæres.* xxviii. sec. 3, that he was circumcised; and Johannes Damascenus, *De Hæres.* cap. viii. that his followers were Jews. His doctrines also show higher respect for the Jewish forms of worship than is common for the Gnostic heretics. Walch's *Hist. der Ketzer*, vol. i. p. 250.—*Schl.*

5 Theodoret, *Fabul. Hæret.* lib. ii. cap. iii. Opp. tom. iii. p. 219.

6 See Basnage, *Annal. Polit. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 6; Faydit, *Eclaircissements sur l'histoire ecclés. de deux premiers siècles*, chap. v. p. 64, and others. To this is opposed Buddeus, *De Eccl. Apostol.* cap. v. p. 412; [and Tillemont, *Mém. pour servir à l'histoire de l'Eglise*, tome ii. p. 486; and Mosheim, *Instit. Hist. Eccles. ma*

man, the son of Joseph and Mary by ordinary generation), by descending upon him in the form of a dove, at the time when he was baptized by John in the river Jordan. After his union with Christ, this Jesus vigorously assailed the God of the Jews, the world's Creator; and by his instigation Jesus was seized by the rulers of the Jewish nation and nailed to the cross. But when Jesus was apprehended Christ flew away to heaven; so that only the man Jesus was put to death. Cerinthus required his followers to worship the supreme God, the father of Christ, together with Christ himself; but to abandon the Jewish Lawgiver, whom he accounted the Creator of this world; and while they retained some parts of the Mosaic law, to regulate their lives chiefly by the precepts of Christ. He promised them a resurrection of their bodies, which would be succeeded by exquisite delights in the millenary reign of Christ; and then would follow a happy and never-ending life in the celestial world. For Cerinthus supposed that Christ would hereafter return, and would unite himself again with the man Jesus in whom he had before dwelt; and would reign with his followers during a thousand years in Palestine.[1]

17. Those who maintained the necessity of the Mosaic law and ceremonies in order to eternal salvation, had not proceeded so far in this century as to have no communion with such as thought differently. They were of course accounted brethren, though weaker ones. But after the second destruction of Jerusalem in the reign of Adrian, when they withdrew from the other Christians and set up separate congregations; they were regarded as sectarians who had deviated from the true doctrines of Christ. Hence arose the names, Nazarenes,[2] and Ebionites;[3] by which those Christians, whose errors originated from an undue attachment to the Mosaic law, were discriminated from the other Christians, who held that the Mosaic ceremonial law was abrogated by Christ. These Nazarenes or Ebionites, though commonly set down among the sects of the apostolic age, in reality belong to the second century in which they had their origin.

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jor. sec. i. p. 439, &c. They who place Cerinthus in the second century rely chiefly on two arguments. The first is, that the ancient writers who treat of the heretics set down Cerinthus after Marcion, (rather after Carpocrates.) The other rests on a spurious letter of Pius, Bishop of Rome (in the middle of the second century), to Justus, Bishop of Vienne; in which Pius laments that Cerinthus was at that time making many proselytes. The epistle may be found in Constant. *Epistol. Pontific. Append.* tom. i. p. 19; [and in Binius, *Concil. Gen.* tom. i. p. 124.] But the first argument proves nothing, because the historians of the heresies pay no regard to chronological order; and the second falls, because the epistle is not genuine.—*Schl.* [But, see on this subject Lampe, *Commentar. in Johan. Proleg.* lib. ii. cap. iii. sec. 13, &c. p. 181, &c.—*Mur.*

1 The doctrines of Cerinthus are stated in full by Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. i. page 260, &c.; and by Mosheim, *Instit: hist. Christ. major.* p. 445; and *Comment. de Reb. Christ. ante C. M.* p. 196. It may be remarked that Irenæus, *Adv. Hæres.* lib. iii. cap. iii. says he had heard from various persons, that Polycarp told them, that the Apostle John once met Cerinthus in a public bath at Ephesus, and instantly fled out saying he was afraid the bath would fall on that enemy of the truth and kill him. This story may be true, notwithstanding Irenæus had it from third-hand testimony; but the addition to it, that Cerinthus was actually killed by the fall of the building as soon as John had gone out, was first annexed in modern times by the Dominican, Bernhard of Luxemburg, in his *Catalogus Hæreticorum;* and it deserves no credit. See Walch, *ubi supra*, p. 255.—*Schl.*

2 This name the Jews first gave by way of reproach to the disciples of Christ, because he was a citizen of Nazareth. Acts xxiv. 5. Afterwards the name was applied especially to a Christian sect which endeavoured to unite the Mosaic law with the religion of Christ. Of these Nazarenes, Mosheim treats largely, *Institut. hist. Christ. major* p. 465, and *Comment. de Rebus Christ. ante C. M.* p. 328; as also Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. i. p. 101, &c.—*Schl.*

3 The origin of this name is still a subject of controversy. Some derive it from some founder of this sect who was called Ebion. Others think the name Ebionites to be equivalent to the Hebrew word אביונים *poor people.* But they are not agreed why this name was given to the sect. Others again regard the whole subject as an historical problem, which can never be solved with absolute certainty. It is treated of largely by Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer*, vol. i. p. 100; and by Mosheim, *Institut. hist. Christ. major.* p. 477; and in his *Diss. qua ostenditur, certo hodie et explorate constitui non posse, utrum Ebion quidam novæ Sectæ auctor extiterit olim inter Christianos, necne?* in his *Dissert. ad hist. eccles. pertin.* vol. i. p. 547, &c. See Doederlein, *Commentar. de Ebionæis e numero hostium Christi eximendis.* Büzow. 1770, 8vo.—*Schl.* [See also Burton's *Heresies of the Apost. Age*, Lect. vi. with notes 73 to 84, inclusive; and particularly Gieseler, *Lehrbuch d. Kircheng.* sec. 32, with the important references to recent works in notes 8 and 9. Davidson's translation, vol. i. p. 98, &c. Also, Matter, *Hist. du Gnost.* vol. iii. p. 11, &c. who likewise treats of the *Elxaites* or *Elcesaites.*—*R.*

CENTURY SECOND.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS OF THE CHURCH.

1. MOST of the Roman emperors of this century were of a mild character. Trajan (A.D. 98—117), though too eager for glory and not always sufficiently considerate and provident, was humane and equitable. Adrian (A.D. 117—138) was more severe, yet not absolutely bad and tyrannical; his character was a compound of virtues and vices. The Antonines (Pius, A.D. 138—161, Marcus Aurelius the Philosopher, A.D. 161—180, with Verus, A.D. 161—169, and Commodus, A.D. 169—192) were models of excellence and benignity. Even Severus (A.D. 193—211), who afterwards assumed another character, was at first oppressive to no one, and to the Christians mild and equitable.

2. Through this lenity of the emperors, Christians living in the Roman empire suffered far less than they would have done if they had been under severer rulers. The laws enacted against them were indeed sufficiently hard; and the magistrates, excited by the priests and the populace, often made considerable havoc among them, and went frequently much beyond what the laws required. Yet for these evils some relief was commonly attainable. Trajan would not have the Christians to be sought after; and he forbade any complaints being received against them without the names of the accusers annexed.[1] And Antoninus Pius even decreed that their accusers should be punished.[2] Some in one way and others in another, protected them against the evil designs of the populace and the priests. Hence the Christian community increased and became vastly numerous in this century. Of this fact we have the clearest testimony of the ancients, which some have in vain attempted to call in question.[3]

3. On what particular countries, both within the Roman empire and beyond it, the light of heavenly truth first shone in this century, the paucity of ancient records will not allow us to state with precision. There are unexceptionable witnesses who declare that in nearly all the East, and among the Germans, the Spaniards, the Celts, the Britons, and other nations, Christ was now worshipped as God.[4] But if any inquire, which of these nations received Christianity in this century and which in the preceding, it is not in my power to answer. Pantænus, master of the school in Alexandria, is said to have instructed the

1 See Pliny's *Epistles*, lib. x. ep. 98.

2 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. xiii. [where the law of Antoninus is given at length from the Apology of Melito. Some indeed have supposed that it was Marcus Antoninus, and not Antoninus Pius, who issued this decree. (So Valesius *in loc.*) But this is contrary to the express testimony of Eusebius, and to the contents of the edict itself. For we know from history that the earthquakes, mentioned in the edict, happened under Pius. See Capitolinus, *Vita Antonini Pii*, cap. iii. Besides, if Marcus himself had published this edict, Melito could have had no occasion by this Apology, to implore the grace of the emperor in favour of the Christians. See Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ. ante C.M.* p. 240.—*Schl.*

3 See Moyle, *On the Thundering Legion*; a Latin translation of which, with notes, I have annexed to my *Syntagma Diss. ad sanctiores disciplinas pertinent.* pages 652—661. See also an additional passage in Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryphone*, p. 341.

4 Irenæus, *Adv. Hæres.* lib. i. cap. x.; Tertullian, *Adv. Judæos*, cap. vii. [The testimony of the former is this: "Neither do those churches which are established among the Germans, believe or teach otherwise; nor do those among the Heberil, or among the Celts; nor those in the East; nor those in Egypt; nor those in Libya; nor those established in the central parts of the world." The language of Tertullian is rhetorical, and the statement, undoubtedly, somewhat too strong. He says: "In whom, but the Christ now come, have all nations believed? For, in whom do all other nations (but yours, the Jews) confide? Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, Armenia, Phrygia, Cappadocia, and inhabitants of Pontus, and Asia, and Pamphylia; the dwellers in Egypt, and inhabitants of the region beyond Cyrene; Romans and strangers; and in Jerusalem both Jews and proselytes, so that the various tribes of the Getuli and the numerous hordes of the Moors; all the Spanish clans, and the different nations of Gauls, and the regions of the Britons inaccessible to the Romans but subject to Christ, and of the Sarmatians, and the Dacians, and Germans, and Scythians, and many unexplored nations and countries, and islands unknown to us and which we cannot enumerate: in all which places, the name of the Christ who has already come, now reigns."—*Mur.*

Indians in Christianity.[1] But these Indians appear to have been certain Jews, living in Arabia Felix. For Pantænus found among them, according to the testimony of Jerome, the Gospel of St. Matthew which they had received from their first teacher Bartholomew.

4. From Gaul, it would seem, the Christian religion must have spread into Germany on the left of the Rhine, which was subject to the Romans, and also into Britain opposite to Gaul.[2] Yet certain churches in Germany have been accustomed to deduce their origin from the companions and disciples of St. Peter and other apostles;[3] and the Britons, following the account given by Bede would fain believe that their king Lucius sought and obtained Christian teachers from Eleutherus the Roman pontiff, in this second century and during the reign of Marcus Antoninus.[4] But these ancient accounts are exposed to much doubt, and are rejected by the best informed persons.

1 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. cap. x. Jerome, *De Scriptoribus Illustr.* cap. xxxvi. [According to Eusebius, the zeal of Pantænus prompted him to undertake a voluntary mission among the Indians. But according to Jerome (*De Scriptor. Illustr.* cap. xxxvi. and ep. lxxxiii. *Opp.* tom. iv. par. ii. p. 656, ed. Bened.), he was sent out by Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, in consequence of a request made by the Indians for a Christian teacher. As it is well known that the Greek and Latin writers give the name of Indians to the Persians, Parthians, Medes, Arabians, Ethiopians, Libyans, and many other nation slittle known to them; the learned have inquired who were the Indians visited by Pantænus? Many think they were those we call the East Indians, inhabiting the country about the river Indus. Jerome so thought, for he represents him as sent to instruct the Brahmans. Valesius and Holstenius and others suppose they were the Abyssinians or Ethiopians, who are often called Indians and were near, and always had intercourse with, the Egyptians. See Basnage, *Annal. polit. eccles.* tome ii. p. 207; Valesius, *Adnotat. ad Socratis Hist. Eccles.* p. 13. Others incline to believe them Jews, resident in Yemen or Arabia Felix, a country often called India. That they were not strangers to Christianity is evident from their having Matthew's Gospel among them, and from their desiring some one to expound it to them. Their applying to the Bishop of Alexandria shows that Egypt was to them the most accessible Christian country; and their having the Gospel written in Hebrew, as Jerome testifies, is good proof that they were Jews; because no other people understood that language. Besides Bartholomew had formerly been among them, the field of whose labours has been supposed to be Arabia Felix. See Tillemont's life of Bartholomew, in his *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de l'Eglise*, tome i. pages 1160, 1161. See Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ. ante C. M.* p. 206, 207.—*Mur.*

2 On the origin of those German churches mentioned by Tertullian and Irenæus as existing in this century, Ursinus, Bebelius, and others have written; and still better, Liron, *Singularités historiques et littéraires*, tome iv. Paris, 1740, 8vo. The common and popular accounts of the first preachers of the Gospel in Germany, are learnedly impugned by Calmet, *Histoire de Lorraine*, tome i. *Diss. sur les Evêques de Treves*, pages 3, 4; Bolland, *Acta Sanctorum*, January, tom. ii. p. 922; Hontheim, *Diss. de æra episcopat. Trevirensis;* in *Historia Trevirensis*, tom. i.

3 It is said St. Peter sent Eucherius, Valerius, and Maternus into Belgic Gaul; and that they planted the churches of Cologne, Treves, Tongres, Liege, and some others; and presided over them till their death. See Brower, *Annales Trevirenses*, lib. ii. p. 143, &c.; and *Acta Sanctor. Antwerpien.* 29th of January, p. 918. But Calmet, Bolland, and Hontheim (*ubi supra*), have proved satisfactorily that these pretended founders of the German churches did not live earlier than the third or fourth century, and were first represented as being legates of the apostles in the middle ages. See Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 212.—*Mur.*

4 See Ussher, *Eccl. Britannicar. Primordia*, cap. i. p. 7; Godwin, *De Conversione Britann.* cap. i. p. 7; Rapin, *History of England*, vol. i.; [Burton, *Adnotat. ad Clementis Rom. epist. ad Corinth.* in *Patribus Apos.* tom. ii. p. 470; Stillingfleet, *Antiquit. of the Eng. Church.* cap. i.; Spanheim, *Historia Eccles. major.* sæcul. ii. pages 603, 604. The first publication of the Gospel in Britain has been attributed to James, the son of Zebedee, whom Herod put to death (Acts xii. 1); to Simon Zelotes, another apostle; to Aristobulus (mentioned Rom. xvi. 10); to St. Peter, &c. by some few legendary writers who are cited by Ussher, *Eccl. Britann. Primordia*, cap. i. But, rejecting these accounts, William of Malmesbury, and after him many other monks, maintained that Joseph of Arimathea, with twelve others, were sent from Gaul by St. Philip, into Britain, A.D. 63; that they were successful in planting Christianity; spent their lives in England, had twelve hides of land assigned them by the king at Glastonbury, where they first built a church of hurdles, and afterwards established a monastery. By maintaining the truth of this story, the English clergy obtained the precedence of some others, in several councils of the fifteenth century, and particularly that of Basil, A.D. 1434. (Ussher's *Primordia*, cap. ii. pag. 12—30.) Since the Reformation, this story has been given up by most of the English clergy. But as Eusebius (*Demonstrat Evang.* lib. iii. cap. v.) and Theodoret (*Græcar. Curatio Affectionum*, lib. ix.) name the Britons among others, to whom the apostles themselves preached the Gospel, some have maintained that St. Paul must have visited that country, and they urge that Clemens Rom. says, that this apostle travelled ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως, *to the utmost bounds of the west.* They also urge that among the many thousand Romans who passed over into Britain in the reign of Claudius and his successors, there were doubtless some Christians, who would spread the knowledge of Christ there. But the principal reliance has been on the reported application of King Lucius to Pope Eleutherus for Christian teachers, about A.D. 150, or rather 176. (Ussher, *Primordia*, cap. iv. p. 44, &c.) On all these traditions Mosheim passes the following judgment: Whether any apostle or any companion of an apostle, ever visited Britain, cannot be determined; yet the balance of probability rather inclines towards the affirmative. The story of Joseph of Arimathea might arise from the arrival of some Christian teacher from Gaul, in the second century, whose name was Joseph. As the Gauls, from Dionysius, Bishop of Paris, in the second century, made Dionysius the Areopagite to be their apostle; and the Germans made Maternus, Eucherius, and Valerius, who lived in the third and fourth centuries, to be preachers of the first century, and attendants on St. Peter; so the British monks, I have no doubt, made a certain Joseph from Gaul in the second century, to be Joseph of Arimathea. As to Lucius, I agree with the best British writers in supposing him to be the restorer and second father of the English churches, and not their original founder. That he was a king, is not probable; because Britain was then a Roman province. He might be a nobleman, and governor of a district. His name is Roman. His application I can never believe was made to the Bishop of Rome. It is much more probable, he sent to Gaul for Christian teachers. The independence of the ancient British churches on the see of Rome, and their observing the same rites with the Gallic churches, which were planted by Asiatics, and particularly in regard to the time of Easter, show that they received the Gospel from Gaul, and not from Rome. See Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 213, &c.—*Mur.* [This subject has been subsequently investigated, but with no new results—first by Dr. Hales, in his *Essay on the Origin and Purity of the Primitive Church in the British Isles.* Lond. 1819, 8vo; next by Thackeray, in his *Researches into the Eccles. and Polit. State of Anc. Britain under the Rom. Emperors.*

5. Transalpine Gaul which is now called France, perhaps received some knowledge of the Gospel before this century, either from the apostles or from their friends and disciples. But unequivocal proofs of the existence of churches in this part of Europe first occur in the present century. For in it Pothinus, a man of distinguished piety and devotedness to Christ, in company with Irenæus and other holy men, proceeded from Asia to Gaul, and there instructed the people with such success, that he gathered churches of Christians at Lyons and Vienne, of which Pothinus himself was the first president or bishop.[1]

6. This rapid propagation of Christianity is ascribed by the writers of the second century almost exclusively to the efficient will of God, to the energy of Divine truth, and to the miracles wrought by Christians. Yet human counsels and pious efforts ought not to be wholly overlooked. Much was undoubtedly effected by the activity of pious men, who recommended and communicated to the people around them the writings of Christ's ambassadors, which were already collected into one volume. All people indeed were not acquainted with the language in which these divine books were composed; but this obstacle was early removed by the labours of translators. As the language of the Romans was extensively used, many Latin translations, as we are informed by Augustine,[2] were made at an early period. Of these, that which is called the Italic Version[3] was preferred to all others. The Latin version was followed by a Syriac, an Egyptian, an Ethiopic, and some others. But the precise dates of these several translations cannot be ascertained.[4]

7. Those who wrote apologies for the Christians, and thus met the calumnies and slanders by which they were unjustly assailed, removed some obstacles to the progress of Christ's religion, and in this way contributed not a little to the enlargement of the church. For very many were prevented from embracing Christianity, solely by those detestable calumnies with which ungodly men aspersed it.[5] Another support to the Christian cause was furnished by the writers against the heretics. For

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Lond. 1843, 2 vols. 8vo; and still more recently by Smith, in his *Religion of Ancient Britain*. Lond. post 8vo, 1844. Of Paul's presumed visit to Britain, see Burton's *Lect. on Ecc. Hist.* &c. i. 284-6.—*R.*

[1] Peter de Marca, *Epistola de Evangelii in Gallia initiis*, published among his dissertations, and also by Valesius, subjoined to *Eusebii Historia Eccl.*; Launoi, *Opuscula*, in his *Opp.* tom. ii. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tome i. p. 223.; Liron, *Singularités historiques et littéraires*, the whole fourth volume. Paris, 1740, 8vo, and others. [The most eminent French writers have disputed about the origin of their churches. Three different opinions have been advanced. The first is that of Launoi (*ubi supra*), whom many writers of eminence at this day follow. It is, that if we except the Asiatic colonists of Lyons and Vienne among whom there were Christian churches formed about A.D. 150; the first propagation of Christianity among the Transalpine Gauls, was by missionaries from Rome about A.D. 250. This hypothesis is founded chiefly on the testimony of three ancient writers; viz. Sulpicius Severus, *Historia Sacra*, lib. ii. cap. xxxii. where, speaking of the persecution at Lyons and Vienne under Marcus Antoninus (A.D. 177), he says: These were the first martyrs among the Gauls; for the Divine religion was not received *till late* beyond the Alps. The next testimony is that of the author of the *Acts of Saturninus*, Bishop of Toulouse, who suffered under Decius. The author is supposed to have written in the beginning of the fourth century. He says: Scattered churches of a few Christians arose in some cities of Gaul in the third century. See Ruinart, *Acta Martyr. sincera*, p. 130. The third testimony is that of Gregory of Tours, the father of French history (in the *Historia Francor.* lib. i. cap. xxvii. and *De Gloria Confessorum*, cap. xxx ed. Ruinart, p. 399.) He says: Under Decius (A.D. 248—251), seven missionaries were sent from Rome to preach in Gaul. Now these seven missionaries are the very persons who are said to have been sent thither by St. Paul and St. Peter; viz. Trophimus Bishop of Arles, Stremonius Bishop of Clermont, Martial Bishop of Limoges, Paul Bishop of Narbonne, Saturninus Bishop of Toulouse, Gratian Bishop of Tours, and Dionysius Bishop of Paris. The second opinion is that of the strenuous advocates for the apostolic origin of the Gallic churches, Peter de Marca (*ubi supra*), Natalis Alexander (*Hist. Eccl. Sæcul.* i. diss. xvi. xvii. vol. iii. pages 356—420, ed. Paris, 1741, 4to), and others. They consider St. Paul and St. Peter as the fathers of their church. Paul, they suppose, travelled over nearly all France in his journey to Spain; and also sent St. Luke and Crescens into that country. For the last they allege, 2 Tim. iv. 10, "Crescens to Galatia;" or rather to Gaul, according to Epiphanius and others, who, for Γαλατίαν, would read Γαλλίαν. St. Peter, they conceive, sent Trophimus, his disciple, into Gaul. St. Philip, they also suppose, laboured in Gaul. And the seven bishops above-mentioned, they say, were sent by the apostles from Rome. Very few at this day embrace the opinion entire. The third opinion takes a middle course between the first and the second, and is that which is maintained by Liron, *Dissertation sur l'establissment de la religion Chrétienne dans les Gauls*; in the fourth volume of his *Singularités historiques*, &c. It admits what Launoi, Sirmond, and Tillemont have fully proved, that Dionysius, the first Bishop of Paris, was not Dionysius, the Areopagite mentioned Acts xvii. 34, but a man who lived in the third century. It also gives up the story of St. Philip, and of most of the pretended apostolic missionaries to Gaul. But it maintains the probability of Paul's travelling over Gaul on his way to Spain; and of his sending Luke and Crescens to that country; and affirms that in the second century, there were many flourishing churches in Gaul, besides those of Lyons and Vienne. See Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ. ante C.M.* p. 208, &c.; Tillemont. *Memoires pour servir à l'hist. de l'Egl.* vol. iv. p. 983.—*Mur.*

[2] Augustine, *De Doct. Christ.* lib. ii. cap. xi. xv.

[3] See Carpzov, *Critica Sacra*, *V. T.* p. 663, [and the *Introductions to the New Test.* by Michaëlis, Horne, and others.—*Mur.*

[4] Basnage, *Hist. de l' Eglise*, livr. ix. chap. i. tome i. 450.

[5] Nothing more injurious can be conceived than the terms of contempt, indignation, and reproach, which the heathens employed in expressing their hatred against the Christians, who were called by them atheists, because they derided the heathen polytheism; magicians, because they wrought miracles; self-murderers, because they suffered martyrdom cheerfully for the truth; haters of the light, because, to avoid the fury of the persecutions raised against them, they were forced, at first, to hold their religious assemblies in the night; with a multitude of other ignominious epithets employed by Tacitus, Suetonius, Celsus, &c. See Bingham, *Orig. Eccl.* book i. chap. ii. p. 5.—*Macl.* [See on this subject, Turner's *Calumnies on the Primitive Christians accounted for.*—*R.*

the doctrines of these sects were so absurd or so abominable, and the morals of some of them so disgraceful and impious, as to induce many to stand aloof from Christianity. But when they learned from the books against the heretics, that the true followers of Christ held these perverse men in abhorrence, their feelings towards them were changed.

8. It is easier to conceive than to express how much the miraculous powers and the extraordinary Divine gifts which the Christians exercised on various occasions, contributed to extend the limits of the church. The gift of foreign tongues appears to have gradually ceased, as soon as many nations became enlightened with the truth, and numerous churches of Christians were everywhere established; for it became less necessary than it was at first. But the other gifts, with which God favoured the rising church of Christ, were, as we learn from numerous testimonies of the ancients, still everywhere distributed.[1]

9. I wish we were fully authorized to place among the miracles what many ancient writers have recorded concerning a certain legion of Christian soldiers in the army of Marcus Antoninus, in his war against the Marcomanni (A.D. 174), which by its supplications procured a shower of rain when the Roman troops were ready to perish with thirst. But the reality of this miracle is a subject of controversy among the learned; and those who think that the Christian soldiers erred, in regarding that sudden and unexpected shower by which the Roman army was saved as a miraculous interposition, are supported not only by very respectable authorities, but by arguments of no little weight.[2]

10. It is certain that the Roman army, when reduced to the greatest straits, was relieved by a sudden fall of rain; and that this shower was regarded, both by the pagans and the Christians as extraordinary and miraculous: the latter ascribed the unexpected favour to Christ's being moved by the prayers of his disciples; while the former attributed it to Jupiter, or Mercury, or to the power of magic. It is equally certain, I think, that many Christians were then serving in the Roman army. And who can doubt that these, on such an occasion, implored the compassion of their God and Saviour? Further, as the Christians of those times looked upon all extraordinary events as miracles, and ascribed every unusual and peculiar advantage enjoyed by the Romans to the prayers of Christians, it is not strange, that the preservation of the

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1 Collections of these testimonies have been made, by Pfanner, *De Donis miraculosis*; and by Spencer, in his *Notæ ad Origenem contra Celsum*, pag. 5, 6; but the most copious is by Mamachius, *Orig. et Antiq. Christianæ*, tom. i. p. 363, &c. [The principal testimonies of the second and third centuries, are Justin Martyr, *Apol.* ii. cap. vi.; *Dial. cum Tryph.* cap. xxxix. and lxxxii; Irenæus, lib. ii. cap. xxxi. and lib. v. cap. vi.; and in Euseb. *H. E.* lib. v. cap. vii.; Tertullian, *Apolog.* cap. xxiii. xxvii. xxxii. xxxvii; *Ad Scap.* cap. ii.; Origen, *contra Cels.* lib i. p. 7; and lib. vii. p. 334, ed. Spencer; Dionys. Alex. in Euseb. *H.E.* lib. vi. cap. xl.; Minutius Felix, *Octav.* p. 361, ed. Paris, 1605; Cyprian, *De Idol. Vanit.* p. 14, *Ad Demetriam*, p. 191, ed. Brem. See Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ. ante C.M.* p. 221. Very candid remarks on this subject may also be found in Schroeckh, *Kirchenges.* vol. iv. p. 380, &c.; and in Jortin's *Remarks on Ecc. Hist.* vol i. p. 247.—*Mur.* [The question regarding the existence and extent of miraculous powers in the early ages of the church was discussed in the last century, with great keenness, in consequence of the publication, in 1749, of Middleton's *Free inquiry into the miraculous powers of the Christian Church.* He limited their exercise to the apostles, and repudiated the alleged miracles of the second and third centuries, but on grounds which appeared designed to convey a covert attack on the Scripture miracles. Answers appeared, by Church, Brooke, Dodwell, and others, who maintained extreme opinions in favour of the protracted continuance of these powers. Bishop Kaye, a most competent and judicious critic, has recently given this opinion on the question:—"I may be allowed to state the conclusion to which I myself have been led, by a comparison of the statements in the book of Acts with the writings of the fathers of the second century. My conclusion then is, that the power of working miracles was not extended beyond the disciples, upon whom the apostles conferred it by the imposition of their hands."—Kaye s *Tertullian*, p. 98.—*R.*

2 The arguments on the two sides of the question may be seen in Witsius, *Diss. de Legione fulminatrice*, subjoined to his *Ægyptiaca*. He defends the reality of the miracle; and Dan. Laroque, *Diss. de Legione fulminat.* subjoined to the *Adversaria Sacra* of his father Matthew Laroque, opposes the idea of a miracle; but best of all in the controversy concerning the miracle of the thundering legion, between Peter King [rather the Rev Richard King of Topsham—*Mur.*] and Walter Moyle, which I have translated into Latin and published with notes, in my *Syntagma Dissertationum ad disciplinas sanctiores pertinentium*. See also Jablonski, *Spicilegium de Legione fulminatrice;* in the *Miscellan. Lipsiens.* tom. viii. p. 417, [and in his *Opuscula*, vol. iv. p. 3, &c.—*R.*] where, in particular, the reasons are investigated which led the Christians improperly to class this rain among the miracles. [See also Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 249, &c. The most important among the ancient accounts of this matter are, on the side of the pagans, Dion Cassius, *Historia Romana*, lib. lxxi. cap. viii.; Julius Capitolinus, *Vita Marc. Antonin.* cap. xxiv.; Ælius Lampridius, *Heliogabali vita*, cap. ix.; Claudian, *Consulat.* vi. *Honorii* v.: and on the side of the Christians, Tertullian, *Apologet.* cap. v. *Ad Scapulam*, cap. iv.; Eusebius, *Hist Eccles.* lib. v. cap. v. and *Chronicon.* pages 82—215; Xiphilinus, on *Dion Cassius*, lib. lxxi. cap. ix. x.—*Mur.* [Against the existence of any miracle in this case, see Bishop Kaye's *Tertullian*, &c. p. 106; Burton's *Lect. on Ecc. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 166; and Milman's *Hist. of Christ.* vol. ii. p. 190, &c. with the *Note* in p. 175, in which he says: "The miracle of the thundering legion, after having suffered deadly wounds from former assailants, was finally transfixed by the critical spear of Moyle." Little did he think that soon after, a learned Fellow of Oxford would rush into the field to break a lance in defence of this slaughtered miracle. The well-known Mr. Newman, when in his state of transition between the churches of England and Rome, published in 1842, an *Essay on the Miracles recorded in Ecclesiastical History*, in which he not only defends in general the miracles of the Nicene Church, but specially that of the thundering legion, together with several others which had long been rejected by every critic competent to apply the simplest rules of evidence.—*E.*

Roman emperor and his army should be placed among the miracles which God wrought in answer to the prayers of Christians. But as all wise men are now agreed that no event is to be accounted a miracle, if it can be adequately accounted for on natural principles, or in the common and ordinary course of Divine Providence; and as this rain may be easily thus accounted for, it is obvious what judgment ought to be formed respecting it.

11. The Jews, first under Trajan (A.D. 116), and afterwards under Adrian (A.D. 132), led on by Bar-Chochebas who pretended to be the Messiah, made insurrection against the Romans and again suffered the greatest calamities. A vast number were put to death; and a new city, called Ælia Capitolina, was erected on the site of Jerusalem, which not an individual of that miserable race was allowed to enter.[1] This overthrow of the Jews confirmed, in some measure, the external tranquillity of the Christian community. For that turbulent nation had previously been everywhere the accusers of the Christians before the Roman judges; and in Palestine and the neighbouring regions, they had themselves inflicted great injuries upon them, because they refused to aid them in their opposition to the Romans.[2] But this new calamity rendered it not so easy for the Jews, as formerly, to do either of these things.

12. The philosophers and learned men who joined the Christians in this century, were no inconsiderable protection and ornament to this holy religion, by their discussions, their writings, and their talents. But if any are disposed to question whether the Christian cause received more benefit than injury from these men, I must confess myself unable to decide the point. For the noble simplicity and the majestic dignity of the Christian religion were lost, or at least impaired, when these philosophers presumed to associate their dogmas with it, and to bring faith and piety under the dominion of human reason.

CHAPTER II.

THE ADVERSE EVENTS OF THE CHURCH.

1. IN the beginning of this century there were no laws in force against the Christians, for those of Nero had been repealed by the senate, and those of Domitian by his successor Nerva.[3] But it had become a common custom to persecute the Christians, and even to put them to death, as often as the pagan priests, or the populace under the instigation of the priests, demanded their destruction. Hence under the reign of Trajan, otherwise a good prince, popular tumults were frequently raised in the cities against the Christians, which were fatal to many of them.[4] When therefore such tumults sprang up in Bithynia, under the proprætor Pliny the younger, he thought proper to apply to the emperor for instructions how to treat the Christians. The emperor wrote back that the Christians were not to be sought after; but if they were regularly accused and convicted, and yet refused to return to the religion of their fathers, they were to be put to death as bad citizens.[5]

2. This edict of Trajan being registered among the public laws of the Roman empire, set bounds indeed to the fury of the enemies of the Christians, but still it caused the destruction of many of them, even under the best of the emperors. For whenever any one had courage to assume the odious office of an accuser, and the accused did not deny the charge [of being a Christian], he might be delivered over to the executioner unless he apostatized from Christianity. Thus by Trajan's law, perseverance in the Christian religion was a capital offence. Under this law, Simeon, the son of Cleophas and Bishop of Jerusalem, a venerable old man, being accused by the Jews suffered crucifixion.[6] According to the same law, Trajan himself ordered the great Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, to be

1 Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 49—278. [Dion Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* lib. lxix, cap. xii. xiv.—*Mur.*

2 Justin Martyr, *Apolog.* i. p. 72.—*Schl.*

3 Bishop Kaye has shown that these conclusions of Mosheim, though corroborated by Gibbon, are erroneous, and that there were laws in force which, though not expressly directed against the Christians by name, both could be and were brought to bear upon them, independently of any new laws by Nero or Domitian. Kaye's *Tertullian*, &c. p. 114, &c. These general laws were those against the introduction of foreign religions (sacra peregrina), and against illegal associations (collegia, sodalitates), and nocturnal assemblages; to all of which the primitive Christians could be easily made amenable. See the references and authorities in Giesele*r*, *Lehrbuch*. Davidson's Translation, vol. i. p. 26.—*R.*

4 Eusebius, *Historia Eccles.* lib. iii. cap. xxxii.

5 Pliny, *Epistol.* lib. x. Epist. 97, 98, which epistles many learned men have illustrated by their comments, and especially Vossius, Böhmer, Baldwin, and Heumann. See Milner's *Hist. of the Ch. of Christ*, century ii. chap. i.—*Mur.* [The student should by all means read the excellent remarks of Milman on this celebrated letter of Pliny, on Trajan's rescript, and generally on the state of the law with regard to the punishment of the Christians during this and the subsequent reigns.—*Hist. of Christ.* vol. ii. p. 140, &c. He should also refer to Welch's judicious commentary on these documents, in his *Elements of Church Hist.* vol. i. p. 452, &c. and consult Giesele*r*'s references to several important continental works on this subject. See *Lehrbuch*, &c. Davidson's Translation vol. i. p. 105.—*R.*

6 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. cap. xxxii.

thrown to wild beasts;[1] for the kind of death was left by the law to the pleasure of the judge.

3. Yet this law of Trajan was a great restraint upon the priests who wished to oppress the Christians, because few persons were willing to assume the dangerous office of accusers. Under the reign of Adrian, therefore, who succeeded Trajan, A.D. 117, they evaded it by an artifice; for they excited the populace at the seasons of the public shows and games, to demand with united voice from the presidents and magistrates the destruction of the Christians; and these public clamours could not be disregarded without danger of an insurrection.[2] But Serenus Granianus, the proconsul of Asia, made representation to the emperor, that it was inhuman and unjust to immolate men convicted of no crime, at the pleasure of a furious mob. Adrian, therefore, addressed an edict to the presidents of the provinces, forbidding the Christians to be put to death unless accused in due form, and convicted of offence against the laws; *i.e.* as I apprehend, he reinstated the law of Trajan.[3] Perhaps also the Apologies for the Christians presented by Quadratus and Aristides, had an influence on the mind of the emperor.[4] In this reign Bar-Chochebas, a pretended king of the Jews, before he was vanquished by Adrian, committed great outrages on the Christians, because they would not join his standard.[5]

4. In the reign of Antoninus Pius, the enemies of the Christians assailed them in a new manner; for, as the Christians by the laws of Adrian were to be convicted of some crime, and some of the presidents would not admit their religion to be a crime, they were accused of impiety or atheism. This calumny was met by Justin Martyr in an Apology presented to the emperor. And the emperor afterwards decreed that the Christians should be treated according to the law of Adrian.[6] A little after, Asia Minor was visited with earthquakes; and the people regarding the Christians as the cause of their calamities, rushed upon them with every species of violence and outrage. When informed of this, the emperor addressed an edict to the Common Council of Asia, denouncing capital punishment against accusers of the Christians, if they could not convict them of some crime.[7]

5. Marcus Antoninus, the philosopher, whom most writers extol immoderately for his wisdom and virtue, did not indeed repeal this decree of his father, and the other laws of the preceding emperors; but he listened too much to the enemies of the Christians and especially to the philosophers, who accused them of the most horrid crimes and particularly of impiety, of feasting on the flesh of murdered children, and of incest. Hence no emperor after the reign of Nero, inflicted greater evils and calamities on the Christians than this eminently wise Marcus Antoninus; nor was there any emperor, under whom more Apologies for them were drawn up, of which those by Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, and Tatian, are still extant.[8]

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1 See the *Acta martyrii Ignatiani*; published by Ruinart, and in the *Patres Apostolici*, and elsewhere. See above, p. 38, note[3], and Milner's *Hist. of the Ch.* cent. ii. chap. i. vol. i. p. 153, Lond. 1827.—*Mur.*

2 It was an ancient custom or law of the Romans, of which many examples occur in their history, that the people when assembled at the public games, whether at Rome or in the provinces, might demand what they pleased of the emperor or magistrates; which demands could not be rejected. This right indeed properly belonged only to Roman citizens, but it was gradually assumed and exercised by others, especially in the larger cities. Hence when assembled at the public games, the populace could demand the destruction of all Christians, or of any individuals of them whom they pleased; and the magistrates dared not utterly refuse these demands.—Moreover, the abominable lives and doctrines of certain heretics of this age, brought odium on the whole Christian community; as we are expressly taught by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. vii. See Mosheim, *De Rebus Christ.* &c. p. 236.—*Mur.*

3 See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv. cap. ix. and Baldwin, *Ad Edicta Principum in Christianos*, p. 73, &c. This edict is also given by Justin Martyr, *Apolog.* i. sec. 68, 69. It was addressed not only to Minutius Fundanus, the successor of Serenus, but to the other governors of provinces; as we learn from Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv. cap. xxvi.—*Schl.*

4 These Apologies are mentioned by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. iii. and Jerome, *Epist. ad Magnum Orat. Urbis Romæ*, Opp. tom. iv. pars 2, p. 656, ed. Benedict. and *De Viris Illustr.* cap. xix. xx.—From this indulgence of the emperor towards the Christians, arose the suspicion that he himself inclined to their religion. Lampridius, *Vita Alexandri Severi*, cap. xliii.—*Schl.*

5 Justin Martyr, *Apolog.* ii. p. 72, ed. Colon.; Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. xxi.—*Schl.*

6 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. xxvi. where Melito tells Marcus Aurelius, that his father (Anton. Pius) wrote to the Larisseans, the Thessalonians, the Athenians, and to all the Greeks, not to molest the Christians.—*Schl.*

7 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. xiii. where the edict is given at length. It may also be seen in Milner, *Hist. of the Ch.* cent. ii. chap. ii. vol. i. p. 182, &c. where several pious reflections are subjoined.—It has been questioned whether this edict was issued by Marcus Aurelius or by his father Antoninus Pius. Valesius (on Euseb. *H. Eccl.* lib. iv. cap. xiii.) decides for the former; and Mosheim (*De Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 240, &c.) is as decisive for the latter Others have little doubt that the whole edict is a forgery of some early Christian. For this opinion they urge that its language is not such as the pagan emperors uniformly use, but is plainly that of an eulogist of the Christians. See Neander's *Allgem. Kirchenges.* vol. i. part i. p. 151, &c.—*Mur.* [See also the references to several works in support of its spuriousness, in Giesceler, *Lehrbuch*, &c.—Davidson's Trans. vol. i. pages 130, 131.—*R.*

Mosheim, *De Rebus Christ.* &c, p. 244, characterizes Marcus Antoninus as a well-disposed but superstitious man, a great scholar, but an indifferent emperor. His persecutions of the Christians arose from his negligence of business, his ignorance of the character of Christians and of Christianity, and from his easy credulity and acquiescence in the wishes of others.—His character is also given by Milner, *Hist. of the Church*, cent. ii. chap. iv. and very elaborately by Neander, *Kir-*

6. In the first place, this emperor issued unjust edicts against the Christians whom he regarded as vain, obstinate, devoid of understanding, and strangers to virtue;[1] yet the precise import of these edicts is not now known. In the next place, he allowed the judges, when Christians were accused of the crimes already specified by slaves and by the vilest of persons, to put their prisoners to torture; and notwithstanding their most steadfast denial of the charges alleged against them, to inflict on them capital punishments; for, as the laws would not allow the Christians to be executed without a crime, the judges who wished to condemn them had to resort to some method of making them appear to be guilty. Hence under this emperor, not only were several very excellent men most unjustly put to death, among whom were Polycarp, the pious Bishop of Smyrna, and the celebrated philosopher Justin, surnamed Martyr[2]; but also several Christian churches, especially those of Lyons and Vienne in France, (A.D. 177.) were by his order nearly destroyed and annihilated by a variety of tortures.[3]

7. Under the reign of Commodus, his son (A.D. 180—192), if we except a few instances of suffering for the renunciation of paganism, no great calamity befel the Christians.[4] But when Severus was placed on the throne near the close of the century, much Christian blood was shed in Africa, Egypt, and other provinces. This is certain from the testimonies of Tertullian,[5] Clemens Alexandrinus,[6] and others; and those must mistake the fact who say that the Christians enjoyed peace under Severus, up to the time when he enacted laws exposing them to the loss of life and property, which was in the beginning of the next century; for, as the laws of the emperors were not abrogated, and among these the edicts of Trajan and Marcus Antoninus were most iniquitous; it was in the power of the presidents to persecute the Christians with impunity whenever they pleased These calamities of the Christians near the end of this century, were what induced Tertullian to compose his Apology and some other works.[7]

8. It will appear less unaccountable that so holy a people as the Christians should suffer so much persecution, if it be considered that the patrons of the ancient superstition continually assailed them with their railings and accusations. These reproaches and calumnies of which we have before spoken, are recounted by the writers of the Apologies. The Christians were attacked in a book written expressly against them by Celsus, the philosopher, whom Origen in his confutation of him represents as an Epicurean, but whom we, for substantial reasons, believe to have been a Platonist of the sect of Ammonius.[8] This miserable sophist deals in slander, as Origen's answer to him shows. And he does not so much attack the Christians as play off his wit, which is not distinguished for elegance and refinement. Fronto, the rhetorician, also made some attempts against the Christians; but these have perished with the exception of a bare mention of them by Minutius Felix.[9] To these may

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chengesch. vol. i. part i. p. 154, &c.—*Mur.* [Milman devotes an entire chapter to the elucidation of this singular but instructive phenomenon, of the best of the Roman emperors proving the bitterest of the Christians' persecutors. He accounts for it on several grounds different from those assigned by Mosheim in the text. *Hist. of Christ.* vol. ii. p. 159, &c.—*R.*

1 See Melito, as quoted by Eusebius, *Hist. Ec l.* lib. iv. cap. xxvi.

2 The *Acta Martyrii* of both Polycarp and Justin Martyr are published by Ruinart, in his *Acta martyr. sincera.* The former also in the *Patres Apostol.* The life and martyrdom of Polycarp are the subject of the 5th chapter of Milner's *Hist. of the Ch.* century ii. vol. i. p. 209, &c. as those of Justin Martyr are of chap. iii. of the same, p. 187, &c.—*Mur.*

3 See the letter of the Christians at Lyons giving account of this persecution, in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. cap. ii.; also in Fox, *Book of Martyrs,* and in Milner's *Hist. of the Ch.* cent. ii. chap. vi. vol. i p. 223, &c.—*Mur.* [Most eloquently has Milman epitomised the ancient narratives of the well-attested martyrdoms of Polycarp and of the Viennese Christians. These were scenes which the author of the "Martyr of Antioch" was fully prepared to depict with deep pathos. *Hist. of Christ.* vol. ii. p 184, &c. and 193, &c.—*R.*

4 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. cap. xxiv. and xvi. xviii. xix.

5 Tertullian, *Ad Scapulam,* cap. iv. and *Apologet.* cap. v. which show that Severus himself was, at first, favourable to the Christians. But the same *Apologet.* cap. xxxv. xlix. vii. xii. xxx. xxxvii. shows that Christians suffered before the enactment of the laws.—*Schl.*

6 Clemens Alex. *Stromat.* lib. ii. p. 494.—*Schl.* [See also the account of the martyrs of Scillita in Africa, A D. 200, in Ruinart's *Acta Martyr.*; Baronius, *Ann.* A.D. 200; and Milner, *Hist. of the Ch.* vol. i. p. 302.—*Mur.*

7 I have expressly treated of this subject in my *Diss. de vera ætate Apologetici Tertulliani et initio persecutionis Severi;* which is the first essay in my *Syntagma Diss. ad hist. eccles. pertinent.* Vol i. Alton. 1743.

8 See Mosheim's preface to the German translation of Origen's work.—*Mur.* [The learned Dr. Lardner does not think it possible that Celsus could have been of the sect of Ammonius; since the former lived and wrote in the second century, whereas the latter did not flourish before the third. And indeed we have from Origen himself, that he knew of two only of the name of Celsus, one who lived in the time of Nero, and the other in the reign of Adrian, and afterwards. The latter was the philosopher, who wrote against Christianity.—*Macl.*

9 Minutius Felix, *Octavius,* p. 266, ed. Herald. [Minucius mentions this calumniator in two passages, namely, cap. x. p. 99, and cap. xxxi. p. 322; in the former of which, he calls him *Cirtensis noster;* implying, that he was of Cirta, in Africa: in the latter passage, he speaks of him as an *orator,* indicating what profession he followed. It has been supposed by the learned, and not without reason, that this *Fronto* was Cornelius Fronto, the rhetorician, who instructed Marcus An-

be added Crescens, a Cynic philosopher, who though he seems to have written nothing against the Christians, yet was very eager to injure them; and in particular did not cease to persecute Justin Martyr, till he compassed his death.[1]

tonius in eloquence (and whose works were first published A D. 1816, by Ang. Maio, Frankf.-on-Mayn, in 2 parts). So long as the Christian community was made up of unlearned persons, the philosophers despised them; but when, in the second century, some eminent philosophers became Christians, as Justin, Athenagoras, Pantænus, and others, who retained the name, garb, and mode of living of philosophers, and became teachers of youth, and while they gave a philosophical aspect to Christianity, exposed the vanity of the pagan philosophy and the shameless lives of those addicted to it; the pagan philosophers, perceiving their reputations and their interests to be at stake, now joined the populace and the priests in persecuting the Christians in general; and they especially assailed the Christian philosophers with their calumnies and accusations. Their chief motive was, not the love of truth, but their own influence and worldly interest; just the same causes which had before moved the pagan priests. This war of the philosophers commenced in the reign of Marcus Antoninus, who was himself addicted to philosophy. And it is easy to see what induced him to listen to his brother philosophers, and at their instigation, to allow the Christians to be persecuted. See Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 256, &c.—*Mur.*

1 Justin Martyr, *Apologia* ii. p. 21, ed. Oxon.; Tatian, *Orat. contra Græcos*, p. 72, ed. Worthii.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LEARNING AND PHILOSOPHY.

1. LITERATURE, although it seemed in some measure to recover its former dignity and lustre during the reign of Trajan,[1] could not long retain its influence under the subsequent emperors, who were indisposed to patronize it. The most learned among those Roman sovereigns, Marcus Antoninus, showed favour only to the philosophers and especially to the Stoics; the other arts and sciences he, like the Stoics, held in contempt.[2] Hence the literary productions of this century, among the Romans, are far inrior to those of the preceding century infe elegance, brilliancy, and good taste.

2. Yet there were men of excellent genius among both Greeks and Romans, who wrote well on almost every branch of learning then cultivated. Among the Greeks, Plutarch was particularly eminent. He was a man of various but ill-digested learning; and besides was tainted with the principles of the academics. Rhetoricians, sophists, and grammarians had schools in all the more considerable towns of the Roman empire, in which they pretended to train up youth for public life, by various exercises and declamations. But those educated in these schools were vain, loquacious, and formed for display, rather than truly eloquent, wise, and competent to transact business. Hence the sober and considerate looked with contempt on the education acquired in the schools of these teachers. There were two public academies; one at Rome founded by Adrian, in which all the sciences were taught but especially jurisprudence; the other at Berytus in Phœnicia, in which jurists were principally educated.[3]

3. Many philosophers of all the different sects flourished at this time; but to enumerate them belongs rather to other works than to this.[4] The Stoic sect had the honour of embracing two great men, Marcus Antoninus, the emperor, and Epictetus.[5] But each of these men had more admirers than disciples and followers; nor were the Stoics, according to history, held in the highest estimation in this age. There were larger numbers in the schools of the Platonists; among other reasons because they were less austere, and their doctrines were more in accordance with the popular notions respecting the gods. But no sect appears to have numbered more adherents than the Epicureans, whose precepts led to an indulgent, careless, and voluptuous life.[6]

4. Near the close of this century a new philosophical sect suddenly started up,

1 Pliny, *Epistolæ*, lib. iii. Ep. xviii. pag. 234, 235, ed. Cortii et Longolii.

2 M. Antoninus, *Meditationes*, or, *Ad se ipsum*, lib. i. sec. 7, pag. 3, 4; sec. 17, p. 17, ed. Lips.

3 M. Antoninus, *Meditationes*, or, *Ad se ipsum*, lib. i. sec. 7, 10, 17, pag. 4, 7, 16, ed. Lips.

4 Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Trypho. Opp.* p. 218, &c. Many of the philosophers of this age are mentioned by M. Antoninus, *Meditat.* or, *Ad se ipsum*, lib. i.

5 Concerning M. Antoninus, see Brucker's *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. ii. p. 578; and for Epictetus, ibid. p. 568.— *Schl.* Stäudlin, *Gesch. der Moralphilos.* p. 265, &c. treats of M. Antoninus; and ibid. p. 260, &c. of Epictetus.—*Mur.* [Ritter has also treated of the state of philosophy among the Romans, and especially Epictetus and Antoninus. See his *Hist. of Ancient Philosophy*, Morrison's Transl. vol. iv. p. 75 to 227. It is to be regretted that the *Geschichte der Christl. Philosophie* by the same scholar, four volumes of which have been published at Hamburg, has not yet been rendered accessible to the English reader. The last volume comes down to the middle of the fifteenth century, where he closes his survey of the mediæval systems of philosophy and theology.—*R.*

6 Lucian, *Pseudomantis*, *Opp.* tom. i. p. 763.

which in a short time prevailed over a large part of the Roman empire, and not only nearly swallowed up the other sects but likewise did immense injury to Christianity.[1] Egypt was its birth-place and particularly Alexandria, which for a long time had been the seat of literature and every science. Its followers chose to be called Platonics. Yet they did not follow Plato implicitly, but collected from all systems whatever seemed to coincide with their own views. And the ground of their preference for the name of Platonics was, that they conceived Plato had treated more correctly than any of the others, that most important branch of philosophy which treats of God and those things which are placed beyond the cognizance of the senses.

5. That controversial spirit in philosophy which obliged every one to swear allegiance to the dogmas of his master, was now disapproved by the more wise. Hence, among lovers of truth and men of moderation, a new class of philosophers had grown up in Egypt, who avoided altercation and a sectarian spirit, and who professed simply to follow truth, gathering up whatever was accordant with it in all the philosophic schools. They assumed therefore the name of Eclectics. But although these philosophers were really the partisans of no sect, it appears from a variety of testimonies, that they much preferred Plato, and embraced most of his dogmas concerning God, the human soul, and the universe.[2]

6. This philosophy was adopted by such of the learned at Alexandria as wished to be accounted Christians, and yet to retain the name, the garb, and the rank of philophers. In particular all those who in this century presided in the schools of the Christians at Alexandria—Athenagoras, Pantænus, and Clemens Alexandrinus—are said to have approved of it.[3] These men were persuaded that true philosophy, the great and most salutary gift of God, lay in scattered fragments among all the sects of philosophers; and therefore that it was the duty of every wise man, and especially of a Christian teacher, to collect those fragments from all quarters, and to use them for the defence of religion and the confutation of impiety. Yet this selection of opinions did not prevent their regarding Plato as wiser than all others, and as having advanced sentiments concerning God, the soul, and spiritual things, very accordant with the principles of Christianity.[4]

7. This [Eclectic] mode of philosophising received some modification, when Ammonius Saccas at the close of the century, with great applause opened a school at Alexandria, and laid the foundation of that sect which is called the New Platonic. This man was born and educated a Christian, and perhaps made pretensions to Christianity all his life.[5] Being possessed of great fertility of genius as well as eloquence, he

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1 See Mosheim's *Commentat. de turbata per recentiores Platonicos ecclesia* in his *Syntagma Diss. ad hist. eccles. pertinent.* vol. i. p. 85, &c.; and Brucker's *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. ii. p. 162, &c.—*Schl.* [And, on the contrary, Keil, *Exercitat.* xviii. *De Doctoribus veteris eccles. culpâ corruptæ per Platonicas sententias theologiæ, liberandis*, Lips. 1793—1807, 4to.—*Mur.*

2 See Brucker's *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. ii. p. 189, &c.—*Schl.*

3 The title and dignity of philosopher so much delighted those good men that when made presbyters, they would not abandon the philosopher's *cloak* and dress. See Origen's letter to Eusebius, *Opp.* tom. i. p. 2, ed. De la Rue; [Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Trypho. initium.* For proof that Pantænus studied philosophy, see Origen, in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib vi. cap. xix. Jerome, *De Scriptor. Illustr.* cap. xx. The proficiency of Athenagoras in philosophy, appears from his *Apology*, and his *Essay on the Resurrection.* That Clemens Alex. was much addicted to philosophy, is very evident; see his *Stromata*, passim.—Concerning the Alexandrian Christian school, see Conringius, *Antiquitates Academicæ*, p 29; Schmidt, *Diss.* prefixed to *Hyperii Libellum de Catechesi;* Aulisius, *Delle Scuole Sacre*, lib. ii. cap. i. ii. xxi.; Langemack, *Historia Catechismorum*, par. i. p. 86. See Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 273, &c.—*Mur.* [See Guerike, *Comment. de Schola quæ Alexand. floruit Catechetica* Halle, 1824, 1825. M. Matter of Strasburg has published a work on the Alexandrian school; but, although learned and valuable, it refers very briefly to the Christian Catechetical school there. It is entitled. *Histoire de l' Ecole d' Alexandrie comparée aux principales écoles contemporaines.* Paris, 1840-4, 2d edit. 2 vols. 8vo.—*R.*

4 See Mosheim, *De Rebus Christ. ante C. M.* p. 276, &c.—*Mur.*

5 The history of the philosopher Ammonius is involved in great obscurity. All that could be gathered from antiquity respecting him, is given by Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. ii. p 205. See also Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, lib. iv. cap. xxvi. Whether Ammonius continued a professed Christian or apostatized, has been much debated. Porphyry, who studied under Plotinus, a disciple of Ammonius (as quoted by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. cap. xix.) says, he was born of Christian parents, but when he came to mature years embraced the religion of the laws; *i. e.* the pagan religion. Eusebius taxes Porphyry with falsehood in this; and says that Ammonius continued a Christian till his death, as appears from his books, one of which was on the accordance of Moses with Jesus Christ. Jerome, *De Script. Illustr.* cap. lv. says nearly the same. Valesius, Bayle, Basnage, and Mosheim (when he wrote his essay *De Ecclesia turbata per recentiores Platonicos*), agreed with Eusebius and Jerome. But when he wrote his *Commentarii de Reb. Christ.* he fell in with the opinion of Fabricius, Brucker, and others (and which is now the general opinion), that Eusebius and Jerome confounded Ammonius the philosopher, with another Ammonius, the reputed author of a harmony of the Gospels and other works; because it can hardly be supposed this enthusiastic admirer of philosophy would have found time or inclination for composing such books. Besides, it is said that Ammonius the philosopher published no books. Still the question remains, what were the religious character and creed of this philosopher in his maturer years? Mosheim thinks it probable that he did not openly renounce Christianity, but endeavoured to accommodate himself to the feelings of all parties; and therefore he was claimed by both pagans and Christians. Hence, if he *was* a Christian, he was a very inconsistent one and did much injury to its cause. See Mosheim, *De Rebus Christ.* &c. p. 281.—*Mur.*

undertook to bring all systems of philosophy and religion into harmony, or attempted to teach a philosophy by which all philosophers and the men of all religions, the Christian not excepted, might unite and hold fellowship. And here especially lies the difference between this new sect and the Eclectic philosophy which had before flourished in Egypt; for the Eclectics held that there was a mixture of good and bad, true and false, in all the systems; and therefore they selected out of all, what appeared to them consonant with reason and rejected the rest. But Ammonius held that all sects professed one and the same system of truth, with only some difference in the mode of stating it, and some minute difference in their conceptions; so that by means of suitable explanations, they might with little difficulty be brought into one body.[1] Moreover he held this new and singular principle, that the prevailing religions and the Christian also, must be understood and explained according to this common philosophy of all the sects, and that the fables of the vulgar pagans and their priests, as well as the interpretations of the disciples of Christ, ought to be separated from their respective religions.

8. The grand object of Ammonius, to bring all sects and religions into harmony, required him to do much violence to the sentiments and opinions of all parties, philosophers, priests, and Christians, and particularly by allegorical interpretations, to remove very many impediments out of his way. The manner in which he prosecuted his object, appears in the writings of his disciples and adherents which have came down to us in great abundance. To make the arduous work more easy, he assumed that philosophy was first produced and nurtured among the people of the East; that it was inculcated among the Egyptians by Hermes,[2] and thence passed to the Greeks; that it was a little obscured and deformed by the disputatious Greeks; but still that by Plato, the best interpreter of the principles of Hermes and of the ancient oriental sages, it was preserved for the most part entire and uncorrupted; that the religions received by the various nations of the world were not inconsistent with this most ancient philosophy; yet it had most unfortunately happened, that what the ancients taught by symbols and fictitious stories in the manner of the orientals, had been understood literally by the people and the priests; and thus the agents of divine providence, those demons whom the supreme Lord of all had placed over the various parts of our world, had erroneously been converted into gods and had been worshipped with many vain ceremonies; that therefore the public religions of all nations should be corrected by this ancient philosophy; and that it was the sole object of Christ to set bounds to the reigning superstition, and correct the errors which had crept into religion, but not to abolish altogether the ancient systems.[3]

9. To these assumptions he added the common doctrines of the Egyptians (among whom he was born and educated), concerning the universe and the Deity as constituting *one great whole* [Pantheism[4]], concerning the eternity of the world, the nature of the soul, providence, and the government of this world by demons, and other received doctrines, all of which he considered as true and not to be called in question. For it is most evident that the ancient philosophy of the Egyptians, which they pretended to have learned from Hermes, was the basis of the New Platonic or Ammonian; and the book of Jamblichus, *De Mysteriis Ægyptiorum*, in particular makes this evident. In the next place, with these Egyptian notions he united the Platonic philosophy; which he accomplished with little difficulty, by distorting some of the principles of Plato and putting a false construction on his language.[5] Finally, the dogmas of the other sects he construed, as far as was possible, by artifice, ingenuity, and the aid of allegories, into apparent coincidence with these Egyptian and Platonic principles.

10. To this Egyptiaco-Platonic philosophy, this ingenious man and fanatic joined

1 The views of this sect are very clearly expressed by Julian, who was a great devotee of this philosophy, Orat. vi. *contra Cynicos*, *Opp.* p. 184.—*Schl.*

2 This appears from the writings of all his followers, Plotinus, Proclus, Porphyry, Damascius, and others. And the learned, not without reason, conjecture that all the works of Hermes and Zoroaster, which we now have, originated in the schools of these new Platonics.

3 Jamblichus, *De Mysteriis Ægyptiorum*, lib. i. cap. i. ii.—*Schl.*

4 On this principle the whole philosophy of the ancient Egyptians was founded; and on it Ammonius erected his system. The book which goes under the title of *Hermetis Trismegisti Sermo de Natura Deorum, ad Asclepium*, which is extant in Latin among the works of Apuleius, the supposed translator, is evidence of this fact. See also Eusebius, *Præparatio Evangel.* lib. iii. cap. ix, and Mosheim's notes on *Cudworth's Intellectual System*, vol. i. p. 404, &c. And the same fundamental principle is assumed by Plotinus, Proclus, Simplicius, Jamblichus, and all the New Platonics. See for example, Porphyry, in his *Life of Plotinus*, cap. ii. p. 94.—*Schl.*

5 The principle of the Ammonian and Egyptian philosophy, that God and the world constitute *one indivisible whole*, it cost him much labour to reduce to harmony with the system of Plato; who, as we learn from his *Timæus*, taught the external existence of matter as a substance distinct from God. See Proclus on the *Timæus* of Plato.—*Schl.*

a system of moral discipline apparently of high sanctity and austerity. He indeed permitted the common people to live according to the laws of their country and the dictates of nature; but he directed the wise, by means of contemplation, to elevate their souls, the direct offspring of God, above all earthly things; and to weaken and emaciate their bodies, which were hostile to the liberty of their souls, by means of hunger, thirst, labour, and other austerities;[1] so that they might in the present life attain to communion with the Supreme Being, and ascend after death active and unencumbered to the universal Parent, and be for ever united with him. And these precepts Ammonius, who was born and educated among Christians, was accustomed to beautify and ennoble by forms of expression borrowed from the sacred Scriptures; and hence these forms of expression occur abundantly in the writings of his followers.[2] To this austere discipline he superadded the art of so improving that power of the soul which conceives the images of things, that it was capable of seeing the demons, and of performing many wonderful things by their assistance. His followers called this art Theurgy.[3] Yet this art was not cultivated by all the philosophers of Ammonius's school, but only by the more eminent.[4]

11. That the prevailing religions, and particularly the Christian, might not appear irreconcilable with his system, Ammonius first turned the whole history of the pagan gods into allegory,[5] and maintained that those whom the vulgar and the priests honoured with the title of gods, were only the ministers of God to whom some homage might and should be paid, yet short of the superior homage which was due to the Supreme God;[6] and then he acknowledged that Christ was an extraordinary man, the friend of God and an admirable Theurge.[7] But he denied that Christ aimed wholly to suppress the worship of the demons, being ministers of divine providence; that, on the contrary, he only sought to wipe away the stains contracted by the ancient religions,[8] but his disciples had corrupted and vitiated the system of their master.[9]

12. This new species of philosophy, imprudently adopted by Origen and other Christians, did immense harm to Christianity. For it led the teachers of it to involve in philosophic obscurity many parts of our religion, which were in themselves plain and easy to be understood; and to add to the precepts of the Saviour not a few things, of which not a word can be found in the holy Scriptures. It also produced that gloomy set of men called mystics; whose system, if divested of its Platonic notions respecting the origin and nature of the soul, will be a lifeless and senseless corpse. It laid a foundation too for that indolent mode of life which was afterwards adopted by many, and particularly by numerous tribes of monks; and it recommended to Christians various foolish and useless rites suited only to nourish superstition, no small

1 See Porphyry, *De Abstinentia*, lib. i. cap. xxvii. &c. pages 22—34.—*Schl.*

2 See examples in Hierocles on the *Golden Verses* of Pythagoras; and in Simplicius and Jamblichus. See also Mosheim's *Diss. de studio Ethnicorum Christianos, imitandi*, in vol i. of his *Diss. ad Hist. Eccles. pertinent.* p. 321.—*Schl.*

3 This worthless science is very similar to what has been called *allowable magic*, and which is distinguished from necromancy or unlawful magic. It was undoubtedly of Egyptian origin. As the Egyptians imagined the whole world to be full of good and evil spirits, they might easily be lead to suppose there must be some way to secure the favour of these demons. See Augustine, *De Civit. Dei*, lib. x. cap. ix. *Opp.* tom. ix. p. 187. —*Schl.* ["*Theurgy* is the *science* of the Gods and the various classes of superior spirits, of their appearing to men, and their operations; and *the art*, by certain acts, habits, words, and symbols, of moving the Gods to impart to men secrets which surpass the powers of reason, to lay open the future to them, and become visible to them. So it is described in the book which bears the name of Jamblichus, *De Mysteriis Ægyptiorum*, lib. i. cap. xxvi. xxix." Stäudlin, *Gesch. der Moralphilos.* p. 402, &c.—*Mur.*

4 See, concerning the moral system of the new Platonics in all its material parts, Stäudlin, *Gesch. der Moral phil.* p. 435, &c.—*Mur.*

5 See for example, Porphyry, *De Antro Nymphar.* apud Homerum, *De Styge*, &c.—*Schl.*

6 Orosius, *Historia*, lib. vi. cap. i. pages 364, 365. —*Schl.*

7 It cannot be denied that the sect of Ammonius embraced some who were enemies of Christ and the Christians. The emperor Julian and some others, are proof of this. But Ammonius himself honoured Christ. And Augustine contended against some philosophers of his time, who, as followers of Ammonius, honoured Christ yet maintained that the Christians had corrupted his doctrine; *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, *Opp.* tom. iii. par. ii. lib. i. cap. vi. sec. 11, p. 5; and cap. viii. sec. 14, p. 6; and cap. xv. p. 8.—*Schl.*

8 Augustine, *De Consensu Evangel.* lib. i. cap. xvi. p. 8; and cap. xxiv. p. 18. Yet they admitted that Christ abolished the worship of certain demons of an inferior order, and enjoined upon men to pray to the celestial Gods, and especially to the Supreme God. This is evident from a passage of Porphyry quoted by Augustine, *De Civit. Dei*, lib. xix. cap. xxiii. sec. 4. *Opp.* tom. vii. p. 430.—*Schl.*

9 What we have stated in these sections respecting the doctrines of Ammonius, we have collected from the books and discussions of his followers, who are called *New Platonics*. Ammonius himself left no writings; and he forbade his followers to publish his doctrines, but they did not obey him. See Porphyry, *Vita Plotini*, cap. iii. p. 97, ed. Fabricii, lib. iv. *Bibloth. Græca.* Yet there can be no doubt, that all we have stated was invented by Ammonius himself, whom the whole family of the New Platonics constantly affirm to have been the author of their philosophy. [Mosheim, in his *Comment. de Reb. Christ. ante C. M.* sec. 27—32, pages 280—298, has given a more full account of Ammonius and his doctrines, and has carefully cited his chief authorities; but the substance of his statements is contained in the preceding sections, and his most important authorities are referred to in the notes of Schlegel, which are all here preserved.—*Mur.*

part of which we see religiously observed by many even to the present day. And finally, it alienated the minds of many in the following centuries from Christianity itself, and produced a heterogeneous species of religion, consisting of Christian and Platonic principles combined. And who is able to enumerate all the evils and injurious effects which arose from this new philosophy—or, if you please, from this attempt to reconcile true and false religions with each other?

13. The number of learned men among the Christians, which was small in the preceding century, was larger in this. And yet we scarcely find among them rhetoricians, sophists, and orators. Most of those who obtained some reputation among them by their learning, were philosophers; and they, as already stated, followed the principles of the Eclectics, although they preferred Plato to all others. But all Christians were not agreed as to the utility of learning and philosophy. Those who were initiated into the mysteries of philosophy, wished that many, and especially such as aspired to the office of pastors and teachers, might apply themselves to the study of human wisdom, so that they might confute the enemies of truth with more effect, and teach and instruct others with more success. But a great majority thought otherwise; they wished to banish all reasoning and philosophy out of the church, for they feared that learning might injure piety. At this time, therefore, broke out that war between faith and reason, religion and philosophy, devotion and intellect, which has been protracted through all succeeding centuries down to our own times, and which we by all our efforts cannot easily terminate. By degrees, those obtained the ascendancy who thought that philosophy and erudition were profitable, rather than hurtful, to religion and piety; and laws were at length established that no person entirely illiterate and unlearned, should be admitted to the office of teacher in the church. Yet the vices of the philosophers and learned men, among other causes, prevented the opposite party from ever being destitute of patrons and advocates. Ample proof of this will be found in the history of the following centuries.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

1. THE form of church government which began to exist in the preceding century, was in this more carefully established and confirmed in all its parts. One president or bishop presided over each church. He was created by the common suffrage of the whole people. With the presbyters for his council, whose number was not fixed, it was his business to watch over the interests of the whole church, and to assign to each presbyter his station. Subject to the bishop and the presbyters, were the servants or deacons who were divided into certain classes, because all the duties which the interests of the church required, could not well be attended to by them all.

2. During a great part of this century all the churches continued to be, as at first, independent of each other, or were connected by no associations or confederations.[1] Each church was a kind of little state governed by its own laws, which were enacted or at least sanctioned by the people. But in process of time, all the Christian churches within the same province united and formed a sort of larger society or state; and in the manner of confederated republics, held their conventions at stated times, and deliberated therein for the common advantage of the whole body. This custom first arose among the Greeks, with whom a [political] confederation of cities and the consequent conventions of their several delegates, had been long known; and afterwards when its utility was seen the custom extended through all Christian churches.[2] These conventions

1 Yet by ancient custom peculiar respect was paid to the churches founded and governed by the apostles themselves; and such churches were appealed to in controversies on points of doctrine, as most likely to know what the apostles had taught. See Irenæus, *Adv. Hæres.* lib. iii. cap. iii, and Tertullian, *De Præscript. adv. Hæres.* cap. xxxvi. Thus Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ*, &c. p. 258.—*Mur.*

2 Tertullian, *De Jejuniis*, cap. xiii. p. 711. [where we have this very important statement: *Aguntur præterea per Græcias, illa certis in locis Concilia ex universis ecclesiis, per quæ et altiora quæque in commune tractantur, et ipsa repræsentatio totius nominis Christiani magnâ veneratione celebratur.* From this passage of Tertullian which was written near the beginning of the *third* century, Mosheim (*De Rebus Christ*, &c. p. 266, &c.) infers: 1. That provincial councils had not then been held in Africa, nor anywhere except among the Greeks; 2. That councils were considered as human institutions, and as acting only by *human authority*. 3. That the provincial councils were held always in the *same place*—*certis in locis*. 4. That they did not interfere with the *private concerns* of individual churches, which were left to their own management; but conferred only on *greater* matters, or such as were of *common interest*—*altiora—tractantur*. 5. That the attending bishops acted as *representatives of their churches*, and not as men clothed with authority from heaven, by virtue of their office—*repræsentatio totius nominis Christiani*. From Greece, the custom of meeting in councils extended into Syria and Palestine. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. cap. xxiii. We have no certain accounts of *any* councils till after the *second* century. The earliest of which we have authentic notice, were those which deliberated concerning the Montanists, about A.D. 170 or 173. (Euseb. *H. E.* vol. 16) and the next were those assembled to consider the proper time for Easter. (Euseb. *H. E.* vol. 23). All these councils are placed by Eusebius under the reign of Commodus, or A.D. 180—192. In the *third* century councils became frequent. Provincial councils were now held, perhaps throughout the

of delegates from the several churches assembled for deliberation, were called by the Greeks, Synods, and by the Latins, Councils; and the laws agreed upon in them were called canons or rules.

3. These councils, of which no vestige appears before the middle of this century, changed nearly the whole form of the church. For in the first place, the ancient rights and privileges of the people were very much abridged by them; and on the other hand, the influence and authority of the bishops were not a little augmented. At first, the bishops did not deny that they were merely the representatives of their churches, and that they acted in the name of the people; but by little and little they made higher pretensions, and maintained that power was given them by Christ himself to dictate rules of faith and conduct to the people. In the next place, the perfect equality and parity of all bishops, which existed in the early times, these councils gradually subverted; for it was necessary that one of the confederated bishops of a province should be intrusted with some authority and power in those conventions over the others; and hence originated the prerogatives of Metropolitans. And lastly, when the custom of holding these councils had extended over the Christian world, and the universal church had acquired the form of a vast republic composed of many lesser ones, certain chief men were to be placed over it in different parts of the world, in order to preserve the coherence of the whole body. Hence came Patriarchs, and ultimately a Prince of Patriarchs, the Roman Pontiff.

4. No small honour and profit accrued to the whole order of men who conducted the affairs of the church, from the time they succeeded in persuading the people to regard them as successors of the Jewish priests. This took place not long after the reign of Adrian, when upon the second destruction of Jerusalem, the Jews lost all hope of seeing their commonwealth restored. The bishops now wished to be thought to correspond with the high priests of the Jews; the presbyters were said to come in place of the priests; and the deacons in that of the Levites. Those who first drew this parallel between offices so totally different, probably made the misrepresentation not so much from design as from ignorance. But this idea being once introduced and approved, among other errors resulting from it I shall mention only this, that it established a wider difference between the teachers and the taught, than accords with the nature of the Christian religion.[1]

5. Among the doctors of this century whose writings rendered them particularly famous in after ages, was Justin Martyr, a converted philosopher, who had dipped into nearly every sect in philosophy. He was pious and possessed considerable learning, but he was sometimes an incautious disputant, and was ignorant of ancient history. We have among other works of his two *Apologies* for the Christians, which are justly held in great estimation.[2] Irenæus,

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Christian world; and special councils were called as occasion required. Originally these councils had no jurisdiction, but were mere conventions of delegates, met to consider and agree upon matters of common concern. But they soon began to claim power, to enact and enforce laws, and to hear and decide controversies. And the *bishops*, instead of appearing as the representatives of their churches, claimed authority from Christ to bind and control the churches. See Ziegler, on the origin of Synods, in Henkens, *Neuen. Magazin*, vol. i. No. 1.; Planck's *Geschichte der christl. kirchl. Gesellschafts-Verfassung*, period ii. chap. v. vol. i. p. 90, &c.; Walch, *Historie der Kirchenversamml.* Introd. sec. 3, 4, and b. i. chap. i. sec. ii. p. 82, &c. chap. iii. p. 118, &c.; Bingham, *Origines Eccles.* vol. VII. p. 45, &c.; and King, *Constitution, &c. of the Primitive Church*, chap. viii.—*Mur.*

1 This comparison of Christian teachers with the Jewish priesthood, among other consequences, led the former to lay claim to *tithes* and *first-fruits*; of which we find mention before the times of Constantine. Perhaps a desire to increase their revenues, which were both small and precarious, led some of the bishops to apply Jewish law to the Christian church. That they claimed *first-fruits* as of divine right in this century, is clear from Irenæus, *Contra Hæres.* lib. iv. cap. xvii. and xxxiv. That *tithes* were not yet claimed, at least in the Latin church, appears from the latter of these passages in Irenæus; yet in the Greek and oriental churches, tithes began to be claimed earlier than among the Latins; and probably in this *second* century, for the Greek writers of the *third* century and the *Apostolic Constitutions* (which seem to contain the ecclesiastical laws of the Greek church) mention tithes as a thing then well known. See Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 271.—*Mur.*

2 Justin Martyr was the son of Priscus, and grandson of Bacchius, pagan Grecians settled at Flavia Neapolis (Naplous), the ancient Sichem in Samaria. See *Apolog.* .. cap. i. He had successive masters in philosophy, Stoic, Peripatetic, Pythagorean, and lastly Platonic. He travelled much and was very eager in the pursuit of knowledge, and especially respecting the Divine Being. When about 23 years old, as is conjectured, and about A.D. 137, he was converted to Christianity, in consequence of being directed by an aged Christian to go to the Bible as the source of true philosophy. He afterwards spent most of his time at Rome; where he lived as a Christian philosopher and devoted all his talents to the furtherance of the gospel. At last, A.D. 164 or 167, he suffered martyrdom, one Crescens, a pagan philosopher, being his accuser, and on the simple charge of his being a Christian. His writings are numerous, erudite, all of them theological, and all of a polemic character. His style is harsh and inelegant, his temper is ardent and decisive, and his arguments and opinions not always satisfactory. Yet being the first of the learned divines and a very zealous and active Christian, he merits our particular attention. His life and writings are described by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv. cap xi. xii. xvi. xviii.; Jerome, *De Scriptor. Illustr.* cap. xxiii.; Photius, *Biblioth.* ccxxxii. and others among the ancients; and by Cave, Du Pin, Longerue, Maran, Milner (*Hist of the Ch.* vol. i. p 187, &c.), and others among the moderns. About A D. 140, he composed two learned treatises against the pagans, *Cohortatio ad Græcos*, and *Oratio ad Græcos*

bishop of Lyons in France, whose only remaining writings are his five Books against Heresies; which though preserved only in a Latin translation from the original Greek, are a splendid monument of antiquity. [1]

Athenagoras was no contemptible philosopher, and his Apology for the Christians and his treatise on the Resurrection of the body, display both learning and genius. [2] Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, has left us three books addressed to one Autolycus in defence of Christianity, which are erudite but not well-digested. [3] Clemens Alexan-

About A. D. 150, or, as some think ten or twelve years earlier, Justin presented his earliest or long *Apology* for the Christians to the Emperor Antoninus Pius: and a little before his death or after A.D. 160, his other *Apology*, an imperfect copy of which is improperly called his first Apology. Besides the four works now mentioned Justin wrote a book, *De Monarchia Dei*, proving the Divine unity in opposition to polytheism, by testimonies from the Old Testament and likewise from pagan writers. The latter part of the book is preserved. Against the Jews he composed in the latter part of his life, his *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judæo*. He defends Christianity against the Jews, chiefly by arguments from the ancient prophecies and types of Christ in the Old Testament. He also wrote a book against Marcion and another against all the heresies; both of which are unfortunately lost. So are his book concerning the soul (in which he collected the opinions of the philosophers on that subject), and his book entitled, *Psaltes*. There are several other works now extant under his name, which are either doubted or denied to be his. Justin's works make a considerable folio volume. The best edition is the Benedictine, by Prudent. Maran. Paris, 1742. Thirlby's ed. of the *Dialogue*, Lond. 1722, folio, is good. The two *Apologies*, with those of Tertullian and Minutius Felix, are given in English by Reeve. Lond. 1707, 2 vols. 8vo.—*Mur.* [The best translation is that by Chevallier, *ubi supra*. Camb. 1833. His *Exhortation to the Greeks* has been translated into English by Moses. Aberd. 1757, 8vo; and his *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*, by Brown, Lond. 1755, 2 vols. 8vo, republished in one volume, 8vo. Cambridge, 1846. The student ought also to consult Bishop Kaye's *Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr*, 2d edit. Lond. 1836; and particularly Semisch's *Justin Martyr*, &c. translated by Ryland, in Nos. 41 and 42 of the *Edin. Bib. Cab.* 1843.—*R.*

[1] Irenæus who was active during the last half of this century, was born and educated in Asia Minor under Polycarp and Papias. About A.D. 150, Pothinus and others went from Asia Minor to Lyons and Vienne in France; and Irenæus, then a young man, is supposed to have been one of those missionaries. He remained a presbyter till the death of Pothinus, A.D. 177, when he succeeded him in the episcopal chair at Lyons, which he filled till about A.D. 202, the time of his martyrdom. While a presbyter he was sent to Rome by his church, concerning the affair of Montanus. He is supposed to have composed the letter written in the name of the churches of Lyons and Vienne, giving the graphic account of their persecution in A.D. 177. He likewise took an active part in the controversy respecting Easter, A.D. 196; and wrote to Victor, bishop of Rome, on the subject; and also to the presbyter Blastus, who was deposed at Rome during that contest. Eusebius has also preserved part of a letter of his to Florinus, an apostate to Gnosticism, with whom Irenæus had been intimate in his youth. Some other small works of his are mentioned by the ancients. See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. cap. xv. xx. xxiv. xxvi; Jerome, *De Scriptor. illustr.* cap. xxxv.; but the great work of Irenæus is his examination and confutation of the misnamed (γνῶσις) knowledge in five books, commonly called *Libri contra Hæreses*. The work is altogether polemic, and is directed particularly against Valentinus; yet so as to be a confutation of all the Gnostics, and a defence of the catholic faith against most of the heretics of that age. The book contains much information respecting the early heretics, their origin, sentiments, and characters; also respecting the state of theological science in that age, the doctrines generally received and taught, and the manner of stating and defending them. But unfortunately the original Greek is lost, except the extracts preserved by Eusebius, Epiphanius, and others; and the Latin translation which is very ancient, is extremely barbarous and sometimes scarcely intelligible. Irenæus was an ardent and sincere Christian, and a discreet and amiable man. He possessed considerable learning and influence; but his mind does not appear to have been one of the highest order. As an interpreter of Scripture, like all the early fathers he was too fond of tracing allegories; and as a theologian, few of the moderns will account him entirely correct in principle or perfectly conclusive in his reasonings. See, concerning his life and writings, Cave, Du Pin, Massuet (the editor of his works), the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. v. June, p. 335; *Histoire littéraire de la France*, tome i. p. 51; and Milner, *Hist. of the Ch.* century iii. chap. i. vol. i. p. 269. The best editions of his works are by Grabe, Lond. 1702, fol.; and the Benedictine, by Massuet, Paris, 1710, and Venice, 1734, 2 tom. fol.—*Mur.* [The English reader may consult Beaven's *Account of the Life and Writings of Irenæus*, Lond. 1841, 8vo, which though a somewhat ambitious imitation of Bishop Kaye's works, is far inferior and causes one to regret that so excellent and interesting a subject had not fallen into the hands of a more learned and impartial inquirer.—*R.*

[2] Athenagoras, one of the most elegant and able writers the church has produced, is scarcely mentioned by any of the fathers. Methodius, about A.D. 285, quoted from him; (see Epiphan. *Hæres.* lxv.) Sidetes, about A.D. 400, gives some lame account of him (in Dodwell's *Diss. on Irenæus*, p. 408); and Photius (*Bibliotheca*), in the ninth century speaks of him. This is all the fathers tell us. It appears from the title of his *Apology* that he was a Christian philosopher of Athens, and that he wrote his Apology in the reign of the Emperors Marcus and Commodus. Sidetes, who is a writer of little credit, says he presided in the school at Alexandria before Pantænus, which is contradicted by Eusebius, and that he was converted to Christianity by reading the Scriptures with a design to confute them, which may be true. Mosheim, in his *Diss. de vera ætate Apologetici Athenag.* (*Dissert ad Hist. Eccles.* vol. i. p. 269, &c.) has proved that the Apology was written A.D. 177, the very year of the persecutions at Lyons and Vienne. Athenagoras descants on the same topics as Justin Martyr, and employs the same arguments; but his composition is immensely superior as to style and method. His other work, *De Resurrectione*, is written with equal elegance, and contains the arguments used in that age to support the doctrine of the resurrection of the body against the objections of philosophers. His works, besides being printed separately by Dechair, Oxford, 1706, 8vo, are commonly subjoined to those of Justin Martyr; and the best edition is the Benedictine, by Maran. [Paris, 1742.—*Mur.* [See Clarisse, *Commentar. de Athenagoræ vita, scriptis et doctrina*. Leyden, 1819, 4to. The English reader will find both his works translated in Humphrey's *Apologeticks of Athenagoras*. Lond. 1714.—*R.*

[3] Theophilus was made Bishop of Antioch, in Syria, A.D. 168, and died about A.D. 182 or 183. The best accounts of him by the ancients, are those of Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. xx. xxiii.; and Jerome, *De Scriptor. Illustr.* cap. xxv. He appears to have been a converted pagan, a man of reading, a decided and active Christian pastor, sound in faith, and zealous for the truth. He is not metaphysical, but still is rather a dry and argumentative writer. He composed a book against Hermogenes, and another against Marcion, and a Commentary on the four Gospels, all of which are lost. His great work, and the only one which has reached us, is his three books addressed to his pagan friend Autolycus, in vindication of Christianity. Here he takes much the same ground with Justin Martyr and the other Apologists; but he descends more into detail in his proofs from Scripture and from history. He is fond of allegorical and fanciful interpretations, and on them rests a large part of his arguments. Yet the work contains much that is instructive and solid; and is written

drinus, a presbyter and head of the catechetic school at Alexandria, was a man of extensive reading, especially in the works of ancient authors. This is manifest from the works of his which remain; namely, his *Stromata*, his *Pædagogus*, and his *Ad Græcos Exhortatio*. But he was infected with very great errors, into which he was betrayed by his excessive love of philosophy; nor are his works to be recommended as exhibiting good arrangement and perspicuity of style.[1] In the Latin language, scarcely any one in this century illustrated or defended the Christian religion except Tertullian.[2] He was at first a jurisconsult,

in a plain, familiar style.—*Mur.* [This work, entitled *Apologetic Discourses*, has been translated into English, by Betty. Oxford, 1722.—*R.*

[1] Titus Flavius Clemens, whether born at Athens or Alexandria, was a pagan in early life and devoted himself to philosophy. He travelled in Greece, in South Italy, in Cœlo-Syria, in Palestine, and lastly in Egypt, where he was a pupil of Pantænus, the master of the Christian school at Alexandria. Becoming a Christian he was made a presbyter of the Alexandrian church, and succeeded his preceptor Pantænus, as master of the catechetic or divinity school. He taught with great applause during the reign of Severus (A.D. 193—211), and had Origen and other eminent men of the third century for pupils. About A.D. 202, he retired into Palestine and Syria for a short time, to avoid persecution. He is supposed to have died about A.D. 220. Clement had vast learning, a lively imagination, great fluency, considerable discrimination, and was a bold and independent speculator. That he had true piety and held the essential truths of the Gospel, is admitted by all; but no one of the fathers except Origen, has been more censured in modern times, for an excessive attachment to philosophy or metaphysical theology. He was a true Eclectic, which he also professed to be; that is, he followed no master implicitly, but examined and judged for himself. Yet his education and the atmosphere in which he lived, led him to lean towards Platonism and Stoicism. His great error was, that he overrated the value of philosophy or human reason as a guide in matters of religion. He also indulged his imagination, as all the learned of this age did, to excess; and construed the Bible allegorically and fancifully. His three principal works which have reached us constitute one whole. His *Exhortatio ad Græcos* was intended to convince and convert pagans. His *Pædagogus* in three books was intended to instruct a young convert in the practice of Christianity. His *Stromata* [Patch-work] in eight books (the last of which is not the genuine eighth book), are written without method or in a most discursive manner. In them Clement attempts to give the world his most profound thoughts and speculations on theology and the kindred sciences. He has also left us a practical treatise, entitled *Quis dives ille sit, qui salvetur?* in which his object is to show to what temptations and dangers the rich are exposed. There are ascribed to him and printed with his works, extracts from the writings of others which are dubious. Eusebius and Jerome mention works of his which are now lost. Of these the principal are, *Libri* viii. *Hypotyposeon*, a compendious exposition of the Old and New Testaments. The character and writings of Clement have been elaborately investigated by various persons, among whom are Le Nourry (*Apparat. ad Biblioth. Patr.*); Walch (*Miscellanea Sacra*); Brucker (*Hist. Crit. Philos.*); and Neander, *Kirchengesch.* vol. i. The best edition of his works is that of Potter. Oxf. 1715, fol.—*Mur.* [Reprinted with additions at Venice, 1757, 2 vols. folio. See another excellent work by Bishop Kaye, entitled *Some account of the writings and opinions of Clement of Alexandria*. Lond. 1835. None of his writings has been translated into English, with the single exception of the tract, *Who is the rich man that shall be saved?* by Jones, Lond. 1711, 12mo; but in a curious series of publications, entitled *Small books on great subjects*, the English reader will find in No. VII. (Pickering, Lond. 1844), under the title of *Christian doctrine in the second Century*, extracts from the three great works of Clemens, his *Exhortation to the Greeks*, his *Pædagogus*, and his *Stromata*.—*R.*

[2] Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus was the son of a pagan centurion of proconsular rank, and born at Carthage about A.D. 160. He was bred to the law; but becoming a Christian was made a presbyter in the church of Carthage, where he appears to have spent his whole life. About A.D. 200 he embraced the sentiments of the Montanists; which he afterwards defended with his usual ardour. He is said to have lived to a great age; and yet he is supposed to have died about A.D. 220. Jerome, *De Scriptoribus Illustr.* cap. liii. Eusebius, *Chronicon.* ann. 16, and others, give him a high character. Jerome tells us that Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was accustomed to read some portions of his works daily; and in calling for this author, used to say, Da magistrum, *bring my master*. He wrote with great force and displayed much both of erudition and acuteness; but his style is concise, harsh, and extremely difficult for modern readers. His diction and his spirit too it has been supposed, were extensively propagated in the Latin church. His works consist of about 30 short treatises and are nearly all of a polemic cast, argumentative, vituperative, and severe. They may be divided into three classes; namely, *apologetic* or in controversy with pagans and Jews; *doctrinal* or confutations of heretics; and *moral* in defence or confutation of certain practices or rules of conduct. Most of his works of the last class were written after he became a Montanist, and are in defence of the rigid principles of that sect, or in opposition to the opinions and practice of Christians in general. The best edition of his works is by Semler, Halle, 1769-73, 5 vols. 8vo, with a 6th vol. by Windorf containing indices and a Glossary, 1776.—*Mur.* [Reprinted in 1828, in 6 vols 12mo. See Neander, *Antignosticus Geist des Tertullianus und Einheit. in dessen Schriften*. Berlin, 1825. See also the first and perhaps the best of Bishop Kaye's patristic works, entitled *The Eccles. History of the second and third centuries, illustrated from the writings of Tertullian*. Lond. 1845, 3d edit. Several of Tertullian's writings have been translated into English, his *Apology*, by Reeves and Chevallier, *ubi supra*; his *Prescription against Heretics*, by Betty.—Oxford, 1722; and his *Address to Tertullus*, with valuable notes by Sir D. Dalrymple (Lord Hailes). Edin. 1790, 18mo. These three pieces with eleven others have been translated by the Rev. Dr. Pusey of Oxford, and they form No. x. of the *Library of the Fathers of the holy Catholic Church* in course of publication at Oxford. Of this collection twenty-six numbers or volumes have already appeared.—*R.*

Besides the writers above mentioned whose works are extant, there were many others in this century of whose works we have only extracts preserved by the fathers. Of these, a catalogue embracing such as are mentioned by Eusebius in his *Eccles. History*, and by Jerome, *De Scriptoribus Illustribus*, is here subjoined.

Papias, Bp. of Hierapolis in Phrygia, contemporary with Ignatius in the beginning of the century. He wrote five books containing traditional accounts of Christ, his apostles, and others of the primitive times He is said to have advocated the doctrine of the Millenium. Euseb. iii. 39; Jerome, cap. 18.

Quadratus, Bp. of Athens. He wrote an Apology for the Christians, presented to the Emperor Adrian, A.D. 123 or 131. Euseb. iv. 3; Jerome, cap. xix.

Aristides, an eloquent Christian philosopher of Athens, at the same time presented an Apology. Euseb. iv. 3; Jerome, cap xx.

Agrippa Castor, contemporary with the two last. He was "a very learned man," and wrote a confutation of the 24 books of Basilides the heretic. Euseb. iv. 7; Jerome, cap. xxi.

Hegesippus, a converted Jew, who resided at Corinth and at Rome. He wrote about A.D. 160, five books of Ecclesiastical matters from the death of Christ to his own times. Euseb. iv. 8, 22, and iii. 19, 20, 32; Jerome, cap. xxii.

then a presbyter at Carthage, and at last a follower of Montanus. We have various short works of his intended either to explain and defend the truth or to excite piety. Whether his excellences or his defects were the greatest, it is difficult to say. He possessed great genius, but it was wild and unchastened. His piety was active and fervent, but likewise gloomy and austere. He had much learning and knowledge, but was changeable and credulous, and more acute than solid.[1]

Melito, Bp. of Sardis. He wrote an Apology besides various short works. Euseb. iv. 26; Jerome, cap. xxiv.

Apollinaris, Bp. of Hierapolis in Phrygia, A.D. 170. He wrote an Apology, five books against the pagans, and other works. Euseb. iv. 27; Jerome, cap. xvi.

Dionysius, Bp. of Corinth, from about A.D. 170. He was an active and influential man, and wrote valuable Epistles to several churches and their bishops; namely, to the churches of Sparta, Athens, Nicomedia, Gortyna, and others in Crete; to Amastris, and others in Pontus; to Pinitus, a Cretan bp. and Victor, Bp. of Rome. Euseb. iv. 23; Jerome, cap. xxvii.

Tatian, a rhetorician and disciple of Justin Martyr. After the death of Justin he swerved from the common path, and became founder of a rigorous sect called Encratites. He flourished about A.D. 170, and wrote an Apology under the title of *Oratio contra Græcos*, which is still extant and usually printed with the works of Justin Martyr. He is said to have composed many other works; among which a *Diatessaron* or *Harmony of the four Gospels*, and a treatise on *Perfection after the pattern of Christ*, are particularly mentioned. Euseb. iv. 29; Jerome, cap. xxxix.; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 12.

Musanus, of the same age wrote against the Encratites. Jerome, cap. xxxi.; Euseb. iv. 28.

Modestus, of the same age wrote a book against Marcion, which Eusebius says exceeded all other confutations of that heretic. Euseb. iv. 25; Jerome, cap. xxxii.

Bardesanes, a Syrian of Edessa, of the same age an eloquent and acute reasoner. He was first a Valentinian; but afterwards wrote against that and other sects. His works were numerous, which his admirers translated from Syriac into Greek. His dialogues against Marcion, and his treatise *On Fate*, are particularly commended. Euseb. iv. 30; Jerome, cap. xxxiii.

Victor, Bp. of Rome, A.D. 194-203. His zeal respecting the right day for Easter led him to write several Epistles on that subject. Euseb. v. 24; Jerome, cap. xxxiv. Nothing of his remains, though two spurious Epistles with his name are still extant.

Pantænus, a Christian philosopher of Alexandria, and head of the catechetic school there before Clement. He was a learned and active Christian, and wrote much particularly in explanation of the Scriptures; but his works are lost. He visited India or Arabia Felix, as a missionary, and had great influence in the church. Euseb. v. 10; Jerome, cap. xxxvi.

Rhodon, an Asiatic Greek, but educated at Rome under Tatian. He wrote much; and in particular on the *Hexaëmeron* (the six days of creation); a treatise against Marcion; and another against the Phrygians or Cataphrygians, the disciples of Montanus. Euseb. v. 13; Jerome, cap. xxxvii.

Miltiades, who flourished in the reign of Commodus, A.D. 180-192. He wrote an Apology and works against the Cataphrygians, the pagans, and the Jews. Euseb. v. 17; Jerome, cap. xxxix.

Apollonius, an eloquent Greek writer, author of a long and much valued confutation of the Cataphrygians. Euseb. iv. 18; Jerome, cap. xl.

Serapion, ordained Bp. of Antioch, A.D. 191. He wrote an Epistle concerning the Montanists or Cataphrygians, and some other tracts. Euseb. vi. 12; Jer. cap. xli.

Apollonius, a Roman senator and martyr under Commodus. His eloquent defence at his trial was committed to writing. Euseb. v. 21; Jerome, cap xlii.

Under the reigns of Commodus and Severus, or A.D. 180-211, lived several writers mentioned summarily by Euseb. v. 27, and by Jerome, cap. xlvi-li; namely, Heraclitus, author of a *Commentary on Paul's Epistles;* Maximus, who wrote on *the Origin of Evil and the Creation of Matter;* Candidus and Appion, who wrote on *the Hexaëmeron;* Sextus wrote on the *Resurrection;* and Arabianus composed some doctrinal tracts.

All the preceding wrote in Greek, except Bardesanes, who composed in Syriac, and Victor and Apollonius the martyr who wrote in Latin.—*Mur.*

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

1. THE whole Christian system was still comprised in a few precepts and propositions; nor did the teachers publicly advance any doctrines beside those contained in what is called the *Apostles' Creed.* In their manner of handling these doctrines there was nothing subtle, profound, or distant from common apprehension. This will not appear strange if we reflect that no controversy had yet been moved respecting those important points of religion about which contests afterwards arose, and that the bishops were generally plain, unlearned men, more distinguished for their piety than for their genius and eloquence.

2. Yet insensibly, from this venerable simplicity there was a considerable departure; many points were more critically investigated and more artificially stated; many principles also were imprudently adopted which were derived from philosophy and that too not of the most solid character This change arose from two principal causes. The first lay in the disposition of certain teachers who wished to make Christianity appear in harmony with the decisions of philosophy, and who thought it elegant to state Christian precepts in the language of philosophers, civilians, and rabbins. The other cause is found in the discussions with the opposers and corrupters of the truth. To meet these, the Christian doctors were sometimes under the necessity

[1] Those who wish further information concerning these writers, their defects and their works, are directed —and the direction is given once for all—to consult those authors who treat professedly of the Ecclesiastical Writers; namely, Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca* and *Biblioth. Latina;* Cave, *Historia Literariæ Scriptor. Eccles.;* Du Pin, *Bibliothèque des Aut. Eccles.* Ceillier, *Histoire générale des aut. Sacrés et Eccles.* and others. [To these may be added Lumper, *Hist. Theol. Crit. de Vita Scriptis atque Doctrina, SS. PP. trium priorum sæculorum,* &c. Augsburg, 1783—99, in 13 volumes, 8vo. "Opus est magna diligentia congestum, doctum, utile, at quod dolendum, non absolutum." *Danz.* Also Schramm, *Analysis operum, SS. PP.* Augsburg, 1780-96, in eighteen volumes, 8vo. a very valuable work; and Schönemann, *Biblio. Hist. liter. patrum latinor. a Tertulliano ad Gregor. Mag. et Isid. Hisp.* Lip. 1792-4, 2 vols. 8vo. In the preface to the second volume the author promises a third to complete the work; but I believe it was never published, and he died in 1802.—*R*

of stating with precision what was before undefined, and exhibiting their views with more discrimination.

3. Whoever wishes for an example need only consider, what began to be taught in this age respecting the state of souls when separated from the body. Jesus and his apostles simply taught that the spirits of holy men on leaving the body were received to heaven, and that those of the wicked went to hell. And this satisfied the first disciples of Christ in whom there was more piety than curiosity; but this plain doctrine was materially injured, when Christians were induced to agree with the Platonics and others, that only the souls of heroes and men of distinguished abilities were raised to heaven; while those of others, being weighed down by their sensual propensities, sunk to the infernal regions and could never attain to the world of light till cleansed from their pollutions.[1] From the time when this opinion began to prevail, the martyrs only were represented and believed to be happy immediately after death; others were assigned to some obscure region, in which they were detained till the second coming of Christ, or at least till their impurities which disqualified them for heaven should be removed from them. From this source, how numerous and how vast the errors!—what vain ceremonies!—what debasing superstitions took their rise!

4. But they all revered the Holy Scriptures as the rule of faith and the standard of truth; and therefore they wished them to be in the hands of all. Of the translations of the Scriptures into other languages, we have already spoken. We shall here speak only of the expositors. The first Christian who composed explanations of the sacred volume, was if I mistake not Pantænus, the master of the Alexandrine school. But divine providence has so ordered that none of his writings have reached us. The *Hypotyposes* also of Clemens Alexandrinus, in which he is said to have expounded detached passages from the sacred books, have been lost; and likewise his *Commentaries on the canonical Epistles*. Tatian composed a *Harmony of the Gospels*, which has [not] escaped the ravages of time.[2] Justin Martyr explained the *Revelation;* Theophilus of Antioch elucidated the *four Gospels;* and others expounded the Mosaic account of the creation. All these works are now lost.

5. But this loss is the less to be regretted, since it is certain that no one of these expositors could be pronounced an excellent or renowned interpreter. They all believed the language of Scripture to contain two meanings; the one obvious and corresponding with the direct import of the words; the other recondite and concealed under the words, like a kernel by the shell: the former they neglected as of little value, and bestowed their chief attention on the latter; that is, they were more intent on throwing obscurity over the sacred writings by the fictions of their own imaginations, than of searching out their true meaning. Some also, and this is stated especially of Clement, attempted to make the divine oracles teach and support the precepts of philosophy. The excessive and almost divine authority ascribed to the Alexandrine version of the Old Testament, called the Septuagint, was a great obstacle to any valuable and suitable interpretation of that part of the Bible.

6. A system of Christian theology so far as we can learn, was composed by no one in this age. The tracts of Arabianus, *De dogmate Christiano*, having been all lost, we cannot tell what they were. The five books of Papias, *De Dictis Christi et Apostolorum* or *Explanatio oraculorum dominicorum*, so far as can be learned from Eusebius,[3] must be regarded rather as an historical than a doctrinal work. Melito of Sardis is said to have written, *De Fide, De Creatione*, and *De Veritate;* but it does not appear from these titles whether they were polemic or doctrinal treatises. Some points in theology were stated and defended by those who engaged in religious controversies. But the doctrines which were not brought into controversy were not so distinctly treated by the writers of that age, that we can fully understand what their views were. It is not strange therefore that all sects of Christians can find in what are called the *Futhers* something to favour their own opinions and systems.

7. The controversial writers who distinguished themselves in this century encountered either the Jews, or the worshippers of idol gods, or the corrupters of the Christian doctrine and founders of new sects, that is, the heretics. With the Jews contended in particular Justin Martyr, in his

[1] I have treated largely of these sentiments of the ancients and especially of the Platonics, in my notes on Cudworth's *Intellectual System*, vol. ii. p. 1036.

[2] I cannot but think there must be a great typographical error in the original of this sentence. For it is not easy to believe that Mosheim maintained the long-exploded notion, that either of those *Harmonies* of the four Gospels which we have in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, could be the genuine work of Tatian. See Prudentius Maran, Diss. xiii. cap. xii. sec. 5, 6, prefixed to his edition of *Justin Martyr*, &c. and republished by Sprenger, *Thesaurus Rei Patristicæ*, tom. ii.—*Mur.*

[3] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. cap. xxix. See also Irenæus, *Adv. Hæres.* lib. v. cap. xxxiii.; Jerome, *De Scriptor. Illustr.* cap. xviii.—*Mur.*

Dialogue with Trypho and likewise Tertullian; but neither of them in the best manner, because they were not acquainted with the language and history of the Hebrews, and did not duly consider the subject. The pagans were assailed especially by those who wrote Apologies for the Christians, as Athenagoras, Melito, Quadratus, Miltiades, Aristides, Tatian, and Justin Martyr; or who composed addresses to the pagans, as Justin, Tertullian, Clement, and Theophilus of Antioch. All these vanquished paganism and answered the calumnies cast upon the Christians solidly and dexterously; but they were less able and successful in explaining the nature of the Christian religion, and demonstrating its truth and divine origin. At least we perceive that much is wanting in the explanations they give of Christian doctrines, and in the arguments they use in confirmation of religious truth. Those who chastised the heretics make a numerous body, but we have few of their writings left. The whole host of heretics were attacked by Irenæus in a work expressly against them; by Clement, in his *Stromata;* and by Tertullian, *De Præscriptionibus adversus hæreticos;* not to mention Justin Martyr, whose confutation of them has been lost. Those who wrote against particular sects of heretics, it would be tedious to enumerate; besides, the works of most of them are not preserved.

8. In these disputants there was something more of ingenuousness and good faith than in those who undertook the support of truth in the following centuries. For the convenient wiles of sophistry and the dishonourable artifices of debate had not gained admittance among Christians. Yet a man of sound judgment, who has due regard for truth, cannot extol them highly. Most of them lacked discernment, knowledge, application, good arrangement, and force. They often advance very flimsy arguments, and such as were suited rather to embarrass than convince the mind. One, laying aside the Divine Scriptures from which all the weapons of religious controversy should be drawn, bids us consult the bishops of those churches which were founded by apostles. Another, as if contending about the title or boundaries of lands in a court of law, with an ill grace pleads prescription against his adversaries. A third imitates the silly disputants among the Jews, who offered as arguments the mystic powers of numbers and words.[1] Nor are those wholly in error who think that the vicious mode of disputing which afterwards obtained the name of *œconomical*, was sometimes used even in this century.[2]

9. The principal parts of practical religion or morality are treated of by Justin Martyr, or whoever it was that composed the *Epistle to Zenas and Serenus* found among the works of Justin. Others discussed particular duties in set treatises. Thus Clemens Alexandrinus composed tracts on Calumny, Patience, Continence, and other virtues, which have not escaped the ravages of time. But the tracts of Tertullian on practical duties, namely, on Chastity, on Flight from persecution, on Fasting, on Theatrical exhibitions, on the Dress of females, on Prayer, &c. have come safely to our hands; and would be perused with greater profit, were it not for the gloomy and morose spirit which they everywhere breathe, and the excessively artificial and difficult style in which they are written.[3]

10. In what estimation these and other ancient writers on Christian morals ought to be held, the learned are not agreed. Some hold them to be the very best guides to true piety; others on the contrary think their precepts were the worst possible, and that practical religion could not be committed to worse hands.[4] Competent judges will decide the question for themselves. To us it appears that their writings contain many things excellent, well considered, and

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[1] Examples may be seen in Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, tome iii. pages 660—694.

[2] Simon, *Histoire critique des principaux Commentateurs du N. T.* cap. ii. p. 21. [To do or to say anything, κατ' οἰκονομίαν, or οἰκονομικῶς, is to use deception or good policy rather than fair honest dealing, yet with good intentions or for a good end. See Suicer, *Thesaur. Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. p. 459.—*Mur.*

[3] So perplexed and difficult is the style of Tertullian and so peculiar his use of Latin terms, mostly of the Punic dialect, that it has become necessary to compile a Lexicon for his works, which will be found attached to Semler's edition (vol. vi.) and which is almost indispensable to the student. It has been remarked as unfortunate that the first application of Latin to Christian subjects was made by this "fiery African;" for with him originated that barbarous style, "duram, horridam, Latinisque inauditam," which is the foundation of our theological latinity of the present day. The student will find in Munter's *Primordia Eccles. Afric.* a selection of Tertullian's phrases still employed in treating of doctrinal and polemical subjects.—*R.*

[4] On this subject the learned and ingenious Barbeyrac held a controversy in our day with Ceillier, a Benedictine monk. A history of the controversy with his own opinion of it is given by Buddeus, *Isagoge ad Theologiam*, lib. ii. cap. iv. sec. 4, p. 553, &c. Afterwards, Barbeyrac published a more full defence of the severe judgment he had passed upon the fathers, under the title of *Traité de la Morale des Pères*, Amsterd. 1728, 4to, which is well worth reading by those who wish to investigate the subject; yet I think he charges the fathers with some faults which may easily be excused. [Liberatus Fassonius, a Catholic, published an answer to Barbeyrac in a Latin work, *De Morali Patrum Doctrina, adv. librum Barbeyraci.* Libourne, 1767, 4to—*Mur.* [Various other writers took the field against Barbeyrac and a few in his defence; their names and the titles of their works may be seen in Walch's *Biblio Patristica*, by Danz. p. 692, &c.—*R.*

well calculated to cherish piety; but at the same time many things unduly rigorous, and derived from the Stoic and Academic philosophy; many things vague and indeterminate and many things positively false and inconsistent with the precepts of Christ. If one deserves the title of a bad master in morals, who has no just ideas of the proper boundaries and limitations of Christian duties, nor clear and distinct conceptions of the different virtues and vices, nor a perception of those general principles to which recurrence should be had in all discussions respecting Christian virtue, and who therefore very often talks at random, and blunders in expounding the divine laws, though he may say many excellent things and excite in us considerable emotion; then I can readily admit that in strict truth this title belongs to many of the fathers.

11. In this century there was admitted, with good intentions no doubt yet most inconsiderately, a fundamental error in regard to morals and pernicious to Christianity; an error which through all succeeding ages to our times, has produced an infinity of mistakes and evils of various kinds. Jesus our Saviour prescribed one and the same rule of life or duty to all his disciples; but the Christian doctors, either by too great a desire of imitating the nations among whom they lived, or from a natural propensity to austerity and gloom (which is a disease that many labour under in Syria, Egypt, and other provinces of the east), were induced to maintain that Christ had prescribed a twofold rule of holiness and virtue; the one ordinary, the other extraordinary; the one lower, the other higher; the one for men of business, the other for persons of leisure, and such as sought to attain higher glory in the future world. They therefore early divided all that had been taught, whether in books or by tradition respecting a Christian life and morals, into Precepts and Counsels. They applied the name Precepts to those laws which were universally obligatory or were enacted for all men of all descriptions; but the Counsels related only to those who deemed it praiseworthy to aspire after superior holiness and a closer union with God.

12. There soon arose a class of persons who professed to strive after that higher and more eminent holiness which common Christians cannot attain; and who resolved to obey the counsels of Christ in order to enjoy intimate communion with God in this life, and on leaving the body to rise without impediment or difficulty to the celestial world. They supposed many things were forbidden to them, which were allowed to other Christians; such as wine, flesh, matrimony, and worldly business.[1] They supposed they must emaciate their bodies with watching, fasting, toil, and hunger. They considered it a happiness to retire to desert places, and by close meditation to abstract their minds from all external objects and whatever delights the senses. Both men and women imposed these severe restraints on themselves, with good intentions I suppose, but they set a bad example, and greatly injured the cause of Christianity. They were denominated Ascetics, Σπουδαῖοι, Ἐκλεκτοί, and also both male and female philosophers, and were distinguished from other Christians, not only by a different appellation but by peculiarities of dress and demeanour.[2] Those of this century who embraced this austere mode of life, lived indeed by themselves, but they did not withdraw altogether from the society and converse of men. But in process of time persons of this description retired into deserts, and afterwards formed themselves into associations after the manner of the Essenes and Therapeutæ.

13. The causes of this institution are plain. First, the Christians did not wish to appear inferior to the Greeks, the Romans, and the other people, among whom there were many philosophers and sages who were distinguished from the vulgar by their dress and their whole mode of life, and who were held in high honour. Now, among these philosophers (as is well known) none were more popular with the Christians than the Platonists and Pythagoreans, who it appears recommended two modes of living; the one for philosophers who wished to excel others in virtue, and the other for people engaged in the common affairs of life.[3] The Platonists prescribed the following rule for philosophers:—The mind of a wise man must be withdrawn as far as possible from the contagious influence of the body; and as the oppressive load of the body and intercourse with men are most adverse to this design, therefore all sensual gratifications are to be avoided; the body is to be sustained or rather mortified with coarse and slender fare; solitude is to be sought for; and the mind is to be self-

1 Athenagoras, *Apologia pro Christianis*, cap. xxviii. p. 129, ed. Oxon. and others.

2 See Salmasius, *Comment. in Tertullian. de Pallio*, pages 7, 8. [Deyling, *Exercit. de Ascetis Vet.* in *Observ. Sacr.* lib. iii., and Bingham, *Antiq. Eccles.* vol. iii. p. 3, &c.—*Mur.*

3 They made a distinction between living according to nature, (ζῆν κατὰ φύσιν), and living above nature, (ζῆν ὑπὲρ φύσιν). See Æneas Gazæus, in *Theophrasto*, p. 29, ed. Barthii. The former was the rule for all men; the latter only for philosophers who aimed at perfect virtue.

collected and absorbed in contemplation, so as to be detached as much as possible from the body.[1] Whoever lives in this manner shall in the present life have converse with God; and when freed from the load of the body, shall ascend without delay to the celestial mansions, and not need like the souls of other men to undergo a purgation. The grounds of this system lay in the peculiar sentiments entertained by this sect of philosophers and by their friends, respecting the soul, demons, matter, and the universe. And when these sentiments were embraced by the Christian philosophers, the necessary consequences of them must also be adopted.

14. What has been stated will excite less surprise, if it be remembered that Egypt was the land where this mode of life had its origin; for this country, from some law of nature, has always produced a greater number of gloomy and hypochondriac or melancholy persons than any other;[2] and it still does so. Here it was that long before the Saviour's birth, not only the Essenes and Therapeutæ—those Jewish sects composed of persons affected with a morbid melancholy or rather partially deranged—had their chief residence; but many others also that they might better please the gods, withdrew themselves as by the instinct of nature from commerce with men and from all the pleasures of life.[3] From Egypt this mode of life passed into Syria and the neighbouring countries, which in like manner always abounded with unsociable and austere individuals;[4] and at last it was introduced from the east among the nations of Europe. Hence the numerous maladies which still deform the Christian world; hence the celibacy of the clergy; hence the numerous herds of monks; hence the two species of life, the theoretical and mystical; hence the many other things of a like nature which we shall have occasion to mention in the progress of our work.[5]

15. Another error among the Christians, not indeed of equal extent but a pernicious one and productive of many evils, was the following. The Platonists and Pythagoreans deemed it not only lawful but commendable to deceive and to lie, for the sake of truth and piety.[6] The Jews living in Egypt learned from them this sentiment before the Christian era, as appears from many proofs. And from both, this vice early spread among the Christians. Of this no one will doubt, who calls to mind the numerous forgeries of books under the names of eminent men, the Sibylline verses,[7] and other similar trash,[8] a large mass of which appeared in this and the following centuries. I would not say that the orthodox Christians forged all the books of this character; on the contrary it is probable that the greater part of them originated from the founders of the Gnostic sects; yet that the Christians who were free from heterodox views were not wholly free from this fault, is too clear to be denied.

16. The more the boundaries of the church were enlarged, the greater the number of vicious and bad men who thrust themselves into it; as may be proved by the many complaints and censures of the writers of this

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1 Consult here, by all means, that most distinguished Platonist, Porphyry, περὶ ἀποχῆς, or, on abstinence from flesh, book i. secs. 27 and 41, pages 22, 34, where he formally lays down rules for these duties of a philosopher.

2 See Maillet, *Description de l' Egypte*, tom. ii. p. 57, &c. Paris, 1735, 4to.

3 Herodotus, *Historiar.* lib. ii. p. 104, ed. Gronov.; Epiphanius, *Expos. Fidei.* sec. 11; *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 1092; Tertullian, *De Exhortatione Castitatis*, cap. xiii.; Athanasius, *Vita Antonii, Opp.* tom. ii. p. 453.

4 Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, tome iv. p. 197, ed. Amsterd. 1735, 4to.

5 The reader who is desirous of tracing minutely the origin and progress of error, both in doctrine and morals in the primitive church, should read what Isaac Taylor has written on this subject, especially in sections 8 and 9 of his *Natural Hist. of Enthusiasm*, and in the first volume of his *Ancient Christianity*. A full view of the errors which were but too prevalent even at this early period, may be seen in a very valuable work by a layman of the English Church, which is more comprehensive than its title would intimate, for it embraces corruptions in morals as well as in doctrines. I refer to Osburn's *Doctrinal Errors of the Apostolical and Early Fathers*, Lond. 1835, 8vo. He draws his materials solely from the fathers of the first and second centuries, his views are evangelical, and he writes in an excellent spirit.—*R.*

6 Mosheim, on this subject, in his *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 231, refers us to his *Diss. de turbata per recentiores Platonicos ecclesia*, sec. 41, &c.—*Mur.*

7 Concerning the Sibylline verses which were composed about A.D. 138, Fabricius has treated largely, *Biblioth. Græca*, tom. i. The latest editor of the verses is Servatus. [Gallæus, who has corrected the text and added copious notes. Amsterd. 1689, 4to. He has subjoined the *Magic Oracles* ascribed to Zoroaster and others, in which are many things of Christian origin. That the sibylline verses were fabricated by some Christian in order to bring idolaters to believe in the truth of Christianity, has been well shown by Blondell among others; and with a very few exceptions there is no learned man at the present day who thinks otherwise. Blondell's work was first published under the title, *Des Sibylles, célébrées tant par l' Antiquité payenne, que par les saincts Pères.* Charenton, 1649, 4to. Two years after the title was changed, doubtless to allure purchasers; *Traité de la Créance des Pères touchant l' Etat des ames après cette vie, &c. à l'occasion de l' Ecrit attribué aux Sibelles.* Charenton, 1651, 4to. That the pagans were indignant at this forgery, which they attributed to the Christians, appears from Origen, *Contra Celsum*, lib. v. p. 272, ed. Spencer; Lactantius, *Instit. Divinor.* lib. iv. cap. xiv.; and Constantine the Great, *Oratio ad Sanctos*, in Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* See Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 230.—*Mur.*

8 That the books now circulated under the name of Hermes and particularly the one called *Pœmander* were a Christian forgery, was first shown by Casaubon, *Exercit.* i. *in Baronium*, sec. 18, p. 54, and afterwards by Conringius, Beausobre, Cudworth, Warburton, and many others. Some however suppose the books were originally composed by Platonists, and afterwards interpolated and corrupted by some Christian. See Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* p. 230.—*Mur*

age. The well-known custom of excluding transgressors from the communion was a barrier against the more flagrant and notorious crimes. Of all sins, those accounted the most heinous and the greatest were these three, murder, idolatry, and adultery; which terms, however, must here be understood in the broadest sense. Those guilty of these crimes were in many churches cut off for ever from communion; in other churches they were received back after a long, severe, and painful probation.[1]

17. It is worthy of particular notice that this custom of excluding improper characters from the society of Christians, and of not receiving them back except upon full proof of reformation, was at first a simple process, or attended with very little formality; but by degrees the regulations for it were greatly amplified, and deformed by many rites borrowed especially from the discipline of the pagan mysteries.[2] That it was proper for the Christian bishops to increase the restraints upon the licentiousness of transgression, will be readily granted by all who consider the circumstances of those times. But whether it was for the advantage of Christianity to borrow rules for this salutary ordinance from the enemies of the truth, and thus to consecrate, as it were, a part of the pagan superstition, many persons very justly call in question. The more candid will appreciate the good intention of those who introduced this sort of rules and ceremonies; all beyond this they will ascribe to human weakness.[3]

1 In this manner I think we may reconcile the different opinions of learned men on this subject. See Morin, *De Disciplina Pœnitentiæ*, lib. ix. cap. xix. p. 670, &c. Sirmond, *Historia Pœnitentiæ Publicæ*, cap. i. *Opp.* tom. iv. p. 323, and the recent Dissertation of Orsi, *De Criminum Capitalium per Tria Priora Sæcula Absolutione*, Milan, 1730, 4to.

2 See Fabricius, *Bibliog. Antiq.* p. 397; Morin, *De Pœniten. Discip.* lib. i. cap. xv. xvi. &c.

3 It is much to be regretted, that in reviewing the history of religion in each century, Mosheim had not given a sketch of the vicissitudes of spiritual Christianity, and of the influence of real piety and godliness on the habits, both of thought and life, of professing adherents of the Gospel. He never leads us into the *true* interior of the Church of Christ, to exhibit the mode in which evangelical truth was apprehended by Christian minds at different periods, or to depict its operation in remodelling individual character, and reproving the domestic or social evils prevalent in each successive generation. The historian indeed surveys the pulpit, but he never descends into the congregation, or visits the family, or inquires among individuals for the evidences of an efficacious faith. He draws no sufficiently distinct line of demarcation between real religion and the mere nominal Christianity too prevalent in each age; between spiritual worship and that cumbrous ritual which was generally so popular, and so rigidly enforced and practised. The Christian reader longs to know, not merely whether the technical teaching of the church was sound and scriptural, but whether its value was duly appreciated by the people; whether they "received the truth in the love of it," delighted in the exercises of a spiritual worship, and sought to adorn their faith by lives of true self-denial and beneficence.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF CEREMONIES.

1. It is certain that to religious worship both public and private many rites were added, without necessity, and to the great offence of sober and good men.[4] The principal cause of this I readily look for in the perverseness of mankind, who are more delighted with the pomp and splendour of external forms than with the true devotion of the heart, and who despise whatever does not gratify their eyes and ears. But other and additional causes may be mentioned; which, though they suppose no bad design, yet clearly betray indiscretion.

2. First, there is good reason to suppose that the Christian bishops multiplied sacred rites for the sake of rendering the Jews and the pagans more friendly to them; for both had been accustomed to numerous and splendid ceremonies from their infancy, and had no doubt that they constituted an essential part of religion. And hence, when they saw the new religion to be destitute of such ceremonies, they thought it too simple and therefore despised it. To obviate this objection, the rulers of the Christian churches deemed it proper for them to be more splendid and attractive in their public worship.[5]

For information on these points we must look beyond the pages of Mosheim; and *as yet* the only source open to the English reader is the History of Milner, written, it is true, in an excellent spirit, and full of instruction on those very topics omitted by Mosheim, but superficial and uncritical in all that respects the substance of ecclesiastical history prior to the Reformation. I may add that the student will find in Weismann's *Introductio in Memorabilia Eccles. Hist.* &c. 2 vols. Halle, 1745, 4to, that union of accuracy, research, and erudition, with a just appreciation of spiritual religion, so requisite to constitute a suitable history of the Christian church.—*R.*

4 Tertullian, *Liber de Oratione*, *Opp.* p. 129, &c. Paris, 1675.

5 It will not be unsuitable to transcribe here a very apposite passage, which I accidentally met with in Gregory Nyssen's life of Gregory Thaumaturgus. Opera, Par. 1638, tom. iii. p. 574.—*συνίδων γαρ ὅτι τᾶις σωματικαῖς θυμηδίαις τῇ περὶ τα εἰδωλα πλανῃ παραμένει τὸ νηπιωδες των πολλων και ἀπαίδευτων· ὡς ἂν τὸ προσηγουμενον τέως ἐν αὐτοῖς μάλισα κατορθαθεὶη το προς Θεὸν ἀντὶ των ματαιων σεβασμάτων βλέπειν, ἐπαφῆκεν ἀυτοῖς ταῖς των ἁγίων μαρτύρων ἐμφαιδρυνεσθαι μνήμαις καὶ εὐπαθεῖν καὶ ἀγάλλεσθαι ὡς χρὸνῳποτὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀυτόματον προς τὸ σεμνότερόν τε και ἀκριβέστερον μετατεθῆσουμένον τοῦ βίου, καὶ πρὸς ἐκεινο καθηγουμένης τῆς πίστεως·* "When he [Gregory] perceived that the ignorant and simple multitude persisted in their idolatry, on account of the sensitive pleasures and delights it afforded, he allowed them in celebrating the memory of the holy martyrs to indulge themselves, and give a loose to pleasure, (*i. e.* as the thing itself, and both what precedes and what follows, place beyond all controversy, he allowed them at the sepulchres of the martyrs on their feast days to dance, to use sports, to indulge conviviality, and to do all the things that the worshippers of idols were accustomed to do in their temples on their festival days), hoping that in process of time they would spontaneously come over to a more becoming and more correct manner of life." [Mosheim had

3. Secondly, the simplicity of the worship which Christians offered to the Deity, had given occasion to certain calumnies spread abroad both by the Jews and the pagan priests. The Christians were pronounced Atheists because they were destitute of temples, altars, victims, priests, and all that pomp in which the vulgar suppose the essence of religion to consist; for unenlightened persons are prone to estimate religion by what meets their eyes. To silence this accusation, the Christian doctors thought they must introduce some external rites which would strike the senses of people; so that they could maintain that they really had all those things of which Christians were charged with being destitute, though under different forms.

4. Thirdly, it is well known that in the books of the New Testament various parts of the Christian religion are expressed in terms borrowed from the Jewish laws, or are in some measure compared with the Mosaic rites. This mode of expression the Christian doctors and writers not only imitated, but extended still further; and in this there was little to censure. But in process of time, either from inconsideration, ignorance, or motives of policy, the majority maintained that such phraseology was not figurative, but accordant with the nature of the things, and to be understood in its proper sense. The bishops were at first innocently called high priests, and the presbyters, priests, and the deacons, Levites. But in a little time, those to whom these titles were given abused them, and maintained that they had the same rank and dignity, and possessed the same rights and privileges, with those who bore these titles under the Mosaic dispensation. Hence the origin of first-fruits, and next of tithes; hence the splendid garments, and many other things. In like manner, the comparison of the Christian oblations with the Jewish victims and sacrifices produced many unnecessary rites, and in time corrupted essentially the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which, ere they were aware of it, was converted into a sacrifice.

5. Fourthly, among the Greeks and the people of the east, nothing was held more sacred than what were called the Mysteries. This circumstance led the Christians, in order to impart dignity to their religion, to say that they also had similar mysteries, or certain holy rites concealed from the vulgar; and they not only applied the terms used in the pagan mysteries to the Christian institutions, particularly baptism and the Lord's Supper, but they gradually introduced also the rites which were designated by those terms.[1] This practice originated in the eastern provinces; and thence, after the times of Adrian (who first introduced the Grecian mysteries among the Latins),[2] it spread among the Christians of the west. A large part therefore of the Christian observances and institutions, even in this century, had the aspect of the pagan mysteries.

6. Fifthly, many ceremonies took their rise from the custom of the Egyptians and of almost all the eastern nations, of conveying instruction by images, actions, and sensible signs and emblems. The Christian doctors therefore thought it would be advantageous to the cause of Christianity to place the truths which are necessary to be known in order to salvation, as it were, before the eyes of the unreflecting multitude, who with difficulty contemplate abstract truths. The new converts were to be taught that those are born again who are initiated by baptism into the Christian worship, and that they ought to exhibit in their conduct the innocence of little infants; therefore milk and honey, the common food of infants, were administered to them. Those who obtained admission to the kingdom of Christ, from being the servants of the devil, became the Lord's freed men, and like newly enlisted soldiers swore to obey their commander. And to signify this, certain rites were borrowed from military usages and from the forms of manumission.[3]

7. Lastly, not to be tedious, whoever considers that the Christians were collected from among the Jews and from the pagan nations, who were accustomed, from their earliest years, to various ceremonies and superstitious rites, and that the habits of

quoted only the Latin version by Vossius. I have preferred giving the original; but I have not disturbed the English translation of the passage as previously given by Murdock.—*R.*

1 Examples are given by Casaubon, *Exercit.* xvi. *in Annales Baronii*, p. 388; Tollius, *Insignia Itineris Italici*, Notes, 151—163; Spanheim, *Notes* to his *French Translation of Julian's Cæsars*, pages 133, 134; Clarkson, *Discourse on Liturgies*, pages 36, 42, 43, and others.

2 Spartianus, *Hadrian*, cap. xiii. p. 15, ed. Obrechti. [Spartian speaks only of the Eleusinian Mysteries, into which Adrian was initiated at Athens. These it may be that Adrian first introduced among the Latins; yet he was not the first Roman initiated in them. That some mysteries had before this time been introduced into the Roman worship, appears from the *Epistles* of Cicero *to Atticus*, lib. v. 21, end; lib. vi. 1, end; lib. xv. 25. Gronovius, indeed, understands these (*mysteria Romana*) to be the worship of the goddess Bona Dea. See his *Observ.* lib. iv. cap. ix. But on this worship no male person might attend; and I see not why Cicero should inquire so particularly of his friend (as he does) about the time of these mysteries, if they were nothing but the worship of a deity in which none but females ever bore any part.—*Schl.*

3 See Merill, *Observationes*, lib. iii. cap. iii. [Schwartz, *De Ritibus quibusdam Formulisque a Manumissione ad S. Baptismum translatis*, Altorf, 1738; and Zentgrav, *De Ritibus Baptismalibus Sæculi Secundi*, Jena, 1749. —*Schl.*

early life are very hard to be laid aside, will perceive that it would have been little short of a miracle, if nothing corrupt and debasing had found its way into the Christian church. For example, nearly all the people of the east, before the Christian era, were accustomed to worship with their faces directed towards the sun rising; for they all believed that God, whom they supposed to resemble light, or rather to be light, and whom they limited as to place, had his residence in that part of the heavens where the sun rises. When they became Christians they rejected, indeed, the erroneous belief; but the custom which originated from it, and was very ancient and universally prevalent, they retained. Nor to this hour has it been wholly laid aside. From the same cause many Jewish rites originated, which are still religiously maintained by many Christians, and especially by those who live in eastern countries.[1]

8. The rites themselves I shall state only summarily; for this extensive subject deserves to be considered by itself, and cannot be fully discussed in the narrow limits of our work. The Christians assembled for the worship of God in private dwelling-houses, in caves, and in the places where the dead were buried. They met on the first day of the week, and here and there also on the seventh day, which was the Jewish Sabbath. Most of them likewise held sacred the fourth and sixth, the former being the day on which our Saviour was betrayed, and the latter that on which he was crucified. The hours of the day allotted to these meetings varied according to times and circumstances; most of them could assemble only in the evening, or in the morning before the dawn of day. When the Christians were assembled, prayers were recited (the purport of which Tertullian gives us),[2] the holy Scriptures were read,[3] short discourses on Christian duties were addressed to the people, hymns were sung, and at last the Lord's supper and the love-feasts were celebrated, the oblations of the people affording them the materials.[4]

9. The Christians of this century consecrated anniversary festivals in memory of the Saviour's death and resurrection, and of the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles. The day in remembrance of Christ's dying and expiating the sins of men was called the Passover, because they supposed that Christ was crucified on the same day in which the Jews kept their Passover. But in observing this festival, the Christians of Asia Minor differed from other Christians, and especially from those of Rome. Both fasted during what was called the great week, that on which Christ died;[5] and in remembrance of the last supper of our Saviour, they held a sacred feast or ate the paschal lamb, just as the Jews did; which feast, as well as the time of Christ's death, they denominated the Passover. Now the Asiatic Christians held their paschal feast on the fourteenth day, or full moon, of the first Jewish month, which was the very time on which the Jews ate their Passover; and on the third day after this supper, they kept the memorial of Christ's triumphs over death, or of his resurrection. This custom they said they had received from the apostles John and Philip; and they moreover supported it by the example of Christ himself, who celebrated his paschal feast at the same time with the Jews. But the other Christians put off their Passover, that is, their paschal feast, until the evening preceding the festal day sacred to Christ's resurrection, and thus connected

1 See Spencer, *De Legibus Ritualibus Ebræor.* Prolegom. p. 9, ed. Cantab. and all those who have explained the rites and usages of the oriental Christians.

2 Tertullian, *Apologeticum*, cap. xxxix.

3 That other religious books besides the canonical Scriptures were read in several churches, appears from Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. 23, and lib. iii. 3; who informs us that the first Epistle of Clement and that of Soter, Bishops of Rome, were publicly read in the Church of Corinth, as was the *Shepherd of Hermas*, in very many churches.—*Mur.*

4 Pliny (*Epistolæ*, lib. x. Ep. xcvii.) gives some account of the public worship of the Christians in the beginning of this century; and Justin Martyr, near the close of that *Apology* which he presented to Antoninus Pius, A.D. 150, gives the following more full and authentic account:—"On the day which is called Sunday, all, whether dwelling in the towns or in the villages, hold meetings; and the Memoirs (ἀπομνημονεύματα) of the apostles, and the writings of the prophets are read as much as the time will permit; then the reader closing, the president in a speech exhorts and excites to an imitation of those excellent examples; then we all rise and pour forth united prayers; and when we close our prayer, as was before said, bread is brought forward, and wine, and water; and the president utters prayers and thanksgivings according to his ability (ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ), and the people respond by saying amen; and a distribution and participation of the things blessed takes place to each one present, and to those absent it is sent by the deacons. And those who are prosperous and willing give what they choose, each according to his own pleasure; and what is collected is deposited with the president, and he carefully relieves the orphans and widows, and those who from sickness or other causes are needy, and also those in prison, and the strangers who are residing with us, and in short all that have need of help. We all commonly hold our assemblies on Sunday, because it is the first day on which God converted the darkness and matter and framed the world; and Jesus Christ our Saviour on the same day arose from the dead." Justin makes no mention here of singing as a part of the public worship of Christians; but Pliny in his *Epistle* assures us—"Quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire; *carmenque Christo quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem;*" and both the New Testament and all antiquity recognise singing as a part of Christian worship. —*Mur.* [A similar but, in some respects, a more detailed account of primitive worship is given by Tertullian in his *Apology*, chap. xxxix.—*R.*

5 On this point there was great diversity. See Irenæus, in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. p. 24.—*Mur.*

the memorial of Christ's death with that of his resurrection; and they cited Peter and Paul as authors of their custom.

10. The Asiatic custom of celebrating the Passover had two great inconveniences which appeared intolerable to the other Christians, and especially to the Romans. First, by holding their sacred feast on the very day on which they supposed Christ ate the paschal lamb with his disciples, they interrupted the fast of the great week, which appeared to the other Christians to fall little short of a crime. Again, as they always kept the memorial of Christ's rising from the dead on the third day after their paschal supper, it unavoidably happened that they more commonly kept on some other day of the week than the first or Sunday, called the Lord's day, the festival of Christ's resurrection, which in after times was called, and is now called, the Passover—[Pascha, or Easter.] Now the greater part of the Christians deemed it wrong to consecrate any other day than the Lord's day in remembrance of Christ's resurrection. Hence great contention frequently arose from this difference between the Asiatic and the other Christians. In the reign of Antoninus Pius about the middle of this century, Anicetus Bishop of Rome, and Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna, discussed this subject with great care at Rome. But the Asiatics could not be induced by any considerations to give up their custom, which they believed to be handed down to them from St. John.[1]

11. Near the close of the century, Victor, Bishop of Rome, was of opinion that the Asiatic Christians ought to be compelled by laws and decrees to follow the rule adopted by the greater part of the Christian world. Accordingly after ascertaining the opinions of foreign bishops, he sent an imperious letter to the Asiatic bishops, admonishing them to follow the example of other Christians in observing Easter. They replied with spirit by Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, that they would not depart from the holy institution of their ancestors. Irritated by this decision, Victor excluded them from his communion and from that of his church (not from that of the universal church, which he had not power to do); that is, he pronounced them unworthy to be called his brethren. The progress of this schism was checked by Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, in letters wisely composed, directed to Victor and others, and by the Asiatic bishops, who wrote a long letter in their own justification. And thus both parties retained their respective customs, until the council of Nice, in the fourth century, abrogated the Asiatic usages.[2]

12. When the Christians celebrated the Lord's supper, which they were accustomed to do chiefly on Sundays, they consecrated a part of the bread and wine of the oblations by certain prayers uttered by the bishop of the congregation. The wine was mixed with water, and the bread was divided into small pieces. Portions of the consecrated bread and wine were commonly sent to the absent and the sick, in testimony of fraternal affection towards them.[3] There is much evidence that this most holy rite was regarded as necessary to the attainment of salvation; and I therefore dare not accuse of error those who believe that the sacred supper was in this century given to infants.[4] Of the love-feasts, the notice before given may be sufficient.

13. Twice a-year, namely, at Easter and Whitsuntide[5] (*Paschatis et Pentecostes diebus*), baptism was publicly administered by the bishop, or by the presbyters acting by his command and authority. The candidates for it were immersed wholly in water, with invocation of the sacred Trinity, according to the Saviour's precept, after they had repeated what they called the Creed (*Symbolum*), and had renounced all their sins and transgressions, and especially the devil and his pomp. The baptized were signed with the cross, anointed, commended to God by prayer and imposition of hands, and finally directed to taste some milk and honey.[6] The reasons for these ceremonies must be sought in what has already been said respecting the causes of the ceremonies. Adults were to prepare their minds expressly by prayers, fasting, and other devotional exercises. Sponsors or godfathers were, as I apprehend, first employed for adults and afterwards for children.[7]

[1] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. xiv. and lib. v. cap. xxiv.

[2] What is here stated briefly is more fully explained in my *Comment. de Reb. Christ. ante C. M.* p. 435, &c. I there said, p. 439, that Faydit saw the mistake in the common accounts of this controversy. But my memory failed me. On consulting the book, I find that he treats of the controversy indeed, but he misunderstood the precise subject of it. The venerable Heumann's tract on this controversy is republished in the *Sylloge* of his minor works. [Mosheim thinks that many writers have mistaken the points at issue, from not distinguishing between the ancient and the more modern application of the term Passover or Easter. See Neander, *Kirchenges.* pt. ii. p. 517; Prideaux, *Connection*, pt. ii. b. v. ann. 162; Baillet, *Hist. des Festes*, p. 9.—*Mur.*

[3] See Rixner, *De Ritibus Veterum Christianor. circa Eucharistiam*, p. 155, &c. [and note 4, in the preceding page.—*Mur.*

[4] See Mayer, *De Eucharistia Infantum*; and Zornius, *Historia Eucharistiæ Infantum*, Berol. 1736, 8vo.

[5] See Tertullian, *De Baptismo*, cap. xix. *Opera*, p. 232; Wall, *History of Infant Baptism*, vol. i. pages 277, 279; Vicecomes, *De Ritibus Baptismi*, Paris, 1618, 8vo.

[6] See especially Tertullian, *De Baptismo* [and respecting the honey and milk, Tertullian, *De Corona;* and Clemens Alex. *Pædag.* lib. i. cap. vi.—*Schl.*

[7] See Van Mästricht, *De Susceptoribus Infantium ex*

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF RELIGIOUS SEPARATIONS OR HERESIES.

1. AMONG the Christian sects which arose in this century, the first place is due to those Jewish Christians whose zeal for the Mosaic law severed them from the other believers in Christ.[1] The rise of this sect took place in the reign of Adrian. For when this emperor had wholly destroyed Jerusalem a second time, and enacted severe laws against the Jews, the greater part of the Christians living in Palestine, in order not to be confounded as they had been with Jews, laid aside the Mosaic ceremonies, and chose one Mark, who was a foreigner and not a Jew, for their bishop. This procedure was very offensive to those among them whose attachment to the Mosaic rites was too strong to be eradicated. They therefore separated from their brethren, and formed a distinct society in Perœa, a part of Palestine, and in the neighbouring regions; and among them the Mosaic law retained all its dignity unimpaired.[2]

2. This body of people, who would unite Moses and Christ, was again divided into two classes, differing widely in their opinions and customs, the Nazarenes and the Ebionites. The former are not reckoned by the ancient Christians among heretics,[3] but the latter are placed among those sects which subverted the foundations of religion. Both sects used a history of Christ or a Gospel, which was different from our Gospels.[4] The word Nazarene was not the name of a sect, but was equivalent to the word Christian. For those who bore the title of Christians among the Greeks were among the Jews called Nazarenes, which they did not esteem as a name of disgrace. Those who, after their separation from their brethren, retained this original name imposed on the disciples of Christ by the Jews, believed Christ to be born of a virgin, and to be in some way united with the divine nature. And although they would not discard the ceremonies prescribed by Moses, yet they would not obtrude them upon the Gentile Christians. They moreover rejected the additions made to the Mosaic ritual by the doctors of the law and the Pharisees.[5] It is therefore easy to see why the other Christians in general judged more favourably of them.

3. Whether the Ebionites derived their name from a man [called Ebion], or were so denominated on account of their poverty either in regard to property or sentiment, is uncertain.[6] But they were much worse than the Nazarenes. For though they supposed Christ to be an ambassador of God and endowed with divine power, yet they conceived him to be a man, born in the ordinary course of nature, the son of Joseph and Mary. They maintained that the ceremonial law of Moses must be observed, not by the Jews only, but by all who wished

Baptismo, edit. 2d, Frankf. 1727, 4to. He thinks sponsors were used for children and not for adults, p. 15. See also Wall, *Hist. of Infant Baptism*, vol. i. pages 69, 474, &c. [The manner of receiving new converts into the churches, about the year 150, is thus minutely described by Justin Martyr, in his (so called) second *Apology*, towards the conclusion:—"In what manner we dedicate ourselves to God, after being renewed by Christ, we will now explain, lest by omitting this we should seem to dissemble in our statement. Those who believe and are persuaded that the things we teach and inculcate are true, and who profess ability thus to live, are directed to pray, with fasting, and to ask of God the forgiveness of their former sins; we also fasting and praying with them. Then we conduct them to a place where there is water, and they are regenerated [baptized]; for they receive a washing with water, in the name of the Father of all, the Lord God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit. For Christ said, 'Except ye be regenerated, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.'" "This washing is likewise called illumination; because the minds of those who have learned these things are enlightened; and whoever is enlightened is washed in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate; and in the name of the Holy Spirit, who, by the prophets, foretold all that relates to Christ." "And after thus washing the convinced and consenting person, we conduct him to where the brethren, as we call them, are assembled; and there offer our united supplications with earnestness, both for ourselves and for the enlightened person, and for all others everywhere; that we may conduct ourselves as becomes those who have received the truth, and by our deeds prove ourselves good citizens, and observers of what is commanded us, so that we may be saved with an eternal salvation; and on ending our prayers we salute each other with a kiss." Justin Martyr then describes the administration of the Lord's Supper.—*Mur.*

[1] The origin, names, and diversity of opinion of this class of sects, are well stated by Neander, *Kirchengesch.* vol. i. part ii. pages 603—626.—*Mur.*

[2] See Sulpitius Severus, *Historia Sacra*, lib. ii. cap. xxxi. p. 245, &c. [p. 381, ed. Hornii, 1657. He says, "Adrian stationed a regiment of soldiers as a constant guard to prevent all Jews from entering Jerusalem; which was advantageous to the Christian faith; because at that time nearly all (the Jewish Christians) believed in Christ as God, yet with an observance of the law."—*Mur.*

[3] The first that ranked the Nazarenes among the heretics, was Epiphanius, a writer of the fourth century, of no great fidelity or accuracy of judgment. [Neander, *Kirchengesch.* vol. i. part ii. pages 619, 620, thinks the Nazarenes, described by Epiphanius, were descendants of the Ebionites, who had now imbibed some Gnostic principles. The names Ebionites and Nazarenes are often confounded, both by ancients and moderns.—*Mur.*

[4] See Fabricius, *Codex Apocryph. N. T.* tom. i. p. 355, &c. and Mosheim, *Vindiciæ, contra Tolandi Nazarenum*, p. 112, &c. [Jones on the *Canon of the New Test.* vol. i. and the authors of Introductions to the New Test.—*Mur.* [And Bible Dictionaries.—*R.*

[5] See Le Quien's *Adnotationes ad Damascenum*, tom. i. p. 82, 83, and his *Diss. de Nazarenis et eorum Fide*, which is the seventh of his Dissertations subjoined to his edition of the *Opera Damasceni.* [Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. i. p. 101, &c.—*Schl.*

[6] See Fabricius, *Ad Philastr. de Hæresibus*, p. 81. Ittig, *De Hæresibus Ævi Apostoloci.* [Also note on cent. i. part ii. chap. v. p. 50, and Neander, *Kirchengesch.* vol. i. part ii. p. 612, &c.—*Mur.*

to obtain salvation; and therefore St. Paul, that strenuous opposer of the law, they viewed with abhorrence. Nor were they satisfied with the mere rites which Moses appointed, but observed with equal veneration the superstitious rites of their ancestors, and the customs of the Pharisees which were added to the law.[1]

4. These little and obscure sects were not very detrimental to the Christian cause. Much greater disturbance was produced by those whose founders explained the doctrines of Christianity agreeably to the precepts of the oriental philosophy respecting the origin of evil. These latter sects, concealed and unnoticed previously to this century, came forth from their obscurity during the reign of Adrian,[2] and gathered churches of considerable magnitude in various countries. A long catalogue of these semi-Christian sects might be gathered out of the writings of the ancients; but of the greater part of them we know no more than their names, and perhaps some of them differed only in name from each other. Those which acquired notoriety beyond others may be divided into two classes. The first class originated in Asia, and maintained the philosophy of the east in regard to the origin of the universe (if I may so say) pure and uncorrupt: the other class, founded among the Egyptians and by the Egyptians, mingled with that philosophy many monstrous opinions and principles current in Egypt. The systems of the former were more simple and intelligible; those of the latter were much more complicated and more difficult of explanation.

5. In the Asiatic class, the first place seems to belong to Elxai, a Jew, who is said to have founded the sect of the Elcesaites in the reign of Trajan. Though he was a Jew, and worshipped one God, and revered Moses, yet he corrupted the religion of his fathers by many false notions derived from the philosophy and superstition of the orientals; and after the example of the Essenes, expounded the Mosaic law according to the dictates of reason, or in other words made it an allegory. But Epiphanius, who had read one of Elxai's books, acknowledges himself in doubt whether the Elcesaites should be reckoned among the Christian sects or among the Jewish. In his book Elxai mentions Christ, and speaks honourably of him; but he does not explain himself so as to make it manifest whether Jesus of Nazareth was the Christ of whom he speaks.[3]

6. If Elxai be not reckoned, Saturninus of Antioch will justly stand at the head of this class; at least he lived earlier than all the other Gnostic heresiarchs. He supposed two first causes of all things, the good God, and matter; the latter evil in its nature and subject to a Lord. The world and the first men were created by seven angels, that is, by the rulers of the seven planets, without the knowledge of God, and against the will of the Lord of matter. But God approved of the work when it was completed, imparted rational souls to the men who before had only animal life, and divided the entire world into seven parts, which he subjected to the seven creators, of whom the God of the Jews was one, reserving, however, the supreme power to himself. To these good men, that is, men possessed of wise and good souls, the Lord of matter opposed another sort of men, to whom he imparted a malignant soul. And hence the great difference between good and bad men. After the creators of the world had revolted from the supreme God, he sent down Christ from heaven clothed, not with a real body, but with the shadow of one, that in our world he might destroy the kingdom of the Lord of matter, and point out to the good souls the way of returning back to God. But this way is a hard and difficult one. For the souls that would ascend to God after the dissolution of the body must abstain from flesh, wine, marriage, and from all things which either exhilarate the body or delight the senses. Saturninus taught in Syria, which was his native country, and especially at Antioch; and he drew many after him by his great show of virtue.[4]

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[1] Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, lib. i. cap. xxvi. Epiphanius treats largely of the Ebionites in his *Panarium*, hæres. xxx. But he is worthy of no credit; for he acknowledges (sec. iii. p. 127. and sec. xiv. p. 141), that he has joined the Sampsæans and the Elcesaites with the Ebionites, and that the first Ebionites did not hold the errors which he attributes to the sect.—[The correctness of Epiphanius, as a historian, is often called in question; and perhaps justly. But if the term Ebionites designated a variety of minor sects, all of them Jewish Christians, and if some of these sects had in the fourth century imbibed Gnostic sentiments, unknown to the original Ebionites, then Epiphanius may here be entirely correct, which others suppose to be the fact. See Neander, as cited above, Note 3.—*Mur.*

[2] Clemens Alex. *Stromat.* lib. vii. cap. xvii. p. 898. Cyprian, *Epist.* lxxv. p. 144. and others.

[3] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. cap. 38; Epiphanius *Hæres.* xix. sec. 3, p. 41; Theodoret, *Fabul. Hæret.* lib. ii. cap. vii. p. 221. [Of these *Elcesaites*, who were also called *Sampsæans*, everything afforded by antiquity that is important has been collected by Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. i. p. 587, &c. He justly accounts them enthusiasts.—*Schl.*

[4] Irenæus, lib. i. cap. xxiv.; Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv. cap. vii.; Epiphan. *Hæres.* xxiii.; Theodoret, *Fabul. Hæret.* lib. i. cap. ii. and the other writers on the heresies. [Among the modern writers, see Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 336, &c.; Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. i. p. 274, &c.; Ittig, *De Hæresiarchis*, sæcul. ii. cap. i.; Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Eglise*, tome ii. p. 215, and Neander, *Kirchengesch.* vol. i. part ii. p. 759, &c.—*Mur.*

7. In the same class of Asiatic Gnostics must be placed Cerdo, a Syrian, and Marcion, the son of a bishop of Pontus. The history of these men is obscure and uncertain. It appears, however, that they began to establish their sect at Rome; that Cerdo taught his principles there before the arrival of Marcion; that Marcion, failing to obtain some office in the church at Rome, in consequence of some misconduct, joined the party of Cerdo, and with great success propagated their tenets over the world. In the manner of the orientals, Marcion taught that there are two first causes of all things, the one perfectly good, the other perfectly evil. Intermediate between these two deities, ranks the Architect of this lower world, whom men worship, and who was the God and the Lawgiver of the Jews; he is neither perfectly good nor perfectly evil, but of a mixed nature, or, as Marcion expressed it, he is just; and therefore he can dispense punishments as well as rewards. The evil deity and the Creator of the world are perpetually at war. Each wishes to be worshipped as God, and to subject the inhabitants of the whole world to himself. The Jews are the subjects of the Creator of the world, who is a very powerful spirit; the other nations which worship many gods, are subjects of the evil deity. Each is an oppressor of rational souls and holds them in bondage. In order, therefore, to put an end to this war, and give freedom to the souls which are of divine origin, the supreme God sent among the Jews Jesus Christ, who is of a nature very similar to himself, or his Son, clothed with the appearance or shadow of a body, which would render him visible, with commission to destroy both the kingdom of the world's Creator and that of the evil deity, and to invite souls back to God. He was assailed both by the prince of darkness and by the God of the Jews, or the world's Creator; but they were unable to hurt him, because he had only the appearance of a body. Whoever will abstract their minds, according to his prescriptions, from all sensible objects, and renouncing as well the laws of the God of the Jews as those of the prince of darkness, will turn wholly to the supreme God, and at the same time subdue and mortify their bodies by fasting and other means, shall after death ascend to the celestial mansions. The moral discipline which Marcion prescribed to his followers was, as the nature of the system required, very austere and rigorous. For he condemned marriage, wine, flesh, and whatever is grateful and pleasant to the body. Marcion had numerous followers, among whom Lucan or Lucian, Severus, Blastes, and others, but especially Apelles, are said to have deviated in some respects from the opinions of their master, and to have established new sects.[1]

8. Bardesanes and Tatian are commonly but erroneously supposed to have been of the school of Valentinus the Egyptian; for their systems differ in many respects from that of the Valentinians, and come nearer to the oriental principle of two first causes of all things. Bardesanes was a Syrian of Edessa, a man of great acumen, and distinguished for his many learned productions. Seduced by his attachment to the oriental philosophy, he placed in opposition to the supreme God, who is absolute goodness, a prince of darkness who is the author of all evil. The supreme God created the world free from all evil, and formed men possessed of celestial souls and of subtile ethereal bodies. But when the prince of darkness had induced these first men to sin, God permitted the author of all evil to inclose men in gross bodies formed out of sinful matter, and also to corrupt the world that men might suffer for the iniquity they had committed. Hence the struggle between reason and concupiscence in man. Jesus therefore descended from the celestial regions, clothed not with a real but with a celestial and ethereal body, and taught men to subdue their depraved bodies, and to free themselves from the bondage of vicious matter by abstinence, by meditation, and by fasting; and whoever will do so, on the dissolution of the body, shall ascend to the mansions of the blessed, clothed in their ethereal vehicles or their celestial bodies. Bardesanes afterwards returned to sounder sentiments, but his sect long survived in Syria.[2]

9. Tatian, by birth an Assyrian, a distinguished and learned man and disciple of Justin Martyr, was more noted among the ancients for his austere moral principles, which were rigid beyond measure, than for the speculative errors or dogmas which he

[1] Besides the common writers on the heresies, as Irenæus, Epiphanius, Theodoret, &c. see Tertullian's five *Books against Marcion;* the *Poem against Marcion*, also in five books, which is ascribed to Tertullian; and the *Dialogue against the Marcionites*, which is ascribed to Origen. Among the modern writers, see Massuet, the editor of Irenæus, Tillemont, Beausobre, *Histoire du Manichéisme*, tome ii. p. 69, &c.; Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. i. pages 484—537; Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* &c. pag. 441—410; Neander, *Kirchenges.* vol. i. part ii. pages 779—807.—*Mur.*

[2] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv. cap. xxx. and the writers on the ancient heresies. Origen, *Dial. contra Marcionitas*, sec. iii. p. 70, ed. Wetstein; Strunzius, *Historia Bardesanis et Bardesanistar.* Wittemb. 1722, 4to; Beausobre, *Hist. du Manichéisme*, vol. ii. p. 128, &c. [Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 394, &c.; Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. i. pages 407—424; Neander, *Kirchengesch.* vol. i. part ii. p. 743, &c.—*Mur.*

proposed as articles of faith to his followers. Yet it appears from credible witnesses that he held matter to be the source of all evil, and therefore recommended the abhorrence and the mortification of the body; that he supposed the Creator of the world and the true God were not one and the same being; that he denied to our Saviour a real body; and corrupted Christianity with other doctrines of the oriental philosophers. His followers, who were numerous, were sometimes called from him Tatiani or Tatianists, but more frequently were designated by names indicative of their austere morals. For, as they discarded all the external comforts and conveniences of life, and held wine in such abhorrence as to use mere water in the Lord's Supper, fasted rigorously, and lived in celibacy, they were denominated Encratitæ or abstainers, Hydroparastatæ or water-drinkers, and Apotactatæ or renouncers.[1]

10. The Gnostics of the Egyptian class differed from those of the Asiatic, by combining the oriental with Egyptian philosophy, and more especially in the following particulars:—1. Although they supposed matter to be eternal and also animated, yet they did not recognise an eternal prince of darkness and of matter, or the malignant deity of the Persians. 2. They generally considered Christ our Saviour as consisting of two persons the man Jesus, and the Son of God or Christ; and the latter, the divine person, they supposed entered into Jesus the man, when he was baptized in Jordan by John, and parted from him when he was made a prisoner by the Jews. 3. They attributed to Christ a real and not an imaginary body, though they were not all of one sentiment on this point. 4. They prescribed to their followers a much milder system of moral discipline; nay, they seemed to give precepts which favoured the corrupt propensities of men.

11. Among the Egyptian Gnostics, the first place is commonly assigned to Basilides of Alexandria. He maintained that the supreme and all-perfect God produced from himself seven most excellent beings or Æons. Two of the Æons, namely, Dynamis and Sophia (Power and Wisdom), procreated the angels of the highest order. Those angels built for themselves a residence or heaven, and produced other angels of a nature a little inferior. Other generations of angels succeeded and other heavens were built, until there were three hundred and sixty-five heavens, and as many orders of angels; that is, just as many as there are days in a year. Over all these heavens and angelic orders there is a Prince or Lord, whom Basilides called Abraxas; a word which was doubtless in use among the Egyptians before Basilides, and which, when written in Greek, contains letters that together make up the number 365; that is, the number of the heavens.[2] The inhabitants of the lowest heaven contiguous to eternal matter, which is an animated and malignant substance, formed a design of constructing a world out of that disorderly mass and of fabricating men. God approved the work when it was finished, and gave rational souls to the men whom the angels had formed, whereas before they had only sensitive souls; he also gave to the angels dominion over men. The Prince of these angels chose the Jewish nation for his subjects and gave them a law by Moses. The other angels presided over other nations.

12. The angels who created and governed the world gradually became corrupt; and they not only laboured to obliterate

[1] The only work of Tatian which has reached us is his *Oratio ad Græcos*. His opinions are spoken of by Clemens Alex. *Strom.* lib. iii. p. 460; Epiphanius, *Hæres.* xlvi. cap. 1. p. 391; Origen, *De Oratione*, cap. xiii. p. 77, ed. Oxon. and by others of the ancients; but no one of them has attempted to delineate his system. [Of the moderns, see Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. i. pages 445—447, and Neander, *Kirchengesch.* vol. i. part ii. pages 762—766. It should be remembered that the names *Encratites, Apotactites* (Ἐγκρατῖται Ἀπόταικτοι), were applied to all the austere sects; so that though all Tatianists were Encratites, yet all Encratites were not Tatianists.—*Mur.* [See also Ritter, *Geschichte der Christ. Philos.* Hamb. 1841, vol. i. p. 328, &c.—*R.*

[2] A great number of gems still exist, and quantities of them are daily brought to us from Egypt, on which, besides other figures of Egyptian device, the word Abraxas is engraved. See Jo. Macarius, *Abraxas seu de Gemmis Basilidianis Disquisitio*, enlarged by Jo. Chiflet, ed. Antwerp, 1657, 4to, Bern. de Montfaucon, *Palæograph. Græca*, lib. ii. cap. viii. p. 177, &c. and others. Learned men almost universally think those gems originated from Basilides; and hence they are called *gemmæ Basilidianæ*. But very many of them exhibit marks of the most degrading superstition, such as cannot be attributed even to a semi-Christian; and likewise manifest insignia of the Egyptian religion. They cannot all therefore be attributed to Basilides, who, though he held many errors, yet worshipped Christ. Those only must refer to him which bear some marks of Christianity. The word Abraxas was unquestionably used by the ancient Egyptians, and appropriated to the Lord of the heavens; which Basilides retained from the philosophy and religion of his country. See Beausobre, *Histoire du Manichéisme*, tom. ii. p. 51; Passeri, *Diss. de Gemmis Basilidianis*, in his splendid work, *De Gemmis Stelliferis*, tom. ii. p. 221, &c. ed. Florent. 1750, fol.; Jablonski, *De Nominis Abraxas Significatione*, in the *Miscellan. Lipsiens. Nova*, tom. vii. and in his *Opuscula*, v. 4, p. 80, &c. Passeri contends that none of these gems has reference to Basilides; he makes them all refer to the magicians, or the soothsayers, sorcerers, conjurers, and fortune-tellers. But this learned man, it appears to me, goes too far; for he himself acknowledges (p. 225), that he sometimes found on them some vestiges of the Basilidian errors. These celebrated gems still need an erudite but cautious and judicious interpreter. [A considerable collection of these gems may be seen, with explanatory notices, in the volume of plates to the First Edition of Matter, *Hist. Crit. du Gnosticisme*, Par. 1828. These plates are not given in the second edition.—*R.*

the knowledge of the supreme God, in order that they might themselves be worshipped as gods, but they waged war with each other for the enlargement of their respective territories. The most arrogant and restless of them all was he who governed the Jewish nation. Therefore, the supreme God, in compassion to the souls endowed with reason, sent down from heaven his Son or the prince of the Æons, whose name is Nus [νοῦς, mind] and Christ; that he, joining himself to the man Jesus, might restore the lost knowledge of his Father, and overturn the empire of the angels who governed the world, and especially of the insolent Lord of the Jews. The God of the Jews perceiving this, ordered his subjects to seize the man Jesus and put him to death; but against Christ he had no power.[1] The souls that obey the precepts of the Son of God will ascend to God when their bodies die, the rest will pass into other bodies. All bodies return back to vicious matter whence they originated.

13. The moral system of Basilides, if we believe most of the ancients, favoured concupiscence and allowed every species of iniquity. But from much surer testimony it appears that he recommended purity of life and the practice of piety, and condemned even an inclination to sin. Still there were some things in his moral precepts which greatly offended other Christians; for he taught that it is lawful to conceal our religion, to deny Christ when our life is in danger, to participate in the pagan feasts which followed their sacrifices; and he detracted much from the estimation and honour in which the martyrs were held, and maintained that they were greater sinners than other men, and were visited by Divine justice for their iniquities; for it was a principle with him that none but sinners suffer any evil in this life. And hence arose the suspicions entertained respecting his system of morals, which seemed to be confirmed by the flagitious lives of some of his disciples.[2]

14. But much viler than he, and said to be the worst of all the Gnostics, was Carpocrates, also of Alexandria [who lived in the reign of Adrian]. His philosophy did not differ in its general principles from that of the other Egyptian Gnostics; for he maintained one supreme God, Æons, the offspring of God, eternal and malignant matter, the creation of the world from evil matter by angels, divine souls unfortunately enclosed in bodies, and the like. But he maintained that Jesus was born of Joseph and Mary in the ordinary course of nature, and that he was superior to other men in nothing but fortitude and greatness of soul. He also not only gave his disciples license to sin, but imposed on them the necessity of sinning, by teaching that the way to eternal salvation was open to those souls only which committed all kinds of enormity and wickedness. But it exceeds all credibility that any man who believes there is a God, that Christ is the Saviour of mankind, and who inculcates any sort of religion, should hold such sentiments. Besides, there are grounds to believe that Carpocrates, like the other Gnostics, held the Saviour to be composed of the man Jesus and a certain Æon called Christ, and that he imposed some laws of conduct on his disciples. Yet undoubtedly there was something in his opinions and precepts that rendered his piety very suspicious; for he held that concupiscence was implanted in the soul by the Deity, and is therefore perfectly innocent; that all actions are in themselves indifferent, and become good or evil only according to the opinions and laws of men; that in the purpose of God all things are common property, even the women, but that such as use their rights are by human laws accounted thieves and adulterers. Now, if he did not add some corrective to the enormity of these principles, it must be acknowledged that he wholly swept away the foundations of all virtue, and gave full license to all iniquity.[3]

15. Valentinus, also an Egyptian, exceeded all his fellow-heresiarchs, both in fame and in the multitude of his followers. His sect had its birth at Rome, grew to

[1] Many of the ancients tell us on the authority of Irenæus, that our Saviour, according to Basilides' opinion, had not a real body; and that Simon the Cyrenian was crucified in place of him; but that this is erroneous, and that Basilides supposed the man Jesus and Christ united to constitute the Saviour, is demonstrated in the *Com. de Rebus Christ.* &c. p. 354, &c. It may be that here and there a follower of Basilides held otherwise.

[2] Besides the ancient writers on the heresies, Basilides is particularly treated of by Massuet, *Dissert. in Irenæum;* and Beausobre, *Hist. du Manichéisme*, vol. ii. p. 8, &c. [Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. i. pages 281—309; Mosheim, *De Rebus Christ.* &c. pag. 342—361; and Neander, *Kirchenges.* vol. i. part ii. pages 679—704.—*Mur.* [And Ritter, *ubi supra*, vol. i. p. 123, &c.—*R.*

[3] See Irenæus, *Contra Hæres.* lib. i. cap. xxv.; Clemens Alex. *Stromat.* lib. iii. p. 511, and the others. [Mosheim, *De Rebus Christ.* &c. pages 361—371; Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. i. pages 309—327; Neander, *Kirchengesch.* vol. i. part ii. pages 767—773. Carpocrates left a young son, Epiphanes, to propagate his system; and this son, though he died at the age of seventeen, wrote a book from which the world have had to learn what they could of the tenets of Carpocrates. It is doubtful whether he ought to be called a Christian. He was an Egyptian philosopher, who had perhaps borrowed some notions from the Christians, but still his philosophy was his cynosure. Two inscriptions in the true spirit of this philosopher, recently discovered in Cyrene in Africa, have given rise to a conjecture that his sect continued till the sixth century. See the inscriptions with comments in the *Christmas Programm* of Gesenius, A.D. 1825.—*Mur.*

maturity in the island of Cyprus, and with wonderful celerity traversed Asia, Africa, and Europe. Valentinus held the general principles common with his brother Gnostics, and he assumed the title of a Gnostic; yet he held several principles peculiar to himself. In the Pleroma (which is the Gnostic name for the habitation of God), he supposed thirty Æons, fifteen males and as many females. Besides these there were four unmarried; namely, Horus [Ὅρος], the guardian of the confines of the Pleroma; Christ, the Holy Spirit, and Jesus. The youngest of the Æons, Sophia (Wisdom), fired with vast desire of comprehending the nature of the supreme Deity, in her agitation brought forth a daughter called Achamoth [חכמות, the sciences or philosophy]; who being excluded from the Pleroma, descended to the rude and shapeless mass of matter, reduced it to some degree of order, and by the aid of Jesus brought forth Demiurgus [Δημιουργὸς, Artificer], the builder and Lord of all things. This Demiurgus separated the more subtile or animal matter from the grosser or material; and out of the former he framed the world above us or the visible heavens; out of the latter, the lower world or this earth. Men he compounded of both kinds of matter; and his mother, Achamoth, added to them a third substance which was celestial and spiritual. This is a brief outline of the complicated and tedious fable of Valentinus. It appears that he explained the origin of the world and of the human race, in a more subtle manner than the other Gnostics; yet that he did not differ from them in reality. And the same is true of the other parts of his system.

16. The Architect of the world gradually became so inflated that he either thought himself, or at least wished men to regard him, to be the only God; and by his prophets, sent among the Jews, he arrogated to himself the honours of the supreme God. And the other angels who presided over parts of the created universe imitated his example. To repress this insolence of Demiurgus and imbue souls with a knowledge of the true God, Christ descended, being composed of an animal and spiritual substance, and moreover clothed with an ethereal body. He passed through the body of Mary, just as water through a canal; and to him Jesus, one of the highest Æons, joined himself when he was baptized in Jordan by John. The Architect of the world, who perceived that his dominion would be shaken by this divine man, caused him to be seized and crucified. But before Christ came to execution, not only Jesus the Son of God, but also the rational soul of Christ forsook him, so that only his sentient soul and his ethereal body were suspended on the cross. Those who, according to the precepts of Christ, renounce the worship not only of the pagan deities, but also that of the Jewish God, and submit their sentient and concupiscent soul to be chastised and reformed by reason, shall with both their souls, the rational and the sentient, be admitted to the mansions of the blessed near to the Pleroma. And when all particles of the Divine nature, or all souls, shall be separated from matter and purified, then a raging fire shall spread through this material universe and destroy the whole fabric of nature; for the whole oriental philosophy and the system of the Gnostics may be reduced to this epitome, this world is composed of both good and evil. Whatever of good there is in it was derived from the supreme God, the parent of light, and will return to him again; and when this takes place, this world will be destroyed.[1]

17. The ancients represent the school of Valentinus as divided into many branches. Among these were, the Ptolomaitic sect, whose author Ptolomy differed from his master respecting the number and nature of the Æons; the Secundian sect, established by Secundus, one of the principal followers of Valentinus, who seems to have kept more closely to the oriental philosophy, and to have maintained two first causes of all things, light and darkness, or a prince of good and a prince of evil; the sect of Heracleon, from whose books Clement and Origen quote much; the sect of Marcus and Calarbasus, called Marcosians, who according to Irenæus added much that was senseless and absurd to the fictions of Valentinus, though

[1] Of the Valentinian system we have a full account in Irenæus, *Contra Hæres.* lib. i. cap. i.—vii.; Tertullian, *Contra Valentinianos;* Clemens Alex. *Passim*; and in all the ancient writers on the heresies. Among the moderns, see Buddeus, *Diss. de Hæresi Valentiniana;* subjoined to his *Introd. in Hist. Philos. Ebræorum;* which has occasioned much discussion respecting the origin of this heresy. Some of the moderns have attempted to give a rational explanation of the intricate and absurd system of Valentinus. See Souverain, *Platonisme Dévoilé*, chap. viii. p. 64; Vitringa, *Observat. Sacræ*, lib. i. cap. ii. p. 131; Beausobre, *Hist. du Manich.* p. 548, &c.; Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, tome iii. p. 729;&c.; Faydit, *Eclairciss. sur l' Hist. Eccles. des* il. *Premiers Siècles*, p. 12; who also contemplated writing an Apology for Valentinus. I pass by Arnold, the patron of all the heretics. But how vain all such attempts must be is proved by this, that Valentinus himself professed that his religion differed fundamentally from that of the other Christians. [Besides the authors above referred to, see Mosheim, *De Rebus Christ.* &c. pages 371—389; Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. i. pages 335—386; and Neander, *Kirchengesch.* vol i. part ii. pages 704—731.—*Mur.* [And especially Ritter, *ubi supra*, vol. i. p. 191, &c. who has a long and valuable chapter on this sect. —*R.*

it is certain that they did not maintain all that is attributed to them. I pass by other sects which appear to have originated from the Valentinian system; but whether all the sects which are called Valentinian actually originated from disciples and followers of Valentinus, appears very doubtful to those who consider how great mistakes the ancients have made in stating the origin of the heretics.[1]

18. Of the smaller and more obscure Gnostic sects, of which the ancients give us little more than the names, and perhaps one or two detached sentiments, it is unnecessary to say anything. Such were the Adamites, who are said to have wished to imitate the state of innocence;[2] the Cainites, who are represented as paying respect to the memory of Cain, Corah, Dathan, the inhabitants of Sodom, and Judas the traitor;[3] the Abelites, whom the ancients represent as marrying wives, but raising up no children;[4] the Sethites, who regarded Seth as the Messiah;[5] the Florinians who originated at Rome under Florinus and Blastus,[6] and many others. Perhaps the ancient Christian fathers divided one sect into several, deceived by the fact of its having several names; they may also have had incorrect information respecting some of them.

19. Among the Gnostics of the Egyptian class, a chief place must be assigned to the Ophites or Serpentians, a senseless sect, of which one Euphrates is said to be the father. The sect originated among the Jews before the Christian era. A part of them became professed Christians, the rest retained their former superstition. Hence there were two sects of Ophites, a Christian sect and an anti-Christian. The Christian Ophites held nearly the same absurd notions with the other Egyptian Gnostics concerning Æons, the eternity of matter, the creation of the world without the knowledge or consent of the Deity, the rulers of the seven planets who presided over the world, the tyranny of Demiurgus, the descent of Christ joined to the man Jesus into our world to overthrow the kingdom of Demiurgus, &c.; but they held this peculiarity, that they supposed the serpent which deceived our first parents was either Christ himself, or Sophia concealed under the form of a serpent; and this opinion is said to have induced them to keep some sacred serpents, and to pay them a species of honour. Into such absurdities men might easily fall, if they believed the Creator of the world to be a different being from the supreme God, and regarded as divine whatever was opposed to the pleasure of Demiurgus,[7]

20. The numerous evils and discords which arose from combining the oriental

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1 Besides Irenæus and the other ancient writers, see, concerning these sects, Grabe, *Spicilegium Patrum et Hæreticorum*, sæcul. ii. pag. 69—82, &c. On the Marcosians, Irenæus is copious, lib. i. cap. xiv. That Marcus was out of his senses is unquestionable; for he must have been deranged, if he could hold even the greater part of the strange fancies which are said to belong to his system. [Among the moderns who have treated of these sects, see Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. i. pages 387—401; and Neander, *Kircheng.* vol. i. part ii. pages 731—746.—*Mur.*

2 See for an account of them, Clemens Alex. *Stromat.* lib. i. p. 357; lib. iii. p. 525, lib. vii. p. 854; Tertullian, *Scorpiace*, in Opp. p. 633; and *Contra Prax* cap. iii.; Epiphanius, *Hæres.* lii *Opp.* tom. i. p. 459; Theodoret, *Hæret. Fabul.* lib. i cap. vi.; Augustine, *De Hæres.* cap. xxxi.; Jo. Damascenus, *Opp.* tom. i. p. 88; and among the moderns, Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. i. pages 327—335; Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, Art. *Adamites* and *Prodicus*; Tillemont, *Mémoires*, &c. tome ii. p. 256; Beausobre, *Diss. sur les Adamites*, subjoined to Lenfant's *Histoire des Hussites*. The accounts of the ancients are contradictory, and several of the moderns doubt whether there ever was a sect who performed their worship in a state of nudity.—*Mur.*

3 All the ancient writers mentioned in the preceding note, except Damascenus, speak of the Cainites, but what they state is very brief and contradictory. The correctness of their accounts is justly doubted by Bayle (*Dictionnaire*, Art. *Cainites*), and others. Origen (*Contra Celsum*, lib. iii. p. 119) did not regard them as Christians. Yet they might be a sect of Gnostics, who, holding the God of the Jews for a revolter from the true God, regarded Cain, Dathan, Corah, and others who resisted him as being very praiseworthy.—*Mur.*

4 The Abelites are mentioned only by Augustine, *De Hæres.* cap. lxxxvii. and by the author of the book *Prædestinatus*, cap. lxxxvii. It is represented that every man married a female child and every woman a little boy, with whom they lived and whom they made their heirs, hoping in this way to fulfil, literally, what Paul says, 1 Cor. vii. 29, that "they that have wives be as though they had none." The sect is treated of by Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. i. p. 607, who doubts whether it were not altogether an imaginary sect.—*Mur.*

5 The Sethites are mentioned by the author of *Prædestinatus*, cap. xix.; and Philastrius, *De Hæresib.* cap. iii.; but Rhenferd (*Diss. de Sethianis*, in his *Opp. Philolog.* p. 165), and Zorn (*Opuscul. Sacra*, tom. i. p. 614), consider this to be an imaginary sect. See Walch, *ubi supra*, p. 609, &c.; and Neander, *Kirchengesch.* vol. i. part ii. p. 758, &c.—*Mur.*

6 Florinus and Blastus were by the ancients reckoned among the Valentinians. Both were presbyters of Rome, intimate friends, and excommunicated by the Roman bishop Eleutherius. (Euseb. *H. E.* vol. xv.) As Florinus in early life enjoyed the instruction of Polycarp at Smyrna, and as Irenæus wrote a letter to Blastus concerning the schism at Rome about Easter-day, Walch (*ubi supra*, p. 404), supposes both of them, and particularly Blastus, were opposed to the views of the Romish Church respecting Easter. He also considers it most probable that Florinus was inclined towards Gnosticism; for Irenæus wrote a book against him concerning the eight Æons; and he actually had some followers.—*Schl.* [That Florinus was a Gnostic is clear from Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. cap. xx.) That Blastus was so is not so certain.—*Mur.*

7 The history and doctrines of this sect, so far as they are known, I have stated in a German work printed at Helmstadt, 1746–4 [bearing the title, *Erster Versuch einer unpartheyischen und gründlichen Ketzergeschichte.* Afterwards, Schumacher published an *Explanation of the obscure and difficult Doctrinal Table of the ancient Ophites*, Wolfenbüttel, 1756, 4to; Schumacher maintained that the doctrine of the Ophites embraced neither metaphysics nor theology, but merely the history of the Jewish nation couched in hieroglyphics; Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. i. pages 447—481, has epitomized both works; and we here give his leading thoughts in further illustration of this sect. These people, called in Greek Ophites, in Latin Serpentians, were by the Asiatics

and Egyptian philosophy with the Christian religion, began to be increased about the middle of this century, by those who brought the Grecian philosophy with them into the Christian Church. As the doctrines held by the Christians respecting the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and respecting the twofold nature of the Saviour, were least of all at agreement with the precepts of this philosophy, they first endeavoured so to explain these doctrines that they could be comprehended by reason. This was attempted by one Praxeas, a very distinguished man, and a confessor, at Rome. Discarding all real distinction between the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, he taught that the whole Father of all things joined himself to the human nature of Christ. Hence his followers were called Monarchians and Patripassians. Nor was the latter an unsuitable name for them, if Tertullian correctly understood their sentiments; for they denominated the man Christ, the Son of God; and held that to this Son, the Father of the universe, or God, so joined himself, as to be crucified and endure pangs along with his Son. Yet Praxeas does not appear to have erected a distinct church.[1]

21. Nearly allied to this opinion was that which was advanced about the same time at Rome, by Theodotus, a tanner, yet a man of learning and a philosopher; and by one Artemas or Artemon, from whom originated the Artemonites; for, so far as can be gathered from very indistinct accounts of these men left us by the ancients, they supposed that when the man Christ was born, a certain divine energy or some portion of the divine nature (and not the person of the Father as Praxeas imagined), united itself to him. Which of these men preceded the other in time, and whether they both taught the same doctrine or differed from each other, cannot at this day be decided, so few and obscure are the ancient accounts we have of them. But it is unquestionable that the disciples of both applied philosophy and geometry to the explication of the Christian doctrine.[2]

called Nahassians, or Naasians. Irenæus (lib. ii. cap. xxxiv.) the author of the supplement to Tertullian's book, *De Præscript. Hæret.* (cap. xlvii); Epiphanius (*Hæres.* xxxvii.); Theodoret (*Hæret. Fabul.* lib. i. cap. xiv.); and Augustine (*De Hæres.* cap. xvii.), account them Christian heretics; but Origen (*Contra Celsum*, lib. vii. sec. 28) holds them to be not Christians. Yet he speaks of them as pretended Christians in his *Comment on Matth.* tom. iii. p. 851, &c. Philastrius makes them more ancient than Christianity. It is most probable they were Jewish Gnostics, and that some of them embraced Christianity, so that the sect became divided into Jewish and Christian Ophites. There are two sources of information on this part of ecclesiastical history. The first is the accounts of Irenæus, Epiphanius, and others. The second is what Origen tells us (*Contra Celsum*, lib. vi. sec. xxxiii. &c.) concerning the *Diagram* of the Ophites. This Diagram was a tablet, on which the Ophites depicted their doctrines in all sorts of figures, with words annexed. It probably contained the doctrines of the Jewish Ophites, and is dark and unintelligible, unless we may suppose this symbolical representation contained that system, the principal doctrines of which are stated by the ancients. The theological system both of the Jewish and the Christian Ophites, cannot be epitomized and must be sought for in Walch, p. 461. Their serpent-worship consisted in this, they kept a living serpent which they let out upon the dish when celebrating the Lord's supper, to crawl around and over the bread. The priest to whom the serpent belonged now came near, brake the bread, and distributed to those present. When each had eaten his morsel he kissed the serpent, which was afterwards confined. When this solemn act, which the Ophites called their perfect sacrifice, was ended, the meeting closed with a hymn of praise to the supreme God, whom the serpent in Paradise had made known to men. But all the Ophites did not observe these rites, which were peculiar to the Christian Ophites, and confined to a small number among them. This worship must have been symbolic. The Ophites had also Talismans.—*Schl.* [See a lucid account of the Ophites, in Neander's *Kirchengesch.* vol. i. part ii. pages 746—756. —*Mur.* [Matter gives the diagram of the Ophites in the second volume of his *Hist. du Gnost.*—*R.*

[1] See Tertullian, *Liber contra Praxeam*; and compare Wesseling, *Probabilia*, cap. xxvi. p. 223, &c. [Tertullian (to whom we are indebted for all certain knowledge of the views of Praxeas) was not only an obscure writer, but also a prejudiced one in regard to Praxeas. He not only rejected his doctrine, but hated him, because Praxeas had alienated the Roman bishop Victor from Montanus, whose partisan Tertullian was. Hence Tertullian, in his censures on Praxeas, is often extravagant and insulting. The opposition of Praxeas to Montanus doubtless led the former into his error. Montanus had treated of the doctrine of three persons in the Divine essence, and had insisted on a real distinction between the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. (Tertullian, *Contra Praxeam*, cap. xiii. p. 426.) Praxeas, who was hostile to Montanus, published his own doctrine in opposition to Montanus. From Tertullian, moreover, it appears clearly that Praxeas discarded the distinction of persons in the Divine essence, and, as Tertullian expresses it, contended for the monarchy of God; but how he explained what the Scriptures teach concerning the Son and the Holy Spirit is not so clear. Of the various conceptions we might gather from Tertullian, Mosheim gives a full investigation in his *Comment. de Rebus Christ.* &c. p. 426. See also Walch, *Hist der Ketzer.* vol. i. pages 527—546.—*Schl.* [See also Neander, *Kirchengesch.* vol. i. part iii. p. 994, &c. —*Mur.*

[2] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. cap. xxviii.; Epiphanius, *Hæres.* liv. p. 464; Wesseling, *Probabilia*, cap. xxi. p. 172, &c. Several persons occur in the history of the heretics bearing the name of Theodotus. (1) Theodotus of Byzantium, a tanner, of whom above. (2) Theodotus the younger, disciple of the former, and founder of the sect of Melchisedeckians. This sect derived its name from its holding, agreeably to the doctrine of the elder Theodotus, that Melchisedec was the power of God and superior to Christ; and that he sustained the office of an intercessor for the angels in heaven, as Christ did for us men on earth. (3) Theodotus, the Valentinian. (4) Theodotus, the Montanist. Our Theodotus had saved his life during a persecution at Byzantium, by a denial of Christ, and thus had incurred general contempt. To escape from disgrace he went to Rome. But there his offence became known. To extenuate his fault, he gave out that he regarded Jesus Christ as a mere man, and that it could be no great crime to deny a mere man. He was therefore excluded from the church by Victor the bishop. Thus Theodotus came near to the system of the Socinians, and held Christ for a mere man, though a virtuous and upright one. Whether he held the birth of Christ to have been natural or supernatural, the ancient accounts are not agreed. He rejected the Gospel of John; and held his own doctrine to be apostolical, and that of the eternal divinity of Christ to be a novel doctrine. See Walch, *ubi supra*, pages 546—557. Artemon has in mo-

22. The same attachment to philosophy induced Hermogenes, a painter, to depart from the sentiments of Christians respecting the origin of the world and the nature of the soul, and to cause disturbance in a part of the Christian community. Regarding matter as the source of all evil, he could not believe that God had brought it into existence by his omnipotent volition. He therefore held that the world and whatever is in the world, and also souls and spirits, were formed by the Deity out of eternal and vicious matter. There is much in this doctrine very difficult to be explained, and not in accordance with the common opinions of Christians. But neither Tertullian, who wrote against him, nor others of the ancients, inform us how he explained those Christian doctrines which are repugnant to his opinions.[1]

23. In addition to these sects, which may be called the daughters of philosophy, there arose in the reign of Marcus Antoninus an illiterate sect, opposed to all learning and philosophy. An obscure man of weak judgment, named Montanus, who lived in a poor village of Phrygia called Pepuza, had the folly to suppose himself the Comforter promised by Christ to his disciples, and to pretend to utter prophecies under divine inspiration.[2] He attempted no change in the doctrines of religion, but professed to be divinely commissioned to perfect and give efficiency to the moral discipline taught by Christ and his apostles; for he supposed Christ and his apostles had conceded too much to the weakness of the people of their age, and thus had given only an incomplete and imperfect rule of life. He therefore would have fasts multiplied and extended, forbade second marriages as illicit, did not allow churches to grant absolution to such as had fallen into the greater sins, condemned all decoration of the body and female ornaments, required polite learning and philosophy to be banished from the church, ordered virgins to be veiled, and maintained that Christians sin most grievously by rescuing their lives by flight, or redeeming them with money in time of persecution. I pass by some other of his austere and rigid precepts.

24. A man who professed to be a holier moralist than Christ himself, and who would obtrude his severe precepts upon Christians for divine commands and oracles, could not be endured in the Christian church. Besides, his dismal predictions of the speedy downfal of the Roman republic, &c. might bring the Christian community into imminent danger. He was therefore first by the decisions of some councils, and afterwards by that of the whole church, excluded from all connexion with that body. But the severity of his discipline itself led many persons of no mean condition to put confidence in him. Pre-eminent among these were two opulent ladies, Priscilla and Maximilla; who themselves, with others, uttered prophecies, after the example of their master, whom they denominated the Paraclete [or

dern times become more famous than Theodotus; since Samuel Crell assumed the name of an Artemonite, in order to distinguish himself from the odious Socinians, whose doctrines he did not fully approve. (See his book with the title: *L. M. Artemonii, Initium Evangelii Johannis ex Antiquitate Restitutum*, and his other writings). The history of this Artemon is very obscure. The time when he lived cannot be definitely ascertained, and the history of his doctrine is not without difficulties. It is not doubted that he denied the divinity of Jesus Christ, as held by orthodox Christians. But whether he swerved towards the system of the modern Socinians or to that of Praxeas is another question. Mosheim believed the latter; *De Reb. Christ.* &c. 491. But as this rests on the recent testimony of Gennadius of Marseilles (*De Dogm. Eccles.* cap. iii.) Walch (p. 564) calls it in question. See also Rappen, *Diss. de Hist. Artemonis et Artemonitarum*, Llps. 1737.—*Schl.* [See also Neander, *Kirchengesch.* vol. i. part iii. pages 996—1000.—*Mur.* [Of Theodotus and Artemon, see Burton's *Lect. on Ecc. Hist. of the First Three Cent.* vol. ii. p. 211, &c.—*R.*

1 There is extant a tract of Tertullian, *Liber contra Hermogenem*, in which he assails the doctrine of Hermogenes concerning matter and the origin of the world. But another tract of his, *De Censu Animæ*, in which he confuted the opinion of Hermogenes concerning the soul, is lost. [Tertullian is exceedingly severe upon Hermogenes, who was probably his contemporary, and fellow-African. Yet he allows that he was an ingenious and eloquent man, and sound in the principal doctrines of Christianity. It seems the morals of Hermogenes gave most offence to Tertullian. He had married repeatedly, and he painted for all customers what they wished. To a Montanist these things were exceedingly criminal. There is no evidence that Hermogenes founded a sect. See Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 432, &c.; Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. i. p. 476, &c. and Neander, *Kirchengesch.* vol i. part iii. p. 976, &c.—*Mur.*

2 They doubtless err who tell us that Montanus claimed to be the Holy Spirit. He was not so foolish. Nor do those correctly understand his views whom I have hitherto followed, and who represent him as asserting, that there was divinely imparted to him that very Holy Spirit, or Comforter, who once inspired and animated the apostles. Montanus distinguished the Paraclete promised by Christ to the apostles, from the Holy Spirit that was poured upon them; and held, that under the name of the Paraclete, Christ indicated a divine teacher, who would supply certain parts of the religious system which were omitted by the Saviour, and explain more clearly certain other parts, which for wise reasons had been less perfectly taught. Nor was Montanus alone in making this distinction. For other Christian doctors supposed the Paraclete whose coming Christ had promised, was a divine messenger to men and different from the Holy Spirit given to the apostles. In the third century, Manes interpreted the promise of Christ concerning the Paraclete in the same manner; and boasted that he himself was that Paraclete. And who does not know that Mahomet had the same views, and applied the words of Christ respecting the Paraclete to himself? Montanus therefore wished to be thought that Paraclete of Christ, and not the Holy Spirit. The more carefully and attentively we read Tertullian, the greatest of all Montanus' disciples and the best acquainted with his system, the more clearly will it appear that such were his views. [See Burton's *Lect. on the Ecc. Hist. of First Three Cent.* vol. ii. p. 155, &c.—*R.*

Comforter]. Hence it was easy for Montanus to found a new church which was first established at Pepuza, a little town of Phrygia, but which spread in process of time through Asia, Africa, and a part of Europe. Of all his followers the most learned and distinguished was Tertullian, a man of genius but austere and gloomy by nature; who defended the cause of his preceptor by many energetic and severe publications.[1]

1 See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. cap. xvi. and especially Tertullian in his numerous books; and then all writers, both ancient and modern, who have treated professedly of the sects of the early ages. Quite recently and with attention and great erudition, the history of the Montanists has been illustrated by Wernsdorf in his *Commentatio de Montanistis Sæculi Secundi vulgo creditis Hæreticis*, Dantzik, 1751, 4to. The Montanists were also called Phrygians or Cataphrygians, from the country where they resided and originated; also Pepusians, from the town where Montanus had his habitation, and which he pretended was the New Jerusalem spoken of in the *Revelation* of St. John. It appears likewise, that from Priscilla they were called Priscillianists; though this name, on account of its ambiguity, has in modern times been disused. Tertullian denominated those of his faith *the Spiritual* (Spirituales), and its opposers the *Carnal* (Psychikoi), because the former admitted Montanus' inspiration of the Holy Spirit, which the latter rejected. The time when Montanus began to disturb the church is much debated. Those who follow Eusebius, who is most to be relied upon, place this movement in the year 171 or 172. Wernsdorf's conjecture that Montanus was the bishop of Pepuza is not improbable. See concerning Tertullian, Hamberger's account of the principal writers, vol. ii. p. 492, and Walch, *Hist. Eccles. N. Test.* p. 648, &c.; and concerning the Montanists, Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer*, vol. i. p. 611, &c.—*Schl.* [Also Neander, *Kirchengesch.* vol. i. part iii. pages 870–893.—*Mur.* [In addition to the various works on these Gnostic sects referred to in the several preceding notes, the student ought also to consult Matter, *Hist. Crit. du Gnost.* 2d edit. 3 vol. and to read especially the sections from 44 to 48, inclusive, of Gieseler, *Lehrbuch*, &c. Davidson's Trans. vol. i. p. 134, &c. with the very valuable references and extracts contained in the notes. See also Milman's *Hist. of Christ*, vol. ii. chap. v. entitled, *Christianity and Orientalism*; Ritter, *Geschichte der Christ. Philos.* vol. i. books 1 and 2. The modern Roman Catholic view of these sects may be seen in Döllinger, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengesch.* Cox's Transl. Lond. 1840, vol. i. chap. ii. The English reader may also consult Bp. Kaye's *Tertullian*, &c. chap. vii.; Waddington's *Hist. of the Church*, part. i. chap. v.; Vidal's Translation of *Mosheim's Commentaries*, &c. vol. ii. and Rose's Translation of *Neander's History of the Christian Religion*, vol. ii.—*R.*

CENTURY THIRD.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS OF THE CHURCH.

1. THAT Christians suffered very great evils in this century, and were in perfect security during no part of it, admits of no controversy. For, not to mention the popular tumults raised against them by the pagan priests, the governors and magistrates could persecute them, without violating the imperial laws, as often as either superstition, or avarice, or cruelty prompted. Yet it is no less certain that the rights and liberties of the Christians were increased more than many have supposed. In the army, in the court, and among all ranks, there were many Christians whom no one molested at all; and under most of the Roman emperors who reigned in this century, Christianity presented no obstacle to the attainment of public honours. In many places also, with the full knowledge of the emperors and magistrates, they possessed houses in which they regularly assembled for the worship of God. Yet it is probable, or rather more than probable, that the Christians commonly purchased this security and these liberties with money; although some of the emperors had very kind feelings towards them, and were not greatly opposed to their religion.

2. Antoninus, surnamed Caracalla, the son of Severus, came to the throne in the year 211; and during the six years of his reign he neither oppressed the Christians himself, nor suffered others to oppress them.[1] Antoninus Heliogabalus [A.D. 218—222], though of a most abandoned moral character, had no hostility towards the Christians.[2] His successor, Alexander Severus [A. D. 222—235], an excellent prince, did not, indeed, repeal the laws which had been enacted against the Christians, so that instances occur of their suffering death in his reign, yet from the influence of his mother, Julia Mammæa, to whom he was greatly attached, he showed kind feelings towards them in various ways, and whenever occasion was offered; and even paid some worship and honour to our Saviour;[3] for Julia entertained the most favourable sentiments of the Christian religion, and at one time invited to the court, Origen, the celebrated Christian doctor, that she might hear him discourse. But those who conclude that Julia and Alexander actually embraced Christianity, have not testimony to adduce which is unexceptionable. Yet it is certain that Alexander thought the Christian religion deserved toleration beyond others, and regarded its author as worthy to be ranked among the extraordinary men who were divinely moved.[4]

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1 From a passage in Tertullian (*Ad Scapul.* cap. iv.) asserting that Caracalla had a Christian nurse; lacte Christiano educatum fuisse; and from one in Spartianus (life of Caracalla, in *Scriptor. Histor. Aug.* vol i. p. 707, cap. i.) asserting that he was much attached to a Jewish playfellow when he was seven years old, it has been inferred that he was half a Christian, and on that account was indulgent to the followers of Christ. But it is much more probable that they purchased his indulgence with their gold. See Mosheim, *De Rebus Christ.* &c. p. 460.—*Mur.*

2 Lampridius, *Vita Heliogabali*, cap. iii. p. 796. [Dicebat præterea (Imperator), Judæorum et Samaritanorum religiones et Christianam devotionem illuc (Romam) transferendam, ut omnium cultarum secretum Heliogabali sacerdotium teneret: which Mosheim (*De Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 460) understands to mean, that Heliogabalus wished the Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian religions to be freely tolerated at Rome, so that the priests of his order might understand all the arcana of them, having them daily before their eyes.—*Mur.*

3 See Lampridius, *De Vita Severi*, cap. xxix. p. 930; and Zeibich, *Diss. de Christo ab Alexandro in larario culto*, which is found in the *Miscell. Lips. Novæ*, tom. iii. p. 42, &c. [Most of the modern writers make Julia Mammæa to have been a Christian. See Wetstein's preface to Origen's *Dial. contra Marcionitas;* but the ancient writers, Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 21) and Jerome (*De Scriptor. Illustr.* cap. liv.) express themselves dubiously. The former calls her *θεοσεβεστάτην*, and the latter *religiosam* (devout); and both state that she invited Origen to her court, then at Antioch, in order to hear him discourse on religion; but neither of them intimates that she obeyed his precepts and adopted the Christian faith. And in the life of Julia, there are clear indications of superstition, and of reverence for the pagan gods. Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 461.—*Schl.*

4 See Spanheim, *Diss. de Lucii Britonum regis, Juliæ Mammææ, et Philipporum, conversionibus, Opp.* tom. ii. p. 400; Jablonski, *Diss. de Alexandro Severo sacris Christianis per Gnosticos initiato*, in *Misc. Lips. Nov.* tom. iv. p. 56, &c.; [and in his *Opuscula*, vol. iv. p. 38, &c.—*Il.*

3. Under Gordian [A.D. 236—244] the Christians lived in tranquillity. His successors, the Philips, father and son [A.D. 244—249], showed themselves so friendly to the Christians that by many they were supposed to be Christians. And there are arguments which may render it probable that these emperors did, though secretly and covertly, embrace Christianity; but as these arguments are balanced by others equally strong and imposing, the question respecting the religion of Philip the Arabian and his son, which has exercised the sagacity of so many learned men, must be left undecided.[1] At least neither party has adduced any evidence, either from testimony or from facts, which was too strong to be invalidated. Among the subsequent emperors of this century, Gallienus [A.D. 260—268] and some others likewise, if they did not directly favour the Christian cause, at least they did not retard it.

4. This friendship of great men, and especially of emperors, was undoubtedly not the last among the human causes which contributed to enlarge the boundaries of the church. But other causes, and some of them divine, must be added. Among the divine causes, besides the inherent energy of heavenly truth, and the piety and constancy of the Christian teachers, especially noticeable is that extraordinary providence of God, which we are informed, by means of dreams and visions, induced many persons who before were either wholly thoughtless or alienated from Christianity, to come out at once and enrol their names among the followers of Christ.[2] To this must be added the curing of diseases and other miracles which very many Christians still performed, by invoking the name of the Saviour.[3] Yet the number of miracles was less in this age than in the preceding, which may be ascribed not only to the wisdom of God, but also to his justice, which would not suffer men to make gain by the powers divinely given them.[4]

5. Among the human causes which aided the progress of Christianity may doubtless be reckoned the translation of the Scriptures into various languages, the labours of Origen in disseminating copies of them, and various books composed by wise men. No less efficacy is to be ascribed to the beneficence of Christians towards those whose religion they abhorred. The idolaters must have hearts of stone, not to have been softened and brought to have more friendly feelings towards the people, whose great sympathy for the poor, kindness to enemies, care of the sick, readiness to redeem captives, and numerous other kind offices, proved them to be deserving of the love and gratitude of mankind. If, what I would not pertinaciously deny, pious frauds and impositions deserve a place among the causes of the extension of Christianity, they doubtless hold the lowest place, and were employed only by a few.

6. That the boundaries of the church were extended in this century, no one calls in question; but in what manner, by whom, and in what countries, is not equally manifest. Origen taught the religion he professed to a tribe of Arabs; I suppose they were some of the wandering Arabs who live in tents.[5] The Goths, a ferocious and warlike people, who inhabited Mœsia and Thrace, and made perpetual incursions into the neighbouring provinces, received a knowledge of Christ from certain Christian priests whom they carried away from Asia. As those priests, by the sanctity of their lives and their miracles, acquired respectability and authority among these marauders who were entirely illiterate, such a change was produced among them, that a great part of the nation professed Christianity, and in some measure laid aside their savage manners.[6]

7. To the few and small Christian churches in France, erected in the second century by certain Asiatic teachers, more and larger ones were added in this century after the times of Decius [A.D. 250]. In the reign of this emperor those seven devout men, Dionysius, Gratian, Trophimus, Paul, Sa-

1 See Spanheim, *De Christianismo Philipporum*, *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 400 (P. de la Faye), *Entretiens historiques sur la Christianisme de l'Empereur Philippe*, Utrecht, 1692, 12mo; Mamachius, *Origines et Antiq. Christianæ*, tom. ii. p. 252, &c. See Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, p. 252, &c.; [and Mosheim, *De Rebus Christ.* &c. p. 471. The most important ancient testimonies are Eusob. *H. E.* lib. vi. cap. 34, and *Chronicon*, ann. 246; Jerome, *De Script. Illust.* cap. liv.—*Mur.*

2 See Origen, *Adv. Celsum*, lib. i. p. 35; *Homil. in Lucæ* vii. *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 216, ed. Basil. Tertullian, *De Anima*, cap. xiv. p. 348, ed. Rigaltii. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. v. and others. [See also note 1, cent. ii. part i. chap. i. p. 54, &c. of this work.—*Mur.*

3 Origen, *Adv. Celsum*, lib. i. pag. 5—7; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. cap. vii.; Cyprian, *Ep.* i. *Ad Donatum*, p. 3, and the note of Baluze there, p. 376.

4 Spencer, Notes on *Origen. adv. Celsum*, pag. 6, 7.

5 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. cap. xix. [But Semler, *Hist. Eccles. Selecta, Cap.* t. i. p. 89, supposes they were not wandering Arabs.—*Mur.*

6 Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. vi.; Diaconus, *Hist. Miscellan.* lib. ii. cap. xiv.; Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. v. [Philostorgius says that Ulphilas, who in the fourth century translated the Christian Scriptures into the Gothic language, was a descendant of the captives carried off by the Goths from Cappadocia, in the reign of Gallienus, which is not improbable. By the influence of their Christian captives, the Goths were induced to invite Christian teachers among them; and numerous churches were collected. A Gothic bishop, named Theophilus, subscribed the acts of the council of Nice. (Socrates, *Hist. Eccles* lib. ii. cap. xli.) Yet there is indubitable evidence that a large part of the nation remained pagans long after this period. See Mosheim, *De Rebus Christ.* &c. p. 449.—*Mur.*

turninus, Martial, and Stremonius migrated to this country, and amidst various perils founded the churches of Paris, Tours, Arles, [Narbonne, Toulouse, Limoges, Clermont], and other places. And their disciples gradually spread the Christian doctrine throughout Gaul.[1] To this century likewise must be referred the origin of the German churches of Cologne, Treves, Metz, [Tongres, Liege,] and others; the fathers of which were Eucharius, Valerius, Maternus, Clement, and others.[2] The Scots also say that their country was illuminated with the light of Christianity in this century, which does not appear improbable in itself, but cannot be put beyond controversy by any certain testimony.[3]

CHAPTER II.

THE ADVERSE EVENTS OF THE CHURCH.

1. IN the commencement of this century the Christians were variously afflicted in many of the Roman provinces; but their calamity was increased in the year 203, when the Emperor Severus, who was otherwise not hostile to them, enacted a law that no person should abandon the religion of his fathers for that of the Christians, or even for that of the Jews.[4] Although this law did not condemn [existing] Christians, but merely restrained the propagation of their religion, yet it afforded to rapacious and unjust governors and judges great opportunity for troubling the Christians and for putting many of the poor to death, in order to induce the rich to avert their danger by donations. Hence after the passing of this law, very many Christians in Egypt, and in other parts of both Asia and Africa, were cruelly slain; and among them were Leonidas, the father of Origen; the two celebrated African ladies, Perpetua and Felicitas, whose acts [martyrdom] have come down to us;[5] also Potamiena, a virgin; Marcella and others of both sexes, whose names were held in high honour in the subsequent ages.

2. From the death of [Septimius] Severus till the reign of Maximin, called Thrax from the country which gave him birth [or, from A.D. 211 to A.D. 235], the condition of Christians was everywhere tolerable, and in some places prosperous; but Maximin, who had slain Alexander Severus, an emperor peculiarly friendly to the Christians, fearing lest the latter should avenge the death of their patron, ordered their bishops, and particularly those whom he knew to have been the friends and intimates of Alexander, to be seized and put to death.[6] During his reign therefore many and atrocious injuries were brought upon the Christians; for although the edict of the tyrant related only to the bishops and the ministers of religion, yet its influence reached farther, and incited the pagan priests, the populace, and the magistrates, to assail Christians of all orders.[7]

3. This storm was followed by many years of peace and tranquillity. [From A.D. 237—249.] But when Decius Trajan came to the imperial throne, A.D. 249, war, in all its horrors, again burst upon the Christians; for this emperor, excited either by fear of the Christians, or by attachment to the ancient superstition, published terrible edicts, by which the governors were commanded, on pain of forfeiting their own lives, either to exterminate all Christians utterly, or bring them back by pains and tortures to the religion of their fathers. During the two succeeding years, a great multitude of Christians in all the Roman provinces were cut off by various kinds of punishment and suffering.[8] This persecution was more cruel and terrific than any which preceded it; and immense numbers professed to renounce Christ, being dismayed not so much by the

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1 Greg. Turon. *Hist. Francor.* lib. i. cap. xxviii. p. 23; Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum Sincera*, p. 109, &c. [See note 1, on cent. ii. part i. chap. i. p. 53, &c. of this work, where the origin of the Gallic or French churches is considered at some length.—*Mur.*

2 Calmet, *Histoire de Lorraine*, tome i Diss. i. p. 7, &c.; Nicol. de Hontheim, *Historia Trevirensis.* [See also notes 3, p. 52, and 1, p. 53, on cent. ii. part i. chap. i. of this work.—*Mur.*

3 See Ussher and Stillingfleet on the *Origin and Antiquities of the British Churches;* and Maekenzie, *De Regali Scotorum Prosapia*, cap. viii. p. 119, &c. [with the works referred to in note 4, p. 52, above. See also Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 315.—*R.*

4 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. cap. i.; Spartianus, *Vita Severi*, cap. xvi. xvii.

5 Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum Sincera*, p. 90, &c. [See an affecting account of the sufferings of these and other martyrs in the reign of Severus, in Milner's *Hist. of the Church*, cent. iii. chap. vol. i. p. 294.—*Mur.* [The student should not deny himself the pleasure of perusing the account taken from the acts of the martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas, which he will find in the eloquent pages of Milman (*Hist. of Christ.* vol. ii. p. 216, &c.) who introduces it with this just remark:—"Of all the histories of martyrdom none is so unexaggerated in its tone and language, so entirely unencumbered with miracles; none abounds in such exquisite touches of nature, or, on the whole, from its minuteness and circumstantiality, breathes such an air of truth and reality as this."—*R.*

6 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. cap. xxviii.; Orosius, *Histor.* lib. vii. cap. xix. p. 509.

7 Origen, tom. xxviii. in Matth. *Opp.* tom. i. p. 137; Firmilian, in *Opp. Cypriani*, Ep. lxxv. p. 140, &c.

8 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. cap. xxxix. xli.; Gregory Nyssen, *Vita Thaumaturgi*, *Opp.* tom. iii. p. 568, &c.; Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, in *Opp.* p. 182, &c. [Eusebius attributes the persecution by Decius to his hatred of Philip, his predecessor, whom he had murdered, and who was friendly to the Christians. Gregory attributes it to the emperor's zeal for idolatry. Both causes might have prompted him. The persecuting edict is not now extant; that which was published by Medon, Toulouse, 1664, 4to, is probably unauthentic. See Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 476, &c.—*Mur.*

fear of death as by the dread of the long-continued tortures by which the magistrates endeavoured to overcome the constancy of Christians; and procured for themselves safety either by sacrificing, *i. e.* offering incense before the idols, or by certificates purchased with money. Hence arose the opprobrious names of Sacrificers, Incensers, and the Certificated, (Sacrificatores, Thurificatores, and Libellatici,) by which the lapsed were designated.[1]

4. From the multitude of Christians chargeable with defection in the reign of Decius, great commotions and sharp contests arose in different parts of the church; for the lapsed wished to be restored to Christian fellowship, without submitting to that severe penance which the laws of the church prescribed, and some of the bishops favoured their wishes while others opposed them.[2] In Egypt and Africa many persons, to obtain more ready pardon of their offences, resorted to the intercession of the martyrs, and obtained from them letters of recommendation (libellos pacis) that is, papers in which the dying martyrs declared that they considered the persons worthy of their communion, and wished them to be received and treated as brethren. Some bishops and presbyters were too ready to admit offenders who produced such letters; but Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, a decided and austere man, though he was not disposed to derogate at all from the honour of the martyrs, was nevertheless opposed to this excessive lenity and wished to limit the effects of these letters of recommendation. Hence there arose a sharp contest between him and the martyrs, confessors, presbyters, the lapsed and the people, which ended in his gaining the victory.[3]

5. The successors of Decius, namely, Gallus and his son Volusian, (A. D. 251–253) renewed the persecution against the Christians which seemed to be subsiding;[4] and as their edicts were accompanied by public calamities, particularly by a pestilential disease which spread through many provinces, the Christians had again to undergo much suffering in divers countries.[5] For the pagan priests persuaded the populace that the gods visited the people with so many calamities on account of the Christians. The next emperor, Valerian, stilled the commotion A. D. 254, and restored tranquillity to the church.

6. Till the fifth year of his reign Valerian was very kind to the Christians; but suddenly, in the year 257, by the persuasion of Macrianus, a most bigoted pagan who was his prime minister, he prohibited the Christians from holding meetings, and ordered the bishops and other teachers into exile. The next year he published a far more severe edict; so that no small number of Christians in all the provinces of the Roman empire were put to death, and often exposed to punishment worse than death. Eminent among the martyrs in this tempest were Cyprian bishop of Carthage, Sixtus bishop of Rome, Laurentius a deacon at Rome who was roasted before a slow fire, and others. But Valerian being taken captive in a war against the Persians, his son Gallienus, in the year 260, restored peace to the church.[6]

7. Under Gallienus therefore, who reigned with his brother eight years [A. D. 260–268] and under his successor Claudius who

1 See Prudentius Maran, *Life of Cyprian*, prefixed to *Cypriani Opp.* sec. 6, p. 54, &c. [For an interesting account of the sufferings of Christians in this persecution, the English reader is referred to Milner's *Hist. of the Church*, cent. iii. chap. viii.; and chap. xi. This persecution was more terrible than any preceding one, because it extended over the whole empire, and because its object was to worry the Christians into apostacy by extreme and persevering torture. The Certificated or *Libellatici*, are supposed to be such as purchased certificates from the corrupt magistrates, in which it was declared that they were pagans and had complied with the demands of the law, when neither of these was fact. To purchase such a certificate was not only to be partaker in a fraudulent transaction, but it was to prevaricate before the public in regard to Christianity, and was inconsistent with that open confession of Christ before men which he himself requires. On the purport of these letters see Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* &c. pages 482—489.—*Mur.*

2 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib vi. cap. xliv.; Cyprian, *Epistolæ*, passim.

3 Albaspinæus, *Observat. Eccles.* lib. i. obs. xx. p. 94; *De Pœnis et Satisfactionibus humanis*, lib. vii. cap. xvi. p. 706. The whole history of this controversy must be gathered from the *Epistles* of Cyprian. [Tertullian, *De Pudicitia*, cap. xxii.; and *Ad Martyres*, cap. i. makes the earliest mention of these letters; whence it is conjectured that they first began to be used about the middle of the second century. By martyrs here must be understood persons already under sentence of death for their religion, or at least such as had endured some suffering, and were still in prison and uncertain what would befall them. Mosheim (*De Rebus Christ.* &c. pages 490—497), has collected the following facts respecting their misuse. (1) They were given with little or no discrimination to all applicants. Cyprian, *Ep.* xiv. p. 24, *Ep.* x. p. 20.—(2) They often did not express definitely the names of the persons recommended, but said: "Receive A. B. (cum suis) and his friends." Ibid. *Ep.* x. pag. 20, 21.—(3) Sometimes a martyr, before his death, commissioned some friend to give letters in his name to all applicants. Ibid. *Ep.* xxi. p. 30; *Ep.* xxi. p. 31.—(4) Some presbyters obeyed these letters without consulting the bishop, and thus subverted ecclesiastical order. Ibid. *Ep.* xxvii. p. 38; *Ep.* x. p. 20; *Ep.* xi. p. 52; *Ep.* xxxii. pag. 31, 32. It is easy to see what effects would follow, when the almost deified martyrs, of every age and sex and condition felt themselves to possess authority almost divine, and were besieged by host of persons writhing under the rigours of the ancient discipline.—*Mur.*

4 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. cap. i.; Cyprian, *Ep.* lvii. lviii.

5 See Cyprian, *Liber ad Demetrianum.* [Milner's *Hist. of the Church*, cent. iii. chap. xii.—*Mur.*

6 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. cap. x. xi. *Acta Cypriani*, in Ruinart's *Acta Martyrum Sincera*, p. 216; Cyprian, *Epist.* lxxvii. p. 178, *Epist.* lxxxii. p. 165, ed. Baluze. [Milner's *Hist. of the Church*, cent. iii. chap. xvi.—*Mur.*

reigned two years [A.D. 268–270] the condition of the Christians was tolerable, yet not altogether tranquil and happy. Nor did Aurelian, who came to the throne A. D. 270, attempt to disquiet them during four years. But in the fifth year of his reign, prompted either by his own superstition or by that of others, he prepared for war against them. But before his edicts had been published over the whole empire, he was assassinated in Thrace, A.D. 275. Hence few Christians were cut off under him. The remainder of this century—if we except some few instances of the injustice, the avarice, or the superstition of the governors[2]—passed away, without any great troubles or injuries done to Christians living among Romans.

8. While the emperors and provincial governors were assailing Christians with the sword and with edicts, the Platonic philosophers before described fought them with disputations, books, and stratagems. They were the more to be feared, because they approved and adopted many doctrines and institutions of the Christians, and following the example of Ammonius, their master, attempted to amalgamate the old religion and the new. At the head of this sect in this century was Porphyry, a Syrian or Tyrian, who composed a long work against the Christians, which was afterwards destroyed by the imperial laws.[3] He was undoubtedly an acute, ingenious, and learned man, as his extant works evince; but he was not a formidable enemy to the Christians; for he had more imagination and superstition than sound argument and judgment, as his books which remain and the history of his life will show; without recurring to the fragments of his work against the Christians which are preserved, and which are unworthy of a wise and upright man.

9. Among the wiles and stratagems by which this sect endeavoured to subvert the authority of the Christian religion, this deserves to be particularly mentioned, that they drew comparisons between the life, miracles, and transactions of our Saviour, and the history of the ancient philosophers; and endeavoured to persuade the unlearned and women that these philosophers were in no respect inferior to Christ. With such views, Archytas of Tarentum, Pythagoras, and Apollonius Tyanæus, a Pythagorean philosopher, were brought again upon the stage, and exhibited to the public dressed very much like Christ himself. The life of Pythagoras was written by Porphyry.[4] The life of Apollonius, whose travels and prodigies were talked of by the vulgar, and who was a crafty mountebank and the ape of Pythagoras, was composed by Philostratus, the first rhetorician of the age, in a style which is not inelegant. The reader of the work will readily perceive that the philosopher is compared with our Saviour; and yet he will wonder that any man of sound sense could have been deceived by the base falsehoods and fictions of the writer.[5]

10. But as nothing is so irrational as not to find patrons among the weak and ignorant, who regard words more than arguments, there were not a few who were ensnared by these silly attempts of the philosophers. Some were induced by these stratagems to abandon the Christian religion which they had embraced. Others being told that there was little difference between the ancient religion rightly explained and restored to its purity, and the religion which Christ really taught, and not that corrupted form of it which his disciples professed, concluded it best for them to remain among those who worshipped the gods. Some were led by those comparisons of Christ with the ancient heroes and philosophers, to frame for themselves a kind of mixed or compound religion. Witness, among others [the emperor], Alexander Severus, who esteemed Christ, Orpheus, Apollonius, and the like, all worthy of equal honours.

11. The Jews were reduced so low that

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1 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. cap. xxx.; Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutor.* cap. vi.

2 One example is the iniquity of the Cæsar, Galerius Maximian, near the end of the century, who persecuted the soldiers and servants of his palace who professed Christianity. See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. viii. cap. i. and iv.

3 See Holstenius, *Vita Porphyrii*, cap. xi.; Fabricius, *Lux Evang. toti orbi exoriens*, p. 154; Buddeus, *Isagoge in Theologiam*, lib ii. p. 877, &c. and Brucker's *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. ii. p. 236, &c. His fifteen *Books against the Christians* were condemned to be burned by Theodosius II. and Valentinian III. A.D. 449, (see the *Codex Justinianus de Summa Trinitate*, lib. i. tit. i. cap. iii.) The work was answered by Methodius, Eusebius, Apollinaris, and Philostorgius; but the answers are lost. Of the work of Porphyry extracts are preserved by Eusebius, Jerome, and others. —*Mur.*

4 And in the next century by Jamblichus. That both biographers had the same object is shown by Küster, *Admot. ad Jamblich.* cap. ii. p. 7, and cap. xix. p. 78.—*Schl.*

5 See Olearius, *Præfat. ad Philostrati vitam Apollonii*, and Mosheim, Notes on Cudworth's *Intellectual System*, pages 304, 309, 311, 831; also Brucker's *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. ii. p. 98, &c. and Enfield's *Abridgment of Brucker*, vol. ii. p. 42, &c.; Lardner's Works, vol. viii. pages 256—292. Apollonius was born about the beginning and died near the close of the first century. He travelled over all the countries from Spain to India; and drew much attention by his sagacious remarks, and by his pretensions to superhuman knowledge and powers. He was a man of genius, but vain-glorious, and a great impostor.—*Mur.* [*The Life of Apollonius*, by Philostratus, has been translated into English from the Greek, with notes and illustrations, by Berwick, Lond, 1809, 8vo. The reader may see a brief but judicious account of Apollonius in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biog.* vol. i. p. 242.—*R.*

they could not, as formerly, excite in the magistrates any great hatred against the Christians. Yet they were not wholly inactive, as appears from the books written by Tertullian and Cyprian against them. There occur also in the Christian fathers several complaints of the hatred and machinations of the Jews.[1] During the persecutions of Severus, one Domninus abandoned Christianity for Judaism, undoubtedly to avoid the punishments which were decreed against the Christians. Serapion endeavoured to recall him to his duty in a special work.[2] This example shows that while the Christians were in trouble, the Jews were in safety; and therefore though greatly depressed, they had not lost all power of doing injury to the Christians.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LEARNING AND SCIENCE.

1. LITERATURE which had suffered much in the preceding century, in this lost nearly all its glory. Among the Greeks, with the exception of Dionysius Longinus, an excellent rhetorician, Dion Cassius, a fine historian, and a few others, scarcely any writers appeared who can be recommended for their genius or their erudition. In the western provinces still smaller was the number of men truly learned and eloquent, though schools continued everywhere devoted to the cultivation of genius; for very few of the emperors favoured learning, civil wars kept the empire almost constantly in commotion, and the perpetual incursions of the barbarous nations into the most cultivated provinces, extinguished with the public tranquillity even the thirst for knowledge.[3]

2. As for the philosophers, nearly every sect of Grecian philosophy had some adherents who were not contemptible, and who are in part mentioned by Longinus.[4] But the school of Ammonius, the origin of which has been already stated, gradually cast all others into the background. From Egypt it spread in a short time over nearly the whole Roman empire, and drew after it almost all persons inclined to attend to philosophical studies. The prosperity was owing especially to Plotinus, the most distinguished disciple of Ammonius, a man of intellectual acumen, and formed by nature for abstruse investigation; for he taught, first in Persia, then at Rome and in Campania, vast assemblages of youth; and embodied precepts in various books, the greater part of which has come down to us.[5]

3. It is almost incredible what a number of pupils in a short time issued from the school of this man. But among them no one is more celebrated than Porphyry, a Syrian, who spread over Sicily and many other countries the system of his master, enlarged with new discoveries and carefully perfected.[6] At Alexandria almost no other philosophy was publicly taught from the time of Ammonius down to the sixth century. It was introduced into Greece by one Plutarch, who was educated at Alexandria, and who re-established the Academy at Athens, which subsequently embraced many very renowned philosophers, who will hereafter be mentioned.[7]

4. The character of this philosophy has already been explained as far as was compatible with the brevity of this work. It is here proper to add, that all who were addicted to it did not hold the same opinions, but differed from each other on several points. This diversity naturally arose from that principle which the whole sect kept in sight; namely, that truth was to be pursued without restraint, and to be gleaned out of all systems. Hence the Alexandrian philosophers sometimes would receive what those of Athens would reject. Yet there were certain leading doctrines which were fundamental to the system, that no one who

[1] Hippolytus, *Sermo in Susann. et Daniel, Opp.* tom. i. pages 274—276.

[2] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. cap. xii.

[3] See *Hist. Littér. de la France*, by the Benedictines, tome i. part ii. p. 317, &c.

[4] In Porphyry's *Vita Plotini*, cap. xx. p. 128, ed. Fabricii.

[5] See Porphyry's *Vita Plotini*, republished by Fabricius in *Biblioth. Græca*, vol. iv. p. 91; Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome iii. art. *Plotinus*, p. 2330, and the learned Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. ii. p. 217, &c.

[6] Holstenius, *Vita Porphyrii*, republished by Fabricius in *Biblioth. Gr.* [Porphyry was first the disciple of Longinus, author of the justly celebrated treatise *on the Sublime*. But having passed from Greece to Rome, where he heard Plotinus, he was so charmed with the genius and penetration of this philosopher that he attached himself entirely to him. See *Vita Plotini*, p. 3; Eunapius, *Vitæ Philos.* cap. ii. p. 17.—*Macl.*

[7] Marinus, *Vita Procli*, cap. xi. xii. p. 25, &c.

claimed the name of a Platonist dared to call in question. Such were the doctrines of one God the source of all things, of the eternity of the world, of the dependance of matter on God, of the plurality of Gods, of the method of explaining the popular superstitions, and some others.

5. The estimation in which human learning should be held, was a question on which the Christians were about equally divided; for while many thought that the literature and writings of the Greeks ought to receive attention, there were others who contended that true piety and religion were endangered by such studies. But the friends of philosophy and literature gradually acquired the ascendancy. To this issue Origen contributed very much; who having early imbibed the principles of the New Platonism inauspiciously applied them to theology, and earnestly recommended them to the numerous youth who attended on his instructions. And the greater the influence of this man, which quickly spread over the whole Christian world, the more readily was his method of explaining the sacred doctrines propagated. Some of the disciples of Plotinus connected themselves with the Christians, yet retained the leading sentiments of their master,[1] and these undoubtedly laboured to disseminate their principles around them, and to instil them into the minds of the uninformed.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

1. THE form of ecclesiastical government which had been introduced was more and more confirmed and strengthened, both in respect to individual churches and the whole society of Christians. He must be ignorant of the history and the monuments of this age, who can deny that a person bearing the title of bishop presided over each church in the larger cities, and managed its public concerns with some degree of authority, yet having the presbyters for his counsel, and taking the voice of the whole people on subjects of any moment.[2] It is equally certain that one bishop in each province was pre-eminent over the rest in rank and authority. This was necessary for maintaining that consociation of churches which had been introduced in the preceding century, and for holding councils more conveniently and readily. Yet it must be added that the prerogatives of these principal bishops were not everywhere accurately ascertained; nor did the bishop of the chief city in a province always hold the rank of first bishop. It is also beyond controversy that the bishops of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria, as presiding over the primitive and apostolic churches in the greater divisions of the empire, had precedence of all others, and were not only often consulted on weighty affairs, but likewise enjoyed certain prerogatives peculiar to themselves.

2. As to the bishop of Rome in particular, he was regarded by Cyprian,[3] and doubtless by others likewise, as holding something of primacy in the church. But the fathers, who with Cyprian attributed this primacy to the Roman bishop, strenuously contended for the equality of all bishops in respect to dignity and authority; and, disregarding the judgment of the bishop of Rome whenever it appeared to them incorrect, had no hesitation in following their own judgment. Of this Cyprian himself gave a striking example in his famous controversy with Stephen, bishop of Rome, concerning the baptism of heretics. Whoever duly considers and compares all their declarations, will readily perceive that this primacy was not one of power and authority, but one of precedence among associated brethren. That is, the primacy of the Romish bishop in regard to the whole church was the same as that of Cyprian in the African church, which did not impair at all the equality of the African bishops, or curtail their liberties and rights, but merely conferred the right of convoking councils, of presiding in them, and admonishing his brethren fraternally, and the like.[4]

[1] Augustine, *Epistola* lvi. *Ad Dioscor. Opp.* tom. ii. p. 260.

[2] Authorities are cited by Blondell, *Apologia pro Sententia Hieronymi de Episcopis et Presbyteris*, p. 136, &c. —[and still more amply by Boileau under the fictitious name of Claudius Fonteius, in his book *De Antiquo Jure Presbyterorum in Regimine Ecclesiastico*, Turin, 1676, 12mo. The most valuable of these testimonies are from the *Epistles* of Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, who was a warm advocate for episcopal pre-eminence, yet did not presume to determine any question of moment by his own authority, or without the advice and consent of his presbyters, and was accustomed to take the sense of the whole church on subjects of peculiar interest. See Cyprian, *Ep.* v. p. 11; *Ep.* xiii. p. 23; *Ep.* xxviii. p. 39; *Ep.* xxiv. p. 33; *Ep.* xxvii. pag. 37, 38. To the objection, that Cyprian did himself ordain some presbyters and lectors without the consent of his council and the laity, it is answered, that the persons so advanced were confessors, who according to usage, were entitled to ordination without any previous election. Cyprian, *Ep.* xxxiv. pag. 46, 47; *Ep.* xxxv. pag. 48, 49; Tertullian, *De Anima*, cap. lv. p. 353, &c. See Mosheim, *Comment. de Reb. Christ*, &c. pag. 575—579. —*Mur.*

[3] Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxiii. p. 131; *Ep.* lv p. 86, *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, p. 195, ed. Baluze.

[4] See Baluze, *Annot. ad Cypriani Epist.* pag. 387, 389, 400, &c. and especially Cyprian himself who contends strenuously for the perfect equality of all bishops. *Ep.* lxxi. p. 127. Nam nec Petrus—vindicavit sibi aliquid insolenter, aut arroganter assumpsit se *primatum tenere*, et obtemperari a novellis et posteris sibi oportere

3. Although the ancient mode of church government seemed in general to remain unaltered, yet there was a gradual deflection from its rules and an approximation towards the form of monarchy; for the bishops claimed much higher authority and power than before, and encroached more and more upon the rights not only of the Christian people, but also of the presbyters. And to give plausibility to these usurpations, they advanced new doctrines concerning the church and the episcopal office; which however were for the most part so obscure that it would seem they did not themselves understand them. The principal author of these innovations was Cyprian, the most bold and strenuous defender of episcopal power who had then arisen in the church. Yet he was not uniform and consistent, for in times of difficulty when urged by necessity, he could give up his pretensions and submit everything to the judgment and authority of the church.[1]

4. This change in the form of ecclesiastical government was followed by a corrupt state of the clergy; for although examples of primitive piety and virtue were not wanting, yet many were addicted to dissipation, arrogance, voluptuousness, contention, and other vices. This appears indubitable if we listen to the frequent complaints of the most credible persons of those times.[2] Many bishops now affected the state of princes, and especially those who had charge of the more populous and wealthy congregations; for they sat on thrones surrounded by their ministers and other ensigns of their spiritual power, and perhaps also dazzled the eyes and the minds of the populace with their splendid attire. The presbyters imitated the example of their superiors, and, neglecting the duties of their office, lived in indolence and pleasure. And this emboldened the deacons to make encroachments upon the office and the prerogatives of the presbyters.

5. It was owing to this cause especially that, in my opinion, the minor orders of clergy were everywhere in this century added to the bishops, presbyters, and deacons. The words sub-deacons, acolythi, ostiarii or door-keepers, lectors or readers, exorcists, and copiatæ, designate officers, which I think the church would have never had, if the rulers of it had possessed more piety or true religion. But when the honours and privileges of the bishops and presbyters were augmented, the deacons also became more inflated, and refused to perform those meaner offices to which they once cheerfully submitted. The offices designated by these new titles are in great measure explained by the words themselves. The exorcists owed their origin to the doctrine of the New Platonists adopted by the Christians, that evil spirits have a strong desire after the human body, and that vicious men are not so much impelled to sin by their natural depravity and the influence of bad examples, as by the suggestions of some evil spirit lodging within them.[3] The copiatæ were employed in the burial of the dead.

—*Ep.* lxxiii. p. 137. Unusquisque Episcoporum quod putat faciat, habens arbitrii sui liberam potestatem.—*Ep.* lv. *Ad Cornelium Rom.* p. 86. Cum statutum—et æquum sit pariter ac justum, ut uniuscujusque causa illic audiatur ubi est crimen admissum, et singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet, rationem sui actus Domino redituras, [and Cyprian's address at the opening of the council of Carthage, A.D. 255, in his Works, p. 329, ed. Baluze. Neque enim quisquam nostrum Episcopum se esse Episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit, quando habeat *omnis Episcopus* pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ arbitrium proprium tamque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec ipse potest alterum judicare. Sed expectemus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui *unus et solus* habet potestatem et præponendi nos in ecclesiæ suæ gubernatione, et de actu nostro judicandi. The passages referred to in the preceding note, in which Cyprian not very intelligibly speaks of a unity in the church and of a certain primacy of the Roman pontiff, must be so understood as not to contradict these very explicit assertions of the absolute equality of all bishops. See Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* &c. pag. 579—587.—*Mur.*

1 No man can speak in higher terms of the power of bishops than the arrogant Cyprian - that very Cyprian who, when not fired by any passion, is so condescending towards presbyters, deacons, and the common people. He inculcates, on all occasions, that bishops derive their office, not so much from their election by the clergy and people, as from the attestation and decree of God. See *Ep.* iii. pag. 68, 69; *Ep.* xiv. p. 59; *Ep.* lv. p. 82; *Ep.* lxv. p. 113; *Ep.* lxix. p. 121. He regards bishops as the successors of the apostles. *Ep.* xlii. p. 57. So that bishops are amenable to none but to God only; while presbyters are amenable to the religious society. *Ep.* xi. p. 19.—Deacons were created by the bishop; and therefore can be punished by him alone without the voice of the society. *Ep.* lxv. p. 114.—Bishops have the same rights with apostles, whose successors they are. And hence, none but God can take cognizance of their actions. *Ep.* lxix. p. 121.—The whole church is founded on the bishop; and no one is a true member of the church who is not submissive to his bishop. *Ep.* lxix. p. 123.—Bishops represent Christ himself, and govern and judge in his name. *Ep.* lv. *Ad Cornel.* pages 81, 82.—Hence all bishops, in the following ages, styled themselves Vicars of Christ. See Bingham's *Orig. Eccles.* vol. i. p. 81, &c. In the ninth century, a bishop of Paris is so styled in a letter of Lupus. *Ep.* xcix. p. 149, ed. Baluze. After the ninth century the bishops of Rome assumed the exclusive right to this as well as other honorary episcopal titles.—*Schl.* [See Mosheim, *De Rebus Christ.* p. 588, &c.—*Mur.*

2 Origen, *Comment. in Matthæum*, par. i. *Opp.* pag 420, 441, 442; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. viii. cap. i. p. 291; Cyprian, in many of his *Epistles.*—*Mur.*

3 See Gothofredus, *Ad Codicem Theodosianum*, tom. vi. p. 48. [Several of the Catholic writers, as, *e. g.* Baronius, Bellarmine, and Schelstrate, believed these minor orders of the clergy were instituted by the apostles; but the most learned writers of the Romish communion, and all the Protestants, maintain that they were first instituted in the third century. See Cardinal Bona, *Rerum Liturgicar.* lib. i. cap. xxv. sec. 16, 17; Morin, *De Ordinatione*, p. 3, Exerc. 14, cap. i. and Bingham's *Orig. Eccles.* vol. i. Not one of these orders

6. Marriage was allowed to all the clergy from the highest rank to the lowest. Yet those were accounted more holy and excellent who lived in celibacy; for it was the general persuasion that those who lived in wedlock were much more exposed to the assaults of evil spirits than others:[1] and it was of immense importance that no impure or malignant spirit should assail the mind or the body of one who was to instruct and govern others. Such persons therefore wished, if possible, to have nothing to do with conjugal life. And this many of the clergy, especially in Africa, endeavoured to accomplish with the least violence to their inclinations; for they received into their houses and even to their beds some of those females who had vowed perpetual chastity, affirming however most solemnly that they had no criminal intercourse with them.[2] These concubines were by the Greeks called συνείσακτοι, and by the Latins mulieres subintroductæ. Many of the bishops indeed sternly opposed this shameful practice; but it was a long time before it was wholly abolished.

7. Of the writers of this century the most distinguished for the celebrity of his name and for the extent of his writings was Origen, a presbyter and catechist of Alexandria, a man truly great and the instructor of the whole Christian world. Had his discernment and the soundness of his judgment been equal to his genius, piety, industry, erudition, and his other accomplishments, he would deserve almost unbounded commendation. As he is, all should revere his virtues and his merits.[3] The second was Julius Africanus, a very learned man, most

is even named by any writer who lived before Tertullian; nor are all of them named by him. Cyprian, in the middle of the third century mentions *hypodiaconi, acolythi,* and *lectores.* See his *Ep.* xiv. xxiv. xxxvi. xlii. xlix. lxxix. ed. Baluz. And Cornelius, bishop of Rome, contemporary with Cyprian, in an epistle which is preserved by Eusebius, *H.E.* lib. vi. cap. xliii. represents his church as embracing 46 (πρεσβυτέρους) presbyters, 7 (διακόνους) deacons, 7 (ὑποδιακόνους) subdeacons 42, (ἀκολούθους) acolythi, and exorcists (ἐξορκιστὰς), and readers (ἀναγνώστας), with door-keepers (πυλωροῖς), together 52. The particular functions of these inferior orders are but imperfectly defined by the writers of the third century. Those of the fourth century describe more fully the duties of all these petty officers.—*Mur.*

[1] Porphyry's, περὶ ἀποχῆς, lib. iv. p. 417.

[2] See Dodwell, *Diss. tertia Cyprianica;* and Muratori, *Diss. de Synisactis et Agapetis,* in his *Anecdota Græca,* p. 218; Baluze, *Ad Cypriani Epistol.* p. 5, 12, and others. [This shameful practice commenced before this century. Slight allusions to it are found in the *Shepherd of Hermas* and in Tertullian; but the first distinct mention of it is in Cyprian, who inveighs severely against it in some of his Epistles. Such connexions were considered as a marriage of souls without the marriage of bodies. See Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 599, &c.—*Mur.*

[3] See Huet, *Origeniana,* a learned and valuable work; Doucin, *Histoire d'Origène et des Mouvemens arrivées dans l'église au sujet de sa Doctrine,* Paris, 1700, 8vo; and Bayle, *Dictionnaire,* tome iii. art. *Origène,* and many others. [Origen, surnamed Adamantius, was an Alexandrian Greek, born of Christian parents, A.D. 185. His father Leonidas was a man of letters, a devout Christian, and took great pains with the education of his son, especially in the holy Scriptures, some portion of which he required him daily to commit to memory. His education, begun under his father, was completed under Clemens Alexandrinus and the philosopher Saccas. Origen was distinguished for precocity of genius, early piety, and indefatigable industry. When his father suffered martyrdom, A.D. 202, Origen, then seventeen years old, was eager to suffer with him, but was prevented by his mother. The property of the family was confiscated, and Origen with his widowed mother and six younger sons were left in poverty, but Origen found no difficulty in procuring a school for which his talents so well qualified him. The next year, A.D. 203, Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, advanced him to the mastership of the catechetic school, though he was then only eighteen years old. His talents as an instructor, his eminent piety, and his assiduous attention to those who suffered in the persecution, procured him high reputation and numerous friends among the Christians; but his great success in making converts to Christianity and forming his pupils to be intelligent and devoted Christians, rendered him odious to the pagans who watched for opportunities to assassinate him. The austerity of his life was great. He fed on the coarsest fare, went barefoot, and slept on the ground. About this time he sold his large and valuable collection of pagan authors for a perpetual income of four oboli (about fivepence) a-day, which he regarded as a competent support. Construing the passage in Matth. xix. 12 literally, he acted upon that interpretation, in order to avoid temptation in his intercourse with his female pupils. About the year 212 he made a short visit to Rome. On his return he took his former pupil Heraclas to be his assistant in the school, so that he might devote more time to the exposition of the Scriptures. Many learned persons, pagans and heretics, were converted by him; and among them Ambrose, a Valentinian and a man of wealth, who became a liberal patron of Origen and at last died a martyr. In the year 215, the persecution under Caracalla obliged Origen to flee from Alexandria. He retired to Cæsarea in Palestine, where he was received with high respect; and though not even a deacon at that time, the bishops of Cæsarea and Jerusalem allowed him to expound the Scriptures publicly in their presence. The next year Demetrius called him back to Alexandria and to his mastership of the catechetic school. About this time an Arabian prince invited him to his court, to impart to him Christian instruction. Afterwards Mammæa, the mother of the Emperor Alexander Severus, sent for him to Antioch, in order to hear him preach. In the year 228, he was publicly called to Achaia, to withstand the heretics who disturbed the churches there. On his return through Palestine, Theoctistus bishop of Cæsarea, and Alexander bishop of Jerusalem, ordained him a presbyter, to the great offence of Demetrius, who was envious of the growing reputation of his catechist. Demetrius had little to object against Origen, except that he was a eunuch, and that foreign bishops had no right to ordain his laymen. Controversy ensued, and in the year 230 Demetrius assembled two councils against him, the first of which banished Origen from Alexandria, and the second deprived him of his clerical office. Demetrius also wrote letters to Rome and elsewhere, to excite odium against this unoffending man. Heraclas now succeeded him in the school at Alexandria, and Origen retired, A.D. 231, to Cæsarea in Palestine. Here he resumed his office of instructor, and continued to write expositions of the Bible. But in the year 235 a persecution in Palestine obliged him to flee to Cæsarea in Cappadocia, where he lived concealed for two years. After his return to Palestine he visited Athens; and about the year 244 was called to attend a council at Bostra in Arabia against Beryllus, bishop of that place, who was heretical in respect to the personal existence of Christ previous to his incarnation. Origen converted him to the orthodox faith. Demetrius, his persecutor, died A.D. 232, and was succeeded by Heraclas, a disciple of Origen, after whom Dionysius the Great filled the see of Alexandria from A.D. 248 to 265. The persecution of Origen died with his personal enemy Demetrius, and he was greatly beloved and honoured

of whose labours and works are lost.[1] The name of Hippolytus ranks very high among both the writers and the martyrs; but his history is involved in much obscurity.[2] The

by all around him till the day of his death. His residence was now fixed at Cæsarea in Palestine; but he occasionally visited other places. Against the more learned pagans and the heretics of those times, he was a champion who had no equal; he was also considered as a devout and exemplary Christian, and was beyond question the first biblical scholar of the age. He was master of the literature and the science of that age, which he valued only as subservient to the cause of Christ; but he was more skilful in employing them against pagans and heretics, than in the explanation and confirmation of the truths of revelation. In the latter part of his life, during the Decian persecution, A.D. 250, he was imprisoned for a considerable time, and came near to martyrdom which he showed himself willing to meet. He was, however, released; but his sufferings in prison, added to his intense literary labours, had broken down his constitution, and he died, A.D. 254, at Tyre, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. He was in general orthodox according to the standard of that age; but unfettered in his speculations and unguarded in his communications, he threw out some crude opinions which the next age gathered up and blazoned abroad, and for which he was accounted by some a heretic. The principal errors ascribed to him are derived from his four books περὶ ἀρχῶν (*De principiis*, on the first principles of human knowledge), and are:—first, the pre-existence of human souls and their incarceration in material bodies for offences committed in a former state of being;—second, the pre-existence of Christ's human soul and its union with the Divine nature anterior to the incarnation of Christ;—third, the transformation of our material bodies into ethereal ones at the resurrection;—fourth, the final recovery of all men and even devils through the mediation of Christ. Origen could number among his pupils many eminent martyrs and divines, among whom Firmilianus of Cappadocia, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and Dionysius the Great, bishop of Alexandria, are best known at the present day. His life and history are best related by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. passim; and by Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. lv.; and *Ep.* xli or lxv. The united work of Pamphilus and Eusebius, in defence of Origen, in six books, is unfortunately lost, except the first book, of which we have a translation by Rufinus. Epiphanius, *Hæres.* lxiv. gives a philippic upon Origen and his followers. Photius, *Biblioth.* cxviii. affords us some knowledge of his lost works. Origen was a most voluminous writer. Eusebius says he collected 100 Epistles of Origen; and that when sixty years old Origen permitted stenographers to write down his extempore discourses. Besides these he composed eight *Books against Celsus* in defence of Christianity, which are still extant; four books περὶ ἀρχῶν, extant, in a Latin translation by Rufinus; ten books entitled *Stromata*, which are lost; his *Hexapla* and *Tetrapla*, of which little remains; and tracts on prayer, martyrdom, and the resurrection; but his principal works are expositions of the Scriptures. It is said he wrote on every book in the Bible except the Apocalypse. His allegorical mode of interpreting Scripture is described by Mosheim in the next chapter. Origen's expositions are of three kinds:—first, Homilies, or popular lectures;—second, Commentaries, divided into books, which are full, elaborate, and learned expositions; third, *Scholia*, or short notes, intended especially for the learned. A collection of Origen's *Scholia*, and scattered remarks on Scripture, compiled by Basil the Great and Gregory Nazianzen, is extant, bearing the title of Φιλοκαλία. A large part of his Homilies and Commentaries is wholly lost, and some of the others have come to us only in the Latin translation of Rufinus. The earlier editions of Origen's works are chiefly in Latin, and of little value. Huet, a Benedictine monk, first published, A.D. 1668, in 2 vols. fol. the expository works of Origen, Greek and Latin with notes and a valuable introduction entitled *Origeniana*. Montfaucon, another Benedictine, collected and published what remains of his *Hexapla* and *Tetrapla*, Paris, 1714, 2 vols. fol.; but the best edition of all his works, except the *Hexapla*, is that of the Benedictines De la Rue, Paris, 1733-59, 4 vols. fol. The principal modern writers concerning Origen, besides Huet and the De la Rues, are Tillemont, *Mém. à l'Hist. de l'Eglise*, tome iii. pages 216—264; Bayle, *Dict.* art. *Origène*; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 112, &c.; Lardner, *Credibility*, part ii. vol. ii. p. 161, &c.; Haloix, *Defence of Origen*; Doucin, *Histoire d'Origène*, Paris, 1700, 8vo; Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* pag. 605—680; Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. pages 29—145; Neander, *Kirchengesch.* vol. i. pages 1172—1214; Milner's account of Origen, *Eccles. Hist.* cent. iii. chap. v. vi. xv. is not impartial.—*Mur.* [The most recent work on Origen is Redepenning, *Origenes eine Darstellung sein. Lebens und sein. Lehre*, Bonn, 1841, &c. The student should here again, in reference to Origen and the Alexandrian theology, consult Gieseler, *Lehrbuch*, &c. secs. 62, 63, 64; Davidson's Transl. vol. i. p. 229, &c. The only portion of Origen's works which has been translated into English is his Answer to Celsus, and even of that only the first two books were translated by Bellamy, Lond. 8vo. about 1710.—*R.*

1 Julius Africanus, for erudition and as an interpreter of Scripture, is ranked with Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen by Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. xxxv. The best account of this distinguished man is derived from Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. cap. xxxi.; and Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. lxiii. He was probably of Nicopolis, once called Emmaus, in Judea, and is supposed to have died, being a man in years, about A.D. 232. Of his life little is known, except that he once visited Alexandria to confer with Heraclas, head of the catechetic school after Origen; and that the city of Nicopolis having been burnt about A.D. 221, Africanus was sent as envoy to the emperor, with a petition that it might be rebuilt. His principal work was *Annals of the World from the Creation down to* A.D. 221, in five books, of which only fragments now remain. He was author of *A Letter to Aristides*, reconciling the two genealogies of our Saviour. Of this work we have a long extract in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. 7, and a fragment in Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, vol. ii. p. 115. Another letter of Africanus, addressed to Origen, is still extant in the works of Origen, vol. i. pages 10—12, ed. De la Rue. Eusebius and others ascribe to Africanus another and larger work entitled Κεστοί. It is a miscellany and unworthy of a Christian divine. Many fragments of it have been collected by Thevenot, and published in his *Collection of the Writings of the ancient Greek Mathematicians*, Paris, 1693, fol.—*Mur.*

2 The Benedictine monks have, with great labour and erudition, endeavoured to dispel this darkness. See *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome i. p. 361, &c. Paris, 1733, 4to. [Both Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. cap. xx. xxii.; and Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. lxi. make him to have flourished in the reign of Severus, A.D. 222, &c. and to have been a bishop, but of what city they could not learn. Subsequent writers were divided, some representing him as an Arabian bishop, and others as bishop of Ostia, near Rome, whence he is surnamed Portuensis. That he was a martyr is generally conceded; though the poem of Prudentius, on the martyrdom of Hippolytus, refers to another person who was a Roman presbyter. Eusebius, *ubi supra*, gives an account of his writings:—"Besides many other works, he wrote a treatise concerning Easter, in which he describes the succession of events, and proposes a Paschal Cycle of sixteen years; the work terminates with the first year of the Emperor Alexander." (Severus, A.D. 222.) "His other writings which have reached me are these: on the Hexaëmeron" (Gen. i.); "on what follows the Hexaëmeron; against Marcion; on the Canticles; on parts of Ezekiel; concerning Easter; against all the heresies." Besides these Jerome mentions his Commentaries on Exodus, Zechariah, the Psalms, Isaiah, Daniel, the Apocalypse, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes; and some tracts. Certain other works of Hippolytus are enumerated in an inscription on the base of his statue, dug up near Rome in the year 1551; also by Photius, *Biblioth.* No. 121 and 122; and Ebedjesus, in Asseman's *Biblioth. Orient.* tom. iii. par. i. His Paschal Cycle is his only work which has come down to us entire. The dialogue concerning Christ and Antichrist, still extant, if really his, does him little credit as a theologian. The concluding part of his work against all the heresies still remains, and gives us the best account we have, though a lame one, of the heresy of Noëtus

writings now extant bearing the name of this great man are, not without reason, regarded by many as being either spurious or at least corrupted. Gregory, bishop of New Cæsarea [in Pontus], was surnamed Thaumaturgus on account of the numerous and distinguished miracles which he is said to have wrought. But few of his writings are now extant; his miracles are questioned by many at the present day.[1] I could wish that many writings of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, were now extant; for the few fragments which have reached us show that he was a man of distinguished wisdom and mildness of disposition, and prove that the ancients used no flattery when they styled him Dionysius the Great.[2] Methodius was

All that remains of him, genuine and adulterated, and all that is ascribed to him, are well edited by Fabricius, in two thin volumes, fol. Hamb. 1716-18. For a more full account of him and his writings, besides the *Histoire Litt. de la France*, and Fabricius, *Ad Hippol. Opera;* see Tillemont, *Mémoires à l'Hist. Eccles.* tome iii. pages 104 and 309, &c; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 102, &c; Lardner, *Credib.* part ii. vol. ii. p. 69, &c.; Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 154, &c.; Neander, *Kirchengesch.* vol. i. p. 1147, &c.—*Mur.* [An elaborate biography of this father may be seen in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biogr.* vol. ii. p. 490, where all the questions respecting his history and writings are carefully considered.—*R.*

[1] See Anton. van Dale, Preface to his book, *De Oraculis*, p. 6. [Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 351, &c. and pages 380—392, and Lardner, *Credibility*, part ii. vol. ii. p. 450, &c. Gregory of New Cæsarea in Pontus, whose original name was Theodorus, was born of heathen parents at New Cæsarea near the beginning of this century. His family was wealthy and respectable. After the death of his father, which was when he was fourteen years old, his mother and the children became nominally Christians. But Gregory was a stranger to the Bible, and ambitious to make a figure in the world. About the year 231 he left Pontus, intending to study law in the famous law school at Berytus, but meeting with Origen at Cæsarea he was induced to change his purpose. He applied himself to the study of the Bible, was baptized, assumed the name of Gregory, and continued under the instruction of Origen eight years, except that he fled to Alexandria for a short time to avoid persecution. He was now a devoted Christian and a man of great promise. On leaving Origen, he composed and read in a public assembly a eulogy on his instructor, in which he gives an account of his own past life, and of the manner in which Origen himself allured him to the study of the scriptures, and changed all his views. He returned to Pontus and became bishop of his native city, New Cæsarea, where he spent the remainder of his life. When created bishop he found but seventeen Christians in his very populous diocese. When he died there was only about the same number of pagans in it. He and his flock endured persecution in the year 250. He attended the first council of Antioch against Paul of Samosata, in the year 264 or 265, and died soon after. Some account of him is given by Eusebius, *H. E.* lib. vi. cap. 30, and lib. vii. cap 14, 28; Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. lxv. and *Ep. ad Magnum.* But his great eulogists among the ancients were the two brothers, Basil the Great, and Gregory Nyssen, whose grandmother sat under the ministry of Gregory Thaum. and furnished her grandchildren with an account of him. Basil speaks of him in his *Book on the Holy Spirit* and in his *Epistles*, No. 28, 110, 204, 207, or 62, 63, 64, 75; and Nyssen, in his *Life of Gregory Thaum.* inter *Opp. Gregorii Nys.* tom. iii. p. 536, &c. Among the moderns who give us his history and enumerate his works, see Tillemont, *Mémoires à l'Hist. Eccl.* tome iv. p. 131, &c. and *Notes sur S. Greg. Thaum.* p. 47; Du Pin, *Nov. Biblioth. des Aut. Ecclés.* tome i. p. 184, &c.; Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* vol. v. p. 247, &c; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i.; Neander, *Kirchengesch.* vol. i. pages 12—24, &c.; Schroeckh, *ubi supra;* Lardner, *ubi supra*, and Milner, *Eccles. Hist.* cent iii. chap. 18. The only genuine works of Gregory which are extant are his Eulogy on Origen, which has been mentioned; a Paraphrase on Ecclesiastes; a short Confession of Faith (the last part of which some have questioned), and a Letter containing counsel for the treatment of the lapsed. The spurious works attributed to him are, *Capita* xii. *De Fide*, with anathemas; *In Annuntiationem Sanctissimæ Mariæ Sermones tres; in Sancta Theophania sive de apparitione Dei et Christi Baptismo; De anima*, disputatio ad Tatianum; *Expositio Fidei* ἡ κατὰ μέρος πίστις, (relating only to the Trinity.) All these were collected and published with learned notes by Gerard Vossius, Mentz, 1604, 4to, and Paris, 1622, fol. with the works of Macarius, Basil of Seleucia, and a tract of Zonaras, subjoined.—*Mur.*

[2] The history of Dionysius is carefully written by Basnage, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tome i. livr. ii. chap. v. p. 68. [He was probably born of heathen parents but early converted to the Christian faith by Origen, under whom he had his education at Alexandria. He became a presbyter there; and succeeded Heraclas, as head of the catechetical school, about the year 232; and on the death of Heraclas, A.D. 248, he again succeeded him in the episcopal chair, which he filled till his death in the year 265. We know little of his history, while a catechist, except that he now read carefully all the works of heretics and pagans, and made himself master of the controversies of the day (Euseb. *H.E.* lib. vii. cap. vii). As a bishop he was uncommonly laborious and faithful, and had little rest from persecution, in which he and his flock suffered exceedingly. These sufferings are described in the copious extracts from his writings, preserved by Eusebius, in his *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. and vii. In the general persecution under Decius, Dionysius was under arrest, and suffered much with his flock for a year and a half. Soon after his release, the pestilence began to lay waste the church and the city, and did not entirely cease till the end of twelve years. The warm contest respecting the rebaptism of converted heretics, about the year 256, was submitted by both parties to him, and drew forth several able productions from his pen. Not long after he had to withstand the Sabellians in a long and arduous controversy. In the year 257 the persecution under Valerian commenced; and for about two years Dionysius was in banishment, transported from place to place, and subjected to great sufferings. After his return in the year 260, insurrection among the pagans and civil war and famine raged at Alexandria. Scarcely was quiet restored, when this aged and faithful servant of God was solicited to aid in the controversy against Paul of Samosata. His infirmities prevented his attending the council of Antioch in 265, where Paul was condemned; but he wrote his judgment of the controversy, sent it to the council, and died soon after in the close of that year. In his controversy with the Sabellians he was, to say the least, unfortunate; for in his zeal to maintain a personal distinction between the Father and the Son, he let drop expressions which seemed to imply, that the latter was of another and an inferior nature to the former. This led the Sabellians to accuse him of heresy; and a council assembled at Rome called on him to explain his views. He replied in several books or letters, addressed to Dionysius, bishop of Rome, which pretty well satisfied his contemporaries. Afterwards, when the Arians claimed him, Athanasius came forth in vindication of his orthodoxy, Mosheim, (*De Rebus Christ.* p. 696, &c.) supposed that Dionysius differed from the orthodox on the one hand, and from Sabellius on the other, in the following manner:—They all agreed, that in Jesus Christ two natures, the human and the divine, were united. The orthodox maintained, that both natures constituted but one person, and denied personality to the human nature. Sabellius admitted the union of two natures in Christ, but denied personality to his divine nature. Dionysius distinguished two persons, as well as two natures, in Christ; and affirmed that the actions and sufferings of the human nature could not be predicated of the divine nature. Natalis Alexander has a Dissertation (*Hist. Eccles. sæcul.* iii. diss. xix.) in vindication of the orthodoxy, though not of all the phraseology of Dionysius; for a knowledge of

a man of piety and had some weight of character; but the few works of his remaining prove him not to be a man of an accurate and discriminating mind.[1]

8. Of the Latin writers of this century Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, deservedly stands first. The epistles and tracts of this distinguished and eloquent man breathe such a spirit of ardent piety, that almost no one can read them without feeling his soul stirred within him. Yet Cyprian would doubtless have been a better writer if he had been less studious of rhetorical ornaments, and a better bishop if he had been more capable of controlling his temper and of discriminating between truth and error.[2]

The dialogue of Minutius Felix, which he entitled Octavius, answers the arguments

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the life and writings of Dionysius, the chief original sources are, Eusebius, *Hist Eccles.* lib. vi. cap xxix. xxxv. xl.—xlii. xliv.—xlvi.; lib. vii. cap. i. iv.—xi. xx.—xxviii.; *Præpar. Evang.* lib. xiv. cap. xxiii.—xxvii.; Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. lxix. and *Præfatio ad Lib.* xviii.; *Comment. in Esaiam*; Athanasius, *De Sententia Dionysii*, and *De Synodi Nicænæ Decretis*; Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, cap. xxix.; *Epist. ad Amphiloch.* and *Epist. ad Maximum.* Of his works only two short compositions have come to us entire; namely, his very sensible letter to Novatian (*in Eusebi. Hist. Eccles.* vi. 45), and his *Epistola Canonica ad Basilidem.* But we have valuable extracts from many of his letters and books preserved by Eusebius. Athanasius also gives extracts from various works of his; and Eusebius mentions several from which he gives no extracts, and which are not now extant.—*Mur.* [All that has been preserved of Dionysius may be found in Gallandius, *Biblio. Patrum*, v. 3, p. 481, &c. and in a separate edition published by S. de Magistris, Rome, 1796, folio, Greek and Latin, with a Dissertation on his life and writings.—*R.*

[1] Methodius Patarensis Eubulius was bp. of Olympus or of Patara in Lycia, and afterwards of Tyre. He lived during the last half of the third century; and died a martyr at Chalcis in Greece, probably A. D. 311, during the Diocletian persecution. Jerome (*De Viris Illustr.* cap. lxxxiii.) ranks him among the popular writers, and commends him especially for the neatness of his style; but Socrates (in his *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. cap xiii.) represents him as one of those low and contemptible scribblers, who endeavoured to bring themselves into notice by assailing the characters of their superiors. His works, as enumerated by Jerome, are two books *against Porphyry* (a large work now lost); *Feast of the Ten Virgins* (a dialogue of pious females, in praise of celibacy; it is still extant, though perhaps corrupted; but does its author little credit); *On the resurrection of the body*, against Origen. Much of it is preserved by Epiphanius, *Hæres.* lxiv.; Photius, *Biblioth.* ccxxxiv. &c.; *On the witch of Endor*, against Origen (not extant); *On free-will* (and the origin of evil; not from matter, but from abuse of human liberty. Extracts from it remain); *Commentaries on Genesis and Canticles* (almost wholly lost); many other popular works (not described by Jerome). The works of Methodius, so far as they remain, were edited with those of Amphilochius and Andreas Cretensis, by Combefis, Paris, 1644, fol. Several discourses of the younger Methodius, patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century, have been ascribed to the older Methodius.—*Mur.*

[2] Thascius Cæcilius Cyprianus was born of heathen parents and probably about the year 200, at Carthage in Africa. He was rather dissipated, but was a man of genius and a teacher of rhetoric. In the year 244 or 245 he was converted to Christianity by Cæcilius, a presbyter of Carthage, whose name he assumed.. An account of his conversion we have in his tract, *De Gratia Dei, ad Donatum.* As soon as he became a Christian he distributed all his property in charity to the poor, devoted himself much to the study of the bible and of his favourite author Tertullian, and showed a zeal and earnestness in religion seldom equalled. He was made a presbyter a few months after his conversion, and was advanced to the episcopal chair in the year 248. As a bishop he was indefatigable and efficient. Few men ever accomplished so much in a long life, as Cyprian did in the ten years of his episcopacy. In the year 250 the Decian persecution obliged him to leave Carthage, and live in concealment for more than a year. During his exile he wrote 39 epistles which are extant, addressed to his church, to its officers collectively or individually, to other bishops, and to various individuals. On his return to Carthage, A.D. 251, he had much to do to collect and regulate his flock; a controversy arose respecting the reception of the lapsed to Christian fellowship, and Cyprian had personal contests with some of his presbyters who were opposed to him. He was also drawn into the Novatian controversy. The persecution was soon after renewed by the emperor Gallus; and pestilence and famine spread wide, and incursions of barbarians from the desert laid waste the back country. Cyprian wrote and preached incessantly; and in the year 253 called a council and roused up the African churches to great efforts for redeeming Christian captives. In the year 257 the persecution under Valerian broke out, and Cyprian was banished to Curubis. The next year, A.D. 258, he was recalled from banishment, summoned before the new governor, Maximus, and condemned to be beheaded. Cyprian lived about twelve years after he embraced Christianity; and during ten of these he was incessantly engaged in active duties. It was impossible, therefore, that he should become a very learned theologian. Though a man of genius, he was not a metaphysician or philosopher, and seems not formed for abstruse speculations. He was an orator and a man of business rather than a profound scholar. The practical part of Christianity and the order and discipline of the church, most engaged his attention. Naturally ardent and poring daily over the writings of Tertullian, he imbibed very much the spirit and the principles of that gloomy Montanist; and having high ideas of episcopal power and great intrepidity of character, he was an energetic prelate and a severe disciplinarian. The best original sources for the history of this distinguished man are his own numerous letters and tracts, and the *Passio S. Cypriani* or account of his martyrdom, written by Pontius one of his deacons. He is very honourably mentioned by many of the fathers; and Gregory Naz. wrote a professed eulogy of him. The moderns also, especially the Roman Catholics and the English Episcopalians, have written elaborately concerning his history, his works, and his opinions. See Bp. Pearson's *Annales Cyprianici*, and Dodwell's *Dissertationes Cyprianicæ*, in the Oxford edition of Cyprian's works, 1682; Tillemont, *Mémoires à l'Histoire Eccles.* tome iv. p. 19, &c. and *Notes sur S. Cyprien*, p. 10, &c.; Prud. Maran. *Vita S. Cypriani*, prefixed to *Opp. Cypr.* ed. Paris, 1726, pages 38—134, and Milner's *Church Hist.* cent. iii. chap. vii.—xv.—His works consist of 81 Epistles, and 14 Treatises which are accounted genuine. His style is neither perspicuous nor chaste, but ardent and animated. The earlier editions of his works by Erasmus and others arranged his letters in books, without regard to their dates or subjects; the edition of Pamelius, 1556, re-published by Rigaltius, 1664, attempted to arrange them in chronological order; the Oxford edition by Bp. Fell, 1682, fol. perfected this arrangement; the edition prepared by Baluze and published by Prudentius Maran, Paris, 1726, fol. [the Benedictine edition] retains the order of Pamelius. The last two are the best editions.—*Mur.* [Cyprian's works were translated into English ostensibly from Fell's edition, but I suspect merely from the French translation of Lambert, by N. Marshall, Lond. 1717, folio. They have been recently translated anew and published in two volumes of the Oxford *Library of the Fathers*; volume iii. containing his thirteen treatises and volume xvii. his letters, with a very useful table prefixed, giving a scheme of the numbering of these epistles, which is different in the four principal editions of his works, and therefore very embarrassing; this volume also contains the extant works of Pacian. There is a separate biography of this eminent father entitled *The life and times of St. Cyprian*, by G. A. Poole.

by which the Christians were commonly attacked by their adversaries, in a manner so spirited and eloquent, that it cannot be disregarded except by those who are willing to be ignorant of the state of the church in this century.[1] The seven books of Arnobius, the African, against the Gentiles, are more full and copious, and though obscure in several places, will not be read without both pleasure and profit. Yet this rhetorician, who was superficial in his knowledge of Christian doctrines, has mingled great errors with important truths, and has set forth a strange philosophical kind of religion, very different from that ordinarily received.[2] The writers of less eminence I leave to be learned from those who have professedly enumerated the learned men among Christians.[3]

Lond. 1840, 8vo.; but it is not worthy of the subject, though it has been translated into French, being well adapted to the taste of the continental Romanists. I have not seen Rettberg's work mentioned by Danz, entitled *Cyprian dargestellt nach seinem Leben u. Wirken*, Gött. 1831. The life of Cyprian, which is given in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biog.* is from the pen of one of my colleagues, Professor Ramsay of the university of Glasgow, and, like all his works, is most carefully and accurately compiled.—*R.*

[1] Minutius Felix was a Christian advocate at Rome, and is supposed to have been contemporary with Tertullian, and to have flourished about the year 220. He is mentioned by Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. lviii. and by Lactantius, *Institut. Diviner.* lib. i. cap. xi. and lib. v. cap. i. Little is known of his history. His elegant dialogue between Cæcilius a pagan and Octavius a Christian, recounts the principal arguments urged for and against Christianity at that time, in a clear, concise, and forcible manner. The Latinity is pure and elegant. Jerome informs us that another tract now lost, *De Fato vel contra Mathematicos*, was ascribed to him, but from its style it was probably not his. In the middle ages the *Octavius* of Minutius was mistaken for the 8th book (Liber Octavus) of Arnobius; and it was so published in the earlier editions. It has been often republished. The best editions, cum notis variorum, are those of Gronovius, Leyden, 1709, 8vo.; and of Davis, Cambridge, 1707 and 1711, 8vo. The Germans are fond of the edition of Cellarius, 1698, 8vo, republished by Linder, 1760, and by Ernesti, 1773, 8vo. It has been translated into French, Dutch, [German,] and English; the last, by Reeves, among his *Apologies in defence of the Christian religion*, vol. ii. Lond. 1709, 8vo. —*Mur.*; [but much more accurately by Sir D. Dalrymple, with notes and illustrations, Edin. 1781. There is also a short but excellent account of this father and of the best editions of the *Octavius*, by Professor Ramsay, in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biog.* vol. ii. p. 144.—*R.*

[2] Arnobius, senior, was a teacher of rhetoric at Sicca in Africa, during the reign of Diocletian. See Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. lxxix. He was at first an open adversary of the Christian religion, but at length being fully convinced of its truth, he undertook to defend it in a learned and elaborate work. But either his knowledge of Christianity was then very limited, or he had studied the scriptures only in private and without seeking instruction from Christian teachers, for he entertained many singular opinions. Jerome reports (*Chron. ad. ann.* xx. *Constantini*), that when Arnobius applied to the bishop for Baptism, the latter refused him from doubts of the sincerity of his conversion; and that Arnobius wrote his book to satisfy the mind of the bishop. This account is called in question by some. See Lardner, *Credibility*, &c. part ii. vol. iv. p. 7, and Neander, *Kirchengesch.* vol. i. p. 1161, &c.. He probably wrote in the beginning of the fourth century, and died perhaps about A.D. 326. The best early editions of his work are those printed at Leyden, 1651 and 1657, 4to. The latest edition is that of Orel, Llps. 1816, 8vo, in 2 parts, with an Appendix, 1817, 8vo.—*Mur.*

[3] The following notices of other leading men in this century may be interesting to the literary reader.

Caius, a learned ecclesiastic of Rome, in the beginning of this century, is mentioned by Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. lix. and is quoted repeatedly by Eusebius. In his work against Proculus the Montanist he assailed the Chiliasts, and ascribed but 13 epistles to St. Paul. Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 25; iii. 28, and vi. 20. He has been supposed by some to be the author of the book against Artemon, quoted by Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 28.

Just before A.D. 200, Theophilus bp. of Antioch, Bacchylus bp. of Cæsarea in Palestine, and Polycrates bp. of Ephesus, called councils on the controversy respecting Easter day, and composed synodic epistles. See Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap xliii.—xlv. and Euseb. *H. E.* v. 23 and 25. From the epistle of Polycrates valuable extracts are made by Jerome, *ubi supra*, and Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 31, and v. 24.

At the commencement of this century lived Heraclitus, Maximus, Candidus, Appion, Sextus, and Arabianus, who were distinguished as writers, according to Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. xlvi.—li. and Euseb. *H. E.* v. 27. Heraclitus commentated on Paul's Epistles: Maximus wrote concerning the origin of evil (*περὶ τῆς ὕλης*, from which we have a considerable extract in Euseb. *Præpar. Evang.* vi. 22); Candidus and Appion explained the Hexaëmeron or six days' work, in Genesis; Sextus wrote on the resurrection; and Arabianus composed some doctrinal tracts.

Judas, of the same age, undertook a computation of the seventy weeks of Daniel; and brought down his history of events to A.D. 203. See Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. lii. and Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 7.

Ammonius was probably an Egyptian Christian, nearly contemporary with Origen; and not the apostate philosopher Ammonius Saccas, under whom Origen studied, though confounded with him by Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 19, and by Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. lv. See Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* iv. p. 161, and Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* p. 281, &c. He wrote a book on the agreement of Moses with Jesus, which is lost, and a *Harmony of the four Gospels*, which is supposed to be one of those still extant in the *Biblioth. Max. Patrum.* But whether the larger *Harmony*, in tom. ii. part ii. or the smaller, in tom. iii. is the genuine work, has been doubted. See Lardner, *Credibility*, &c. part ii. vol. ii. p. 106, &c.

Tryphon, a disciple of Origen, is said by Jerome (*De Viris Illustr.* cap. lviii.) to have been very learned in the scriptures, and to have written many epistles and tracts, and particularly a treatise concerning the red heifer in the book of Numbers, c. xix.; and another on the dividing of the birds in Abraham's sacrifice, Gen. xv. 10. Nothing of his is extant.

Symmachus, originally a Samaritan, then a Jew, and at last an Ebionite Christian, gave a free translation of the O.T. into Greek; and also defended the principles of the Ebionites, in a Commentary on Matthew's Gospel. See Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 17.

Narcissus was made bp. of Jerusalem, A.D. 196. After four years of faithful service he was falsely accused of immoral conduct; and though generally accounted innocent, he voluntarily abdicated his office and lived in retirement till A.D. 216, when he resumed his office and continued in it till his martyrdom, A.D. 237. He was then 116 years old. See Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 9, 10, 11.

Alexander succeeded Narcissus A.D. 327, and held the chair fourteen years. This eminent man was bishop of a church in Cappadocia when called to the see of Jerusalem. He was a great patron of Origen, and wrote several epistles, from which extracts are preserved. After important services to the church he died a martyr, A.D. 251. See Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. xlii. and Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 11, 14, 19, 26, 39, and 46.

Firmilian, bp. of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, was a great admirer and a disciple of Origen. He was a man of high eminence in the church, and died at Tarsus, on his way to the second council of Antioch against Paul of Samosata, about A.D. 266. A long and able epistle of his to Cyprian on the rebaptism of heretics, is preserved in a Latin translation among the works of Cyprian, *Ep.* 75. See Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 26, 27, 46, and vii. 5, 29.

Pontius, a deacon of Carthage, attended Cyprian at

his death, and wrote an account of his martyrdom, which has reached us, though perhaps interpolated. It is prefixed to Cyprian's works, and is found in Ruinart, *Acta Selecta Martyrum*. See Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. lxviii. Pontius himself, it is said, suffered martyrdom shortly after; of which an account is extant. professedly written by his fellow-deacon Valerius; in Baluze's *Miscellanea*, tom. ii. p. 124.

Cornelius, bp. of Rome, was elected June 2, A.D. 251, in opposition to Novatian; and, after fifteen months, died in banishment at Centumcellæ (Civita-Vecchia); Sept. 14, A.D. 252. In the works of Cyprian there are extant two epistles of Cornelius to Cyprian, and ten epistles of Cyprian to Cornelius. Cyprian describes him (*Ep.* 52, ed. Baluz.) as an unimpeachable character—a pious, sensible, modest man—well qualified to be a bishop. Jerome (*De Viris Illustr.* cap. lxvi.) mentions four epistles of Cornelius to Fabius bp. of Antioch, and Eusebius gives us a long and valuable extract from one of them. *H.E.* vi. 43. See Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. i.

Novatian, first a presbyter, and then the schismatical bishop of Rome, wrote (according to Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. lxx.) *De Pascha; De Sabbatho; De Circumcisione; De Sacerdote; De Oratione; De Cibis Judaicis* (extant, inter Opp. Tertulliani); *De Instantia; De Attalo; De Trinitate* (a large book, being an abridgment of a work of Tertullian extant, inter Opp. Tertul.) and many other works. An epistle written by him to Cyprian, in the name of the Roman clergy, A.D. 250, is likewise extant (See *Opp. Cypriani, Ep.* 31, ed. Baluz.) and shows that he was a man of talents and a good writer. His rival, Cornelius, describes him as a very bad man. See Euseb. *H.E.* vii. 43.

Stephen, bp. of Rome, A.D. 253—257, is chiefly famous for his presumptuous attempt to excommunicate Cyprian and many other bishops of Africa and the East, for rebaptizing converted heretics. See Euseb. *H.E.* vii. 2—5, 7; Cyprian, *Ep.* 70—75; Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. i.

Sixtus II. bp. of Rome, A.D. 257, 258, and a martyr, was more conciliatory than his predecessor. Euseb. *H.E.* vii. 5, 9. Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. i. Various suppositious writings are extant under his name. The most noted is a series of 460 moral Apophthegms, translated by Rufinus. Jerome (on Ezek. cap. xviii. and elsewhere), and Augustine, (*Retract.* lib. ii. cap. 42), pronounce them the work of Sixtus, a pagan philosopher; which they probably are, notwithstanding Sieber, their editor (Lips. 1725, 4to), has laboured hard to fix them on this Roman bishop.

Dionysius, bp. of Rome, A.D. 259—269, was a learned man and a good bishop. See Basil. *Ep.* 220, and *De Sp. Sancto*, cap. xxix; Euseb. *H.E.* vi. 7. He wrote an epistle against the Sabellians, of which Athanasius (*De Synodi Nicænæ Decretis*) has preserved an extract; also an epistle to Dionysius of Alexandria, acquainting him with the dissatisfaction of a council of bishops at Rome, with some expressions concerning the Trinity used by that patriarch, and requesting of him an explanation which was given in four Letters or Books. Athanasius, *Pro Sententia Dionys. Alex.* and Euseb. *H.E.* vii. 26; See Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. i.

Malchion, a presbyter and a teacher of philosophy at Antioch. He greatly distinguished himself in the third council against Paul of Samosata, A.D. 269. Two previous councils had been unable to convict the crafty heretic; but in this, Malchion encountered him in presence of the council while stenographers took down their dialogue. Paul was now convicted; and the Dialogue was published. Euseb. *H.E.* vii. 29; Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. lxxi.

Commodianus, a Christian poet, was probably an African, and contemporary, or nearly so, with Cyprian. See Dodwell's *Diss. de Ætate Commodiani*. He had a smattering of Greek and Latin learning; but was a weak though well meaning man. His book comprises eighty paragraphs, called Instructions. It is written acrostically, and in a loose kind of hexameter. The style is rude and the matter trite. The first half of the book is directed against the pagans, next he assails the unbelieving Jews, and then attempts to instruct all classes of Christians and all ranks of ecclesiastical functionaries. It was first published by Rigaltius, subjoined to Cyprian's works, A.D. 1650; and again in 1666. The editions with notes by Schurtzfleisch, 1710, and of Davis, subjoined to his *Minutius Felix*, Camb. 1711, 8vo, are the best.

Anatolius, a very scientific ecclesiastic of Alexandria, who by his address once delivered his townsmen from a siege. He was made Bishop of Laodicea in Syria about A.D. 270, and published canons for ascertaining Easter, from which Eusebius (*H.E.* vii. 32), has preserved an extract; and Institutes of Arithmetic, of which some fragments still remain. Euseb. (*ubi supra*) gives a long account of him. See also Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. lxxiii. What remains of his works has been published, Greek and Latin, by Bucherius in his *Doctrina Temporum*, Antw. 1634, fol.

Archelaus, bishop of Carrha in Mesopotamia, flourished about A.D. 278. He wrote in Syriac his disputation with Manes the heretic, which was early translated into Greek and thence into Latin. See Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. lxxii. A large part of the Latin copy was first published by Valesius, subjoined to Socrates, *Historia Eccles.*; afterwards, together with what remains of the Greek, by Zaccagnius in his *Collection of rare Works of the Greek and Latin Church*, Rome, 1698, 4to, pages 1—102; and, lastly, by Fabricius, ad finem *Opp. S. Hippolyti*, 2 vols. fol.

Pierius, a presbyter, and perhaps catechist of Alexandria. He was of Origen's school, very learned in the Scriptures, and wrote many discourses and expositions in a neat and simple style. He was called Origen Junior. His long discourse on the prophet Hosea is particularly noticed by Jerome. Photius (*Biblioth.* cxix.) mentions twelve books of his expositions. He was of an ascetic turn, lived considerably into the fourth century, and spent his latter years at Rome. Nothing of his remains. See Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. lxxvi.; and Eusebius, *H.E.* vii. 32.

Theognostus of Alexandria, a friend of Origen and perhaps successor to Pierius in the catechetic school. He wrote seven books of Hypotyposes; of which Photius (*Biblioth* cvi.) has preserved an abstract. Photius deemed him heretical in regard to the Trinity; but Athanasius makes quotations from him in confutation of the Arians. See Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* vol. xix. p. 108.

Lucian, a learned presbyter of Antioch. He adhered for some time to Paul of Samosata. To him most of the churches from Syria to Constantinople were indebted for corrected copies of the Septuagint. Jerome mentions him as the author of several theological tracts and letters; and a confession of faith drawn up by him is still extant in Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. x.; and in Walch's *Biblioth. Symbol. Vetus*, p. 29, &c. He was a very pious man, and suffered martyrdom at Nicomedia, A.D. 311. See Euseb. *H.E.* viii. 13, and ix. 6; and Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. lxxvii.

Hesychius, an Egyptian bishop and martyr, was famous at the same period for setting forth correct copies of the Septuagint in Egypt. Whether he was that Hesychius who compiled a useful Greek Lexicon, still extant, is uncertain. He died a martyr, A.D. 311. See Euseb. *H.E.* viii 13; and Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* vol. iv. p. 554, &c. [The student will see the question respecting the identity of the Christian martyr and the Greek grammarian discussed in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biog.* vol. ii. pages 446 and 448.—*R.*

Pamphilus the martyr was a native of Berytus, but a presbyter of Cæsarea in Palestine, where he established a school, and collected a theological library which has been of immense service to the Christian world. This library afforded to Eusebius, Jerome, and many others, the means of becoming learned divines, and of benefitting the world by their writings. To this establishment ecclesiastical history and biblical learning are peculiarly indebted. Pamphilus was a pupil of Pierius, an admirer of Origen, and the great friend and patron of Eusebius. He transcribed most of the works of Origen with his own hand; and he composed a biography and vindication of Origen, in five books, to which Eusebius added a sixth book. Only the first book is now extant; and that in a Latin translation of Rufinus, printed *inter Opp. Origenis*. Pamphilus took great pains to multiply and spread abroad correct copies of the holy Scriptures. His life was written by Eusebius, in three books, which are lost. He suffered martyrdom, A.D. 309, at Cæsarea in Palestine. See Euseb. *De Martyribus Palæstinæ*, cap. x. and vii.; and *H.E.* vi. 32, vii. 32, and viii. 13; Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. lxxv.

Victorinus, bishop of Petavio in Upper Pannonia (Pe-

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THEOLOGY.

1. To the common people the principal truths of Christianity were explained in their purity and simplicity, and all subtleties were avoided; nor were weak and tender minds overloaded with a multitude of precepts.[1] But in their schools and in their books the doctors who cultivated literature and philosophy, and especially those of Egypt, deemed it proper and becoming to subject Divine wisdom to the scrutiny of reason, or rather to the precepts of their philosophy; and to find out a hidden meaning in the doctrines taught by Christ. At the head of this class was Origen, who being fascinated with the Platonic philosophy, ventured to apply its laws to every part of religion, and persuaded himself that the philosophy which he admired could assign the causes and grounds of every doctrine, and determine its precise form.[2] He must indeed be acknowledged to have proceeded in this matter for the most part with timidity and modesty; but his example sanctioned this faulty mode of treating theology, and led his disciples to burst the barriers he prescribed, and to become very unguarded in explaining divine truths according to the dictates of philosophy. To these divines as the parents, that species of theology which is called philosophic or scholastic owes its birth, but it afterwards assumed various forms according to the capacity and erudition of the men who delighted in it.[3]

2. It is a singular circumstance that another species of theology which has been denominated mystic, and which has a natural tendency to destroy the former, originated from the same sources and nearly at the same time. Its authors are unknown; but its causes and the process of its formation are manifest. Its originators assumed that well-known doctrine of the Platonic school, which was approved also by Origen and his followers, that a portion of the Divine nature was diffused through all human souls; or to express the same thing in other words, that reason in us is an emanation from God himself, and comprehends the elements or first principles of all truths human and divine. Yet they denied that men, by their own efforts and care, can excite this divine spark within them; and therefore they disapproved of the endeavours of men to gain clear perceptions of latent truths by means of definitions, discrimination, and reflection. On the contrary they maintained that silence, inaction, solitude, repose, the avoidance of all active scenes, and the mortification and subjugation of the body, tended to excite this internal word [λόγος, or *reason*] to put forth its hidden energies, and thus to instruct men in divine things; for the men who neglect all human affairs, and withdraw their senses and their eyes from the contagious influence of material objects, do spiritually, or with the mind, return to God again; and being united with God they not only enjoy vast pleasure, but they see in its native purity and undisguised that truth which appears to others only in a vitiated and deformed state.

3. Such reasoning induced many in this

tau in Steyermark), wrote Commentaries on Gen. Exod. Levit. Isa. Ezek. Habak. Eccles. Cant. and the Revelation: also a book against all the heresies. He died a martyr, A.D. 303. Jerome says he understood Greek better than Latin; and therefore his thoughts are good, but his style bad. Cave (*Hist. Liter.* vol. i.) published a fragment of his Commentary on Genesis. Whether the Commentary on the Revelation, now extant under his name, be his, has been much doubted; because this comment is opposed to Chiliasm, whereas Jerome (*De Viris Illustr.* cap. xviii.) says that Victorinus favoured the sentiment of Nepos and the Chiliasts. See Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. lxxiv.—*Mur.*

[1] See Origen, in *De Principiis, Opp.* tom. i. p. 49, and lib. i. *De Princip.* cap. vii. p. 69, ed. De la Rue; also Gregory Neocæsar. *Expositio Fidei*, p. 11, *Opp.* ed. Vossii.

[2] In his *Stromata*, which are lost, and in his work *De Principiis*, which is preserved in the Latin translation of Rufinus. [See a long note of Mosheim on the philosophy and theology of Origen, in his *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* p. 604, &c. It does not appear that Origen regarded reason or philosophy as of higher authority than revelation. He believed indeed that there is a true philosophy as well as a false, and that the dictates of the former are to be received and confided in; but he also believed that the Scriptures contain a divine revelation which is to be received and followed with implicit confidence; and that no philosophy is true which contradicts the plain declarations of the Scriptures. At the same time he believed that the Scriptures for the most part only state the simple truths and facts of religion, without explaining the grounds and reasons of them; and that they state these truths and facts in a plain and popular manner without acquainting us with the metaphysical nature of the subjects. In his opinion it was the proper business of reason or philosophy to investigate more fully the causes and grounds of these religious truths and facts, and to examine and determine their metaphysical nature. Such it appears were Origen's fundamental principles. And how few are they who in this or in any age have adopted more consistent views? Yet he erred; and erred just as theologians have ever been prone to do, by relying too confidently on the correctness and certainty of what he regarded as the conclusions of true philosophy. His errors accordingly were nearly all in relation to religious philosophy, or ontology and metaphysics. He reasoned according to the reigning philosophy of the age and country in which he lived. He therefore believed in the pre-existence of human souls, and their incarceration in bodies for offences previously committed; that the senses are polluting to the soul and must be all mortified; that all rational beings are left of God to follow their own choice, and are restrained only by motives the most powerful of which is punishment; and that ultimately God will thus bring all his creatures to be wise and holy and happy.—*Mur.*

[3] In his *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* pages 658—667, Mosheim endeavours to show that Origen, by his religious philosophy, laid the foundations of mystic theology in the Christian church; but the evidence he adduces is by no means conclusive.—*Mur*

century to retire into deserts, and to emaciate their bodies by fasting and hardships; and by such motives rather than by fear of the Decian persecution, I suppose Paul the hermit was led to roam in the deserts of Thebais, and to lead a life more becoming an irrational animal than a human being.[1] This Paul is said to be the author of the institution of Eremites. But this mode of life prevailed among Christians long before Paul the hermit; in fact it was practised long before the Christian era, in Egypt, Syria, India, and Mesopotamia, and it still exists among the Mahometans as well as the Christians in those arid and burning climates;[2] for the heated atmosphere which overspreads those countries naturally disposes the inhabitants to repose and indolence, and to court solitude and melancholy.[3]

4. Among those who laudably employed themselves on the sacred volume, the first place is due to those who took earnest care that copies of the Bible might everywhere be found accurately written, and at a moderate price; that it might be translated into other languages, and that amended and faultless editions might become common. Many opulent Christians of those times are known to have expended no small portion of their estates in furtherance of these objects. In correcting the copies of the Septuagint version, Pierius and Hesychius in Egypt, and Lucian at Antioch, employed themselves with laudable industry. Nor should the nearly similar efforts of Pamphilus the martyr be passed without notice. But Origen passed all others in diligence and patient labour in this way. His *Hexapla*, though [nearly] destroyed by the ravages of time, will remain an eternal monument of the incredible application with which that great man laboured to subserve the interests of the Christian religion.[4]

5. The same Origen stands unquestionably at the head of the interpreters of the Bible in this century. But with pain it must be added, he was first among those who have found in the Scriptures a secure retreat for all errors and idle fancies. As this most ingenious man could see no feasible method of vindicating all that is said in the Scriptures, against the cavils of the heretics and the enemies of Christianity, provided he interpreted the language of the Bible literally, he concluded that he must expound the sacred volume in the way in which the Platonists were accustomed to explain the history of their gods. He therefore taught that the words in many parts of the Bible convey no meaning at all; and in some places where he acknowledged there was some meaning in the words, he maintained that under them there was contained a hidden and concealed sense, which was much to be preferred to their literal meaning.[5] And this hidden sense it is that he

[1] His life was written by Jerome. [See also the *Acta Sanctorum, Antwerp*, tom. i. January 10, p. 662.—*Schl.*

[2] See the *Travels of Paul Lucas*, A.D. 1714, vol. ii. p. 363. [The reader will recollect the Dervises and Fakirs who roam over the whole country from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Ganges. Jerome reports in the preface to his life of Paul of Thebais, on the questionable authority of Amathas and Macarius, two disciples of St. Anthony, that Paul the hermit of Thebais was the first who practised this mode of life. But high ideas of the sanctity of renouncing social and civilized life and dwelling in deserts among beasts, were prevalent before Paul in the middle of this century turned hermit. Thus Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem, obtained great reputation in the close of the second century, by secreting himself many years in the desert. Eusebius, *H. E.* lib. vi. cap. ix. x. The origin of religious eremitism may perhaps be traced back to the early pagan philosophers; for Porphyry (περὶ ἀποχῆς, sec. 35) assures us that the ancient Pythagoreans were distinguished for their attachment to this mode of life.—*Mur.*

[3] The peculiar predispositions of eastern habits to an anchorite life are very eloquently unfolded by Taylor, in his *Nat. Hist. of Enthusiasm*, 4th edit. p. 205, &c.—*R.*

[4] The fragments of this Herculean work which are preserved have been collected and published by that ornament of the once learned Benedictines, Bernh. de Montfaucon, Paris, 1713, 2 vols. fol. See also Buddeus, *Isagoge in Theologiam*, tom. ii. p. 1376, &c.; and Carpzov, *Critica Sacra Vet. Test.* p. 574. [Origen published both a *Tetrapla* and a *Hexapla*; that is, a fourfold and a sixfold Bible. The former contained in parallel columns, 1, Aquila's Greek version; 2, that of Symmachus; 3, the Septuagint version; 4, the Greek version of Theodotion. The *Hexapla* contained throughout six columns, generally eight, and occasionally nine, thus arranged:—1, The Hebrew text in the Hebrew character; 2, the Hebrew text in Greek characters; 3, Aquila's version: 4, that of Symmachus; 5, the Septuagint; 6, that of Theodotion; 7, and 8, two other Greek versions whose authors were unknown; 9, another Greek version. The three last being anonymous versions, are denominated the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Greek versions. The most useful parts of Montfaucon's *Hexapla* with additions, corrections, and notes, have been published in two vols. 8vo, by Bahrdt, Lips. 1769-70.—*Mur.*

[5] Here may be consulted the Preface of De la Rue to the second volume of Origen's works, ed. Paris, 1733, fol. With greater fulness and precision I have stated and explained Origen's system of biblical interpretation in my *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 629, where also his philosophy, his theology, and his contest with bishop Demetrius, are formally taken up and discussed. [With this may be compared the observations of that distinguished philologist, Professor Ernesti, in his *Dissertatio de Origene, interpretationis librorum SS. grammaticæ auctore*, written A.D. 1756. Ernesti shows that the merits of this Christian father, in regard to the criticism and exposition of the Old and New Testaments, were by no means small. The leading thoughts of Mosheim, as stated in his *Comment de Reb. Christ* &c. are the following:—Origen was not the inventor of the allegorical mode of expounding the Scriptures. It was in use among the Jews before the Christian era. (Ernesti goes farther, and seeks its origin in the schools of the prophets.) Philo was a great allegorist; and Pantænus and Clemens Alex. were the first Christian allegorists Origen took greater liberties in this mode of interpretation; and it was not simply his resorting to allegories, but his excesses in them, which drew upon him enemies. Before his day all interpreters explained the narrations and the laws contained in the Bible, according to their literal meaning; but Origen perversely turned a large part of biblical history into moral fables, and many of the laws into allegories. Probably he learned this in the school of Ammonius, which expounded Hesiod, Homer, and the whole fabulous history

searches after in his commentaries, ingeniously indeed, but perversely, and generally to the entire neglect and contempt of the literal meaning.[1] This recondite sense he moreover divides into the moral and the mystical or spiritual; the former containing instruction relative to the internal state of the soul and our external actions, and the latter acquainting us with the nature, the history, and laws of the spiritual or mystical world. He fancied that this mystical world was also twofold, partly superior or celestial, and partly inferior and terrestrial, that is the Church: and hence he divided the mystical sense of Scripture into the terrene or allegorical, and the celestial or anagogical. This mode of interpreting Scripture, which was sanctioned by Jewish practice, was current among Christians before the times of Origen; but as he gave determinate rules for it, and brought it into a systematic form, he is commonly regarded as its originator.

6. Innumerable expositors in this and the following centuries pursued the method of Origen, though with some diversity; nor could the few who pursued a better method make much head against them. The commentaries of Hippolytus which have reached us show that this holy man went wholly into Origen's method. And no better, probably, were the expositions of some books of the Old and New Testaments, composed by Victorinus, which are lost; but the *Paraphrase on the book of Ecclesiastes*, by Gregory Thaumaturgus, still extant, is not liable to the same objection, although its author was a great admirer of Origen. Methodius explained the book of Genesis, and

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of the Greeks allegorically. The predecessors of Origen, who searched after a mystical sense of Scripture, still set a high value on the grammatical or literal sense; but he often expresses himself as if he attached no value to it. Before him allegories were resorted to only to discover predictions of future events, and rules for moral conduct; but he betook himself to allegories, in order to establish the principles of his philosophy on a scriptural basis. All this must have been offensive to many Christians. His propensity to allegories must be ascribed to the fertility of his invention, the prevailing custom of the Egyptians, his education, the instructions he received from his teachers, and the example both of the philosophers, of whom he was an admirer, and of the Jews, especially Philo. To these may be added other causes. He hoped, by means of his allegories, more easily to convince the Jews, to confute the Gnostics, and to silence the objections of both. This he himself tells us, *De Principiis*, lib. viii. cap. viii. p. 164, &c.; but we must not forget his attachment to that system of philosophy which he embraced. This philosophy could not be reconciled with the Scriptures, except by a resort to allegories; and, therefore, the Scriptures must be interpreted allegorically, that they might not contradict his philosophy. He also believed that it was doing honour to the holy Scriptures, to consider them as diverse from all human compositions, and as containing hidden mysteries. See *Homily* xv. *on Genesis*, *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 99: and *Homily on Exod.*, *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 129; and finally, he thought many of the objections of the enemies of religion could not be fully answered w thout recurrence to allegories. His general principles for the interpretation of the sacred volume resolve themselves into the following positions:—1. The Scriptures resemble man. As a man consists of three parts, a rational mind, a sensitive soul, and a visible body, so the Scriptures have a threefold sense, a literal sense, corresponding with the body; a moral sense, analogous to the soul; and a mystical or spiritual sense, analogous to the rational mind. *Homily* v. *on Levit.* sec. 5. *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 209. 2. As the body is the baser part of man, so the literal is the less worthy sense of Scripture. And as the body often betrays good men into sin, so the literal sense often leads us into error. *Stromata*, lib. x. quoted by Jerome, b. iii. *Comment on Galat.* cap. iii. *Opp.* tom. i. p. 41. 3. Yet the literal sense is not wholly useless. *De Principiis*, lib. iv. sec. 12, p. 169; and sec. 14, p. 173. 4. They who would see farther into the Scriptures than the common people must search out the moral sense. 5. And the perfect, or those who have attained to the highest degree of blessedness, must also investigate the spiritual sense. *De Principiis*, lib. iv. sec. ii. p. 168. 6. The moral sense of Scripture instructs us relative to the changes in the mind of man, and gives rules for regulating the heart and life. 7. The spiritual sense acquaints us with the nature and state and history of the spiritual world, composed of two parts, the heavenly and the earthly. The earthly, mystical or spiritual world, is the Christian church on earth. The heavenly, mystical world is above, and corresponds in all its parts with the lower world, which was formed after its model. 8. As the Scripture contains the history of this twofold mystic world, so there is a twofold mystic sense of Scripture, an allegorical and an anagogical. 9. The mystic sense is diffused throughout the holy Scriptures. 10. Yet we do not always meet with both the allegorical sense and the anagogical in every passage. 11. The moral sense likewise pervades the whole Bible. 12. But the literal sense does not occur everywhere; for many passages have no literal meaning. 13. Some passages have only two senses; namely, a moral and a mystical [the mystical being either allegorical or anagogical, rarely both,] other passages have three senses [the moral, the mystical, and the literal.] 14. The literal sense is perceived by every attentive reader. The moral sense is somewhat more difficult to be discovered. 15. But the mystic sense none can discover with certainty, unless they are wise men, and also taught of God 16. Neither can even such men hope to fathom all the mysteries of the sacred volume. 17. In searching for the anagogical sense, especially, a person must proceed with peculiar care and caution.—*Schl.* [Mosheim states the following as Origen's general rule for determining when a passage of Scripture may be taken literally, and when not; viz. Whenever the words, if understood literally, will afford a valuable meaning, one that is worthy of God, useful to men, and accordant with truth and correct reason, then the literal meaning is to be retained; but whenever the words, if understood literally, will express what is absurd, or false, or contrary to correct reason, or useless, or unworthy of God, then the literal sense is to be discarded, and the moral and mystical alone to be regarded. This rule he applies to every part both of the Old Test. and the New; and he assigns two reasons why fables and literal absurdities are admitted into the sacred volume. The first is, that if the literal meaning were always rational and good, the reader would be apt to rest in it, and not look after the moral and mystical sense. The second is, that fabulous and incongruous representations often afford moral and mystical instruction which could not so well be conveyed by sober facts and representations. *De Principiis*, lib. iv. sec. 15, 16, tom. x. *Comment. in Joh.*—*Mur.* [For further views of Origen as a biblical expositor, the student should turn to Rosenmüller, *Hist. Interpret. Libr. Sacr.* tom. iii. p. 17—156; Simon, *Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test.* livr. iii. ch. ix. p. 439—442; Conybeare's Bampton Lectures, *on the Secondary and Spiritual Interpretation of Scripture*, Lond. 1824, p. 130—143; and Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics*, Edin. 1843, p. 96—105.—*R.*

[1] Origen, in his *Stromata*, lib. x. cited by De la Rue, *Opp.* tom. i. p. 41, says: *Multorum malorum occasio est, si quis in* carne *Scripturæ maneat. Quæ qui fecerint, regnum Dei non consequentur. Quamobrem* spiritum *Scripturæ* fructusque *quæramus qui non dicuntur ma-*

the Canticles; but his labours have not reached us. Ammonius composed a Harmony of the Gospels.

7. Origen, in his lost work entitled *Stromata*, and in his four books *De Principiis*, explained most of the doctrines of Christianity, or, to speak more correctly, deformed them with philosophical speculations. And these books of his *De Principiis* were the first compendium of scholastic, or, if you please, philosophic theology. Something similar was attempted by Theognostus, in his seven books of *Hypotyposes*, for a knowledge of which we are indebted to Photius,[1] who says they were the work of a man infected with the opinions of Origen. Gregory Thaumaturgus, in his *Expositio Fidei*, gave a brief summary of Christian doctrines. Certain points of the Christian faith were taken up by various individuals, in reply to the enemies or the corrupters of Christianity. Tracts on the Deity, the resurrection, antichrist, and the end of the world, were composed by Hippolytus. Methodius wrote on free-will, and Lucian on the creed; but as most of these treatises are no longer extant, their character is little known.

8. Among the writers on moral subjects (or practical theology), passing by Tertullian, who was mentioned under the preceding century, the first place belongs perhaps to Cyprian. From the pen of this extraordinary man we have treatises on the advantages of patience, on mortality, on alms and good works, and an exhortation to martyrdom. In these works there are many excellent thoughts, but they are not arranged neatly and happily, nor sustained by solid arguments.[2] Origen wrote, among other works of a practical nature, an *Exhortation to Martyrdom;* a topic discussed by many in that age, with different degrees of eloquence and perspicacity. Methodius treated of chastity, but in a confused manner, in his *Feast of Virgins*. Dionysius of Alexandria wrote on penance and on temptations. To mention other writers in this department would be needless.

9. Of polemic writers, a host might be mentioned. The idolaters were assailed by Minutius Felix, in his dialogue entitled *Octavius*; by Origen, in his eight books against Celsus; by Arnobius, in his eight books against the Gentiles; and by Cyprian, in his tract on the vanity of idols. The *Chronicon* of Hippolytus, written against the Gentiles; and the work of Methodius in opposition to Porphyry, who attacked Christianity, are lost. We may also place among polemic writers, both those who opposed the philosophers, as Hippolytus, who wrote against Plato, and those who treated of fate, of free-will, and of the origin of evil, as Hippolytus, Methodius, and others. Against the Jews, Hippolytus attempted something which has not reached us; but the *Testimonies* [from Scripture] *against the Jews*, by Cyprian, are still extant. Against all the sectarians and heretics, assaults were made by Origen, Victorinus, and Hippolytus, but nothing of these works has come down to us. It would be superfluous here to enumerate those who wrote against individual heretics.

10. But it must by no means pass unnoticed, that the discussions instituted against the opposers of Christianity in this age departed far from the primitive simplicity, and the correct method of controversy; for the Christian doctors, who were in part educated in the schools of rhetoricians and sophists, inconsiderately transferred the arts of these teachers to the cause of Christianity; and therefore considered it of no importance whether an antagonist were confounded by base artifices or by solid arguments. Thus that mode of disputing which the ancients called economical,[3] and which had victory rather than truth for its object, was almost universally approved. And the Platonists contributed to the currency of the practice by asserting that it was no sin for a person to employ falsehood and fallacies for the support of truth, when it was in danger of being borne down. A person ignorant of these facts will be but a poor judge of the arguments of Origen in his book against Celsus, and of the others who wrote against the worshippers of idols. Tertullian's

nifesti. He had said a little before:—*Non valde eos juvat Scriptura, qui eam intelligunt, ut scriptum est.* Who would suppose such declarations could fall from the lips of a wise and considerate man? But this excellent man suffered himself to be misled by the causes mentioned, and by his love of philosophy. He could not discover in the sacred books all that he considered true, so long as he adhered to the literal sense; but allow him to abandon the literal sense, and to search for recondite meanings, and those books would contain Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, and the whole tribe of philosophers. And thus nearly all those who would model Christianity according to their own fancy or their favourite system of philosophy, have run into this mode of interpreting Scripture.

[1] Photius, *Biblioth.* cod. cvi. p. 279. Photius represents him as erring, with Origen, in regard to the character of the Son of God; but Bull defends him against this charge, in his *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*, sec. ii. cap. x. sec. 7, p. 135. See concerning him Fabricius, *Bibioth. Gr.* lib. v. cap. i. vol. v. p. 276; and lib. v. cap. lxxxviii. vol. ix. p. 408 — *Schl.*

[2] See Barbeyrac, *De la Morale des Pères*, chap. viii. p. 104, &c.

[3] Souverain, *Platonisme dévoilé*, p. 244, Daillé, *De vero usu Patrum*, lib. i. p. 160; Wolfii, *Casauboniana*, p. 100. On the phrase, to do a thing κατ' οἰκονομίαν, Gataker has treated largely in his notes on Antoninus, lib. xi. p. 330, &c. [It signifies to do a thing artfully and dexterously, or with cunning and sagacity, as a shrewd manager of a household (οἰκονόμος) controls those under him.—*Mur.* [See Note 2, page 68, above.—*R.*

method of confuting heretics; namely, by prescription, was not perhaps altogether unsuitable in that age. But they who think it always proper to reason in this manner must have little knowledge of the difference which time and change of circumstances produce.[1]

11. This culpable disposition to circumvent and confound an adversary, rather than confute him with sound argument, produced also a multitude of books falsely bearing on their front the names of certain distinguished men. For the greater part of mankind, being influenced more by the authority of names than by arguments and scripture testimony, the writers conceived they should prefix names of the greatest weight to their books, in order to oppose successfully their adversaries. Hence those *Canons* which were falsely ascribed to the apostles; hence those *Apostolic Constitutions* which Clemens Romanus was reputed to have collected; hence too the *Recognitions of Clement*, as they are called, and the *Clementina*,[2] and other works of the like character, which a too credulous world long held in high estimation. By the same artifice the mystics, as they are called, sought to advance their cause. Having no answer to give to those who demanded who was the first author of this new sort of wisdom, they alleged that they received it from Dionysius, the Areopagite of Athens, a contemporary with the apostles; and to give plausibility to the falsehood, they palmed upon this great man books void of sense and rationality.[3] Thus they who wished to surpass all others in piety deemed it a pious act to employ deception and fraud in support of piety.

12. Among the controversies which divided Christians in this century, the most considerable were concerning the millennium, the baptism of heretics, and Origen. That the Saviour is to reign a thousand years among men before the end of the world, had been believed by many in the preceding century without offence to any; all, however, had not explained the doctrine in the same manner, nor indulged hopes of the same kind of pleasures during that reign.[4] In this century the millenarian doctrine fell into disrepute, through the influence especially of Origen, who opposed it because it contravened some of his opinions.[5] But Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, attempted to revive its authority in a work written against the allegorists, as he contemptuously styled the opposers of the millennium. The book and its arguments were approved by many in the province of Arsinöe, and particularly by Coracion, a pres-

1 See Spanheim, *Diss. de Præscriptione in Rebus Fidei, Opp.* tom. iii. p. 1079. [Tertullian's book was entitled *De Præscriptione Hæreticorum*, or *Præscriptionibus adversus Hæreticos*, which might be translated, On the *Presumption* in regard to Heretics, or *Presumptions* against them. The author attempts to confute all the heretics at once, and by means of an historical argument. He maintains that the orthodox churches were founded by the apostles and their approved assistants, who ordained the first pastors of these churches, and established in them all one and the same faith, which must of course be genuine Christianity, and that this faith, having been handed down pure and uncorrupted, is now contained in the creeds and inculcated in the assemblies of these churches. But he alleges that not one of these things can be said of the heretical churches, which had not such an origin, and embrace various differing creeds, and creeds derived from other sources. Being bred an advocate and familiar with the proceedings of courts, he gives a forensic form to his argument, not only by using the law term *Præscriptio*, but by maintaining that the orthodox were, and had always been, in right and lawful possession of that invaluable treasure, true Christianity; and that of course the heretics, who were never in possession of it, in vain attempt now to oust them of what they thus hold by legal prescription.—*Mur.*

2 Respecting these suppositious works, see the notes to sec. 19. chap. ii. part. ii. cent. i.—*R.*

3 The spurious works ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite (who is mentioned Acts xvii. 34), are the following:—*De Cœlesti Hierarchia, De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia, De Divinis Nominibus, De Mystica Theologia*, together with twelve epistles. They all relate to the mystic theology, and breathe a devout spirit, but are exceedingly obscure and difficult of comprehension. It is supposed they were written in the fourth or fifth century, as they bear marks of that period, and are not mentioned by any writer prior to the sixth century. The best edition of these works, Gr. and Lat. with copious notes, is that of Balthazar Corderius, Antwerp, 1634, 2 vols. fol embracing the Gr scholia of St. Maximus the martyr (A.D. 659), and the paraphrase of G. Pachymeras (A.D. 1280.)—*Mur.*

4 See the learned *Treatise concerning the True Millennium*, which Dr. Whitby has subjoined to the second volume of his *Commentary upon the New Testament.* See also, for an account of the doctrine of the ancient Millenarians, the fourth, fifth, seventh and ninth volumes of Lardner's *Credibility*, &c.—*Macl.* [Also H. Corodi's *Kritische Geschichte des Chiliasmus*, 2d ed. 1794, 3 vols. 8vo.—*Mur.*

5 See Origen, *De Principiis*, lib. ii cap. xi. *Opp.* tom. i. p. 104, and *Prolog. Comment. in Cantic. Canticor.* tom. iii. p. 28. The Cerinthians, Marcionites, Montanists, and Melitians, among the heretical sects, and among the orthodox fathers Papias, Justin Martyr, and Irenæus, held to a millennial reign of Christ, and Irenæus understood it in a very gross sense. Mosheim, in his *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 721, believed the doctrine had a Jewish origin; and he supposed the Christian doctors received, or at least tolerated it, because they hoped by it to make the Jews more willing to embrace Christianity. But Walch, in his *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ii. p. 143, is more discriminating, and maintains that the question, whether a millennial reign of Christ is to be expected, had a biblical origin, the earlier Chiliasts relying on the testimony of the Revelation; but the explanation of the doctrine was derived from the Jewish opinions. According to the account of Gennadius of Marseilles, *De Dogmat. Ecclesiast.* cap. lv. p. 32, the Chiliasts may be divided into four classes. The first open opposer of Chiliasm that we meet with, was Caius, a teacher in the Church of Rome, towards the end of the second century. He denied that the Revelation was written by John, and ascribed it rather to Cerinthus. But he effected very little. Origen was a more powerful opposer of the doctrine. He did not, like Caius, deny the canonical authority of the Apocalypse, but explained the passages in it which describe the millennial reign of Christ, allegorically, as referring to spiritual delights, suited to the nature of spirits raised to perfection, and these to be enjoyed, not on the earth, but in the world to come. See Mosheim, *Comment. de Reb Christ.* p. 720, &c. and Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ii. p. 136—151.—*Schl.*

byter of some respectability and influence. But Dionysius of Alexandria, a disciple of Origen, allayed the rising storm by his oral discussions and his two books on the divine promises.[1]

13. As no law had determined in what manner those who came over from heretical churches to the catholic Christians were to be received, different customs prevailed in different churches. Many of the Oriental and African Christians classed reclaimed heretics among the catechumens, and admitted them to the Christian ordinances by baptism. But most of the European Christians regarded the baptism administered by erring Christians as valid; and therefore received reclaimed heretics simply with imposition of hands and prayer. This diversity long prevailed without giving rise to contention. But in this century the Asiatic Christians determined in several councils, what before had been left at discretion, that all heretics coming over to the true church must be re-baptized.[2] This coming to the knowledge of Stephen, bishop of Rome, he with little humanity or prudence excluded those Asiatics from his fellowship and from that of his church. Notwithstanding this rashness of Stephen, Cyprian with other Africans, in a council called on the subject, embraced the opinion of the Asiatics, and gave notice of it to Stephen. Upon this Stephen was very indignant; but Cyprian replied with energy, and in a new council held at Carthage, again pronounced the baptism administered by heretics to be wholly invalid. The rage of Stephen now waxed hotter, and he most unjustly excluded the Africans from the rights of brotherhood. But the discord was healed partly by the moderation of the Africans and partly by the death of Stephen.[3]

14. The contests concerning Origen were moved by Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, who is reported by the friends of Origen to have been influenced by envy and hatred; which, however, is very doubtful. In the proceedings of Demetrius against Origen, one may discover marks of a mind exasperated, impassioned, arrogant, and unreasonable, but none scarcely of envy.[4] In the year 228 Origen took a journey to Achaia, and on his way suffered himself to be ordained a presbyter by the bishops of Cæsarea and Jerusalem. At this, Demetrius was greatly offended, because he deemed Origen unfit for such an office, on account of his having mutilated himself, and because being master of a school under him, he had been ordained without his knowledge and consent. The matter, however, was compromised, and Origen returned to Alexandria. But not long after, from some unknown cause, new dissension arose between him and Demetrius, which became so great that Origen left Alexandria and the school in the year 231, and removed to Cæsarea [in Palestine]. Demetrius accused him in his absence before an assembled council, and deprived him of his office without a hearing; and afterwards, in a second council divested him of his ministerial character. It is probable that Demetrius accused Origen before the council, particularly the last one, of erroneous sentiments in matters of religion; which it was easy for him to do, as Origen's book, *De Principiis*, which was full of dangerous sentiments, had been published not long before. The decision of the council at Alexandria was approved by the majority of the Christian bishops, though rejected by those of Achaia, Palestine, Phœnicia, and Arabia.[5]

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1 See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* vii. 24, and Gennadius Massiliensis, *De Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis*, cap. lv p. 32, ed. Elmenhorst. [Nepos held the Revelation to be an inspired book; and he maintained in opposition to the allegorists, that the passages which speak of a millennial reign of Christ must be understood literally, and as promising corporeal pleasures. But he does not appear to have defined clearly what these pleasures were to be, though he excluded eating, drinking, and marriage, as Mosheim supposes, *ubi supra*, p. 726. The very obscure and defective history of Nepos is explained, as far as it can be, by Walch, *ubi supra*, pages 152—167.—*Schl.* [See also Münscher, *Handbuch der Dogmenges.* vol. i. part iii. pages 1088—96.—*Mur.*

2 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* vii. cap. v. and vii. Firmillian, *Epist. ad Cyprianum*, in Cyprian's *Epist.* 75. The councils which decided this point, before Stephen's rash procedure, were (1) the council of Carthage, about A.D. 215. See Cyprian, *Ep.* 71 and 73—(2) that of Iconium in Phrygia, A.D. 235. Cyprian, *Ep.* 75. Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 4—(3) that of Synada, and (4) some others, which are barely mentioned in Cyprian, *Ep.* 75, and Euseb. *ubi supra*. See Walch, *Hist. der Kirchenversamml.* pages 91, 94, and 96.—*Mur.*

3 Cyprian, *Ep.* 70 and 73, and several others, ed. Baluze, Augustine, *De Baptismo contra Donatistas* lib. vi. and vii. *Opp.* tom. ix. where he gives the acts of the council of Carthage, A.D. 256. Prudent. Maran, *Vita Cypriani*, p. 107, and all the writers of the life of Cyprian. [The whole history of this controversy is discussed at large by Mosheim, *Comment. de Rebus*, &c. pages 540--547, and still more fully by Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ii. pages 328—384.—*Schl.*

4 Mosheim is singular in this opinion; which he defends at great length, in his *Comment. de Rebus.* &c. p. 671, &c. in opposition to the express testimony of Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 8, and Jerome. *Epist.* 29, *Opp.* tom. iv. part ii. p. 68. If Demetrius was not envious of the growing reputation of Origen, or otherwise affected by personal antipathy, it seems impossible to account for the rancour he manifested.—*Mur.*

5 This account is derived from the original sources, especially from Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 23. Photius, *Biblioth.* cod. cxviii. Jerome, *De Veris Illustr.* and Origen himself.—It differs, in some respects, from that given by the common writers, Doucin, Huet, and others. [That Demetrius accused Origen of erroneous sentiments, is a mere conjecture of Mosheim and others, which however is expressly denied by Jerome. *Epis. ad Paulam*, No. 29, *Opera*, tom. iv. par. ii. col. 68 and 480, ed. Martianay. Neither is it certain that Demetrius assembled two councils. See Walch, *Hist. der Kerchenversam.* p. 92, &c.—*Mur.*

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RELIGIOUS RITES.

1. ALL the monuments of this century which have come down to us show that there was a great increase of ceremonies. To the causes of this which have already been mentioned, may be added the passion for Platonic philosophy, or rather the popular superstition of the oriental nations respecting demons, which was adopted by the Platonists and received from them by the Christian doctors. For, from these opinions concerning the nature and the propensities of evil spirits, many of these rites evidently took their rise. Hence arose the public exorcisms, the multiplication of fasts, and the aversion to matrimony. Hence the caution not to have intercourse with those who were either not yet baptized, or had been excluded from the communion of the church, because such were considered as under the power of some evil spirit; and to pass over other things, hence the painful austerities and penances which were enjoined upon offenders.[1]

2. That the Christians now had in most provinces certain edifices in which they assembled for religious worship will be denied by no candid and impartial person. Nor would I contend strenuously against those who think these edifices were frequently adorned with images and other ornaments.[2] As to the forms of public worship and the times[3] set apart for it, it is unnecessary here to be particular, as little alteration was made in this century. Yet two things deserve notice. First, the public discourses to the people underwent a change. For, not to mention Origen, who was the first, so far as we know, that made long discourses in public, and in his discourses expounded the sacred volume, there were certain bishops, who being educated in the schools of the rhetoricians, framed their addresses and exhortations according to the rules of Grecian eloquence, and their example met the most ready approbation. Secondly, the use of incense was now introduced, at least into many churches. Very learned men have denied this fact; but they do it in the face of testimony which is altogether unexceptionable.[4]

3. Those who conducted religious worship annexed longer prayers and more of ceremony to the celebration of the Lord's Supper; and this I suppose with no bad intentions. Neither those doing penance nor those not yet baptized were allowed to be present at the celebration of this ordinance; which practice it is well known was derived from the pagan mysteries.[5] That golden and silver vessels were used in it, is testified among others by Prudentius,[6] and I see no reason to doubt the fact in respect to the more opulent Christian churches. The time of its administration was different, according to the state and circumstances of the churches. Some deemed the morning, some the afternoon, and some the evening, to be the most suitable time for its celebration.[7] Neither were all agreed how often this most sacred ordinance should be repeated.[8] But all believed it absolutely necessary to the attainment of

1 Whoever desires to look farther into this subject may consult Porphyry, *On Abstinence from Flesh*, and various passages in Eusebius, *Præparat. Evang.* and Theodoret, comparing them with the Christian institutions.

2 Yet there is most ground for the negative.—*Von Ein.*

3 The regular seasons for public worship were all Sundays, Good Friday, Easter, and Whitsunday. See Origen, against Celsus, book viii. p. 833. The anniversaries of the local martyrdoms were also observed.—Von *Ein.*

4 Beveridge, *Ad Canon.* iii. *Apostol.* p. 461, and his *Codex Canon. Vindicatus*, p. 78. [The Christians originally abhorred the use of incense in public worship as being a part of the worship of idols. See Tertullian, *Apolog.* cap. xlii.; and *De Corona Militis*, cap. x. Yet they permitted its use at funerals against offensive smells. Afterwards it was used at the induction of magistrates and bishops and also in public worship, to temper the bad air of crowded assemblies in hot countries, and at last degenerated into a superstitious rite. —*Schl.*

5 See Pfaff, Diss. ii. *De Pœnitic. Theolog.* sec. 13, p. 149, &c.; and Bingham, *Antiquit. Eccles.* book x. chap. v. —*Schl.*

6 Περὶ στεφάν. Hymn. ii. p. 60. ed. Heinsii [and Optatus Milevit. *De Schismate Donatist.* cap. xii. p. 17.—*Schl.* [In a very interesting document entitled *Gesta apud Zenophilum*, to be found in Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, vol. iv. p. 100, &c.; and in Optatus, *Opera*, p. 265, there is a circumstantial account of the plate and other property belonging to the Church of Cirta, now Constantina, in North Africa, in the year 303-4, during the Diocletian persecution, when the Roman authorities seized the effects belonging to the Christian communities. They found in this provincial church two golden and six silver cups, six silver pitchers, a small silver kettle (*cuccumellum*), seven silver lamps, two wax taper-stands (*cereofala*), a few brazen candelabra of seven lights each, eleven brazen lamps with their chains, eight hundred and twelve female dresses (*tunicæ mulicbres*), thirty-eight caps or veils (*maforteæ*), sixteen male tunics, thirteen pair of men's stockings, forty-seven pair of women's ditto, and nineteen *copiæ rusticanæ*, probably some kind of coarse dresses. In the *triclinium* of the church, perhaps the room for the love-feasts, or for the administration of baptism, there were four *dolia* or large tubs, and six earthen jars for wine. The Roman officials had great trouble in collecting the books (*codices*) of this church, in order to burn them. When they entered the library they found the shelves or presses all empty, but behind a chest they discovered *capitulata* (?) and a lamp, both of silver. From the readers, whom they traced out with some difficulty, and from the schoolmaster or *grammaticus*, they obtained in all thirty-seven codices, most of them apparently portions of the sacred Scriptures.—*R.*

7 See Cyprian, *Ep.* lxiii. p. 104.—*Schl.*

8 It was commonly administered every Sunday, as well as on other festival days; and in times of persecution, daily. See Cyprian, *De Oratione Domin.* p. 209, *Ep.* lvi. p. 90, *Ep.* llv. p. 78, ed. Baluze.—*Schl.*

salvation; and therefore they universally required infants to become partakers of it.[1] In some places the sacred feast preceded and in others followed the Lord's Supper.[2]

4. Baptism was publicly administered twice a-year to candidates who had gone through a long preparation and trial,[3] none being present as spectators but such as had been themselves baptized. The effect of baptism was supposed to be the remission of sins; and it was believed that the bishop, by the imposition of hands and by prayer, conferred those gifts of the Holy Spirit which were necessary for leading a holy life.[4] Of the principal ceremonies attending baptism we have before spoken. [Cent. ii. part ii. cap. iv. sec. 13.] A few things, however, must here be added. None were admitted to the sacred font until the exorcist, by a solemn and menacing formula, had declared them free from bondage to the prince of darkness and now servants of God. For after the opinion had become prevalent among Christians, that rational souls originated from God himself, and therefore were in themselves holy, pure, and morally free, the evil propensities of man must be considered as arising from the body and from matter, or some evil spirit must be supposed to possess the souls of men and impel them to sin. The Gnostics all embraced the first supposition; but the Catholics could in no wise embrace it, because they held that matter was created by God and was not eternal. They had therefore to embrace the second supposition, and to imagine some evil demon, the author of sin and of all evil, to be resident in all vicious persons.[5] The persons baptized returned home decorated with a crown and a white robe; the first being indicative of their victory over the world and their lusts, the latter of their acquired innocence.[6]

5. Greater sanctity and necessity were now attributed to fasting than was done before; because it was the general belief that demons laid fewer snares for the temperate and abstemious than for the full fed or luxurious.[7] The Latins were singular in keeping every seventh day of the week as a fast;[8] and as the Greek and Oriental Christians would not imitate them in this, it afforded abundant matter for altercation between them. Ordinarily Christians prayed three times a day, at the third, sixth, and ninth hours [9 A.M. 12 noon, and 3 P.M.], as was the custom of the Jews. Besides these regular hours of prayer, they prayed much and often; for they considered it the highest duty of a holy man to hold converse with God.[9] On joyful and festive occasions while giving thanks to God, they thought it suitable to pray standing, thus expressing their joy and confidence by the posture of their bodies; but on sorrowful occasions and seasons of fasting and humiliation, they were accustomed to make their supplications on their bended knees or prostrate, to indicate self-abasement.[10] That certain forms of prayer were everywhere used both in public and in private, I have no doubt;[11] but I am likewise confident that many persons poured out the feelings of

1 They believed that this ordinance rendered persons immortal, and that such as never partook of it had no hopes of a resurrection. Hence Dionysius Alex. (cited by Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 11), calls it, αἰσθητὴν μετὰ τοῦ Κυρίου συναγωγήν. That children also partook of it is testified by Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, pages 184 and 189, ed. Baluze. See Horn's *Hist. Eucharist. Infantum*, cap. iv. sec. 1, &c.; and cap. vi. sec. 3; also Bingham, *Antiquit. Eccles.* book xv. chap. iv. sec. 7.—*Schl.*

2 Chrysostom, *Homil.* xxii. *Oportet Hæreses esse*, *Opp.* tom. v.—*Schl.*

3 In the *Apostolic Constitutions*, book viii. chap. xxxii. a three years' preparation was enjoined, yet with allowance of some exceptions.—*Schl.*

4 This may be placed beyond all controversy by many passages from the fathers of this century. And as it will conduce much to an understanding of the theology of the ancients, which differed in many respects from ours, I will adduce a single passage from Cyprian. It is in his *Epist.* lxxiii. p. 131. *Manifestum est autem, ubi et per quos* remissa peccatorum *dari possit, quæ* in baptismo *scilicet* datur. — *Qui vero præpositis ecclesiæ offeruntur, per nostram orationem et manus impositionem* Spiritum Sanctum consequuntur. See also a passage from Dionysius Alex. in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. cap. viii.

5 That *exorcism* was not annexed to baptism till some time in the third century, and after the admission of the Platonic philosophy into the church, may almost be demonstrated. The ceremonies used at baptism in the second century are described by Justin Martyr, in his second *Apology*, and by Tertullian in his book *De Corona Militis;* but neither makes any mention of exorcism. This is a cogent argument to prove that it was admitted by Christians after the times of these fathers, and of course in the third century. Egypt perhaps first received it.

6 Perhaps also of their freedom. Schwarz, *Diss. de Ceremoniis et Formulis a Veterum Manumissione ad Baptismum translatis.* Cyprian refers to the white garments, *De Lapsis*, p. 181.—*Schl.*

7 Clementina, *Homil.* ix. sec. 9, p. 688, &c.; Porphyry, *De Abstinentia*, lib iv, p. 417, &c. and others.

8 See *Concilium Eliberitanum*, Canon 26.—*Schl.*

9 See Cyprian, *De Oratione*, p. 214.—*Schl.*

10 See Cyprian, *De Oratione*, p. 214; and *Constitut. Apostol.* lib. ii. cap. lix.—*Schl.*

11 In the earliest times, exclusive of the short introductory salutation, *Pax vobiscum*, &c. no established forms of prayer were used in public worship, but the bishop or presbyter poured forth extempore prayers. See Justin Martyr, *Apology* ii. The Lord's prayer was used not only as a pattern, but also as a formula of prayer. Yet only the baptized and not the catechumens, might utter it. Tertullian, *De Oratione*, cap. i. ix.; Cyprian, *De Oratione Domin.* and *Constitut. Apostol.* lib. vii. cap. xliv. Afterwards various forms were gradually introduced, and particularly short prayers derived from passages of Scripture. When greater uniformity in the churches as to ceremonies was introduced, the smaller churches had to regulate their forms of prayer conformably to those of the larger churches, and of course to adopt the formulas of the metropolitan churches. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, lib. vi.; and *Homilia in Jerem.;* Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini Mag.* lib. iv. cap. xix. xx. xvii.; *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. xvii.; Lactantius, *De Mortib. Persecutor.* cap. xlvi. xlvii. See Baumgarten's *Erläuterung der Christlichen Alterthümer*, p. 432.—*Schl.*

their hearts before God in free and unpremeditated effusions. They supposed there was great efficacy in the sign of the cross against all sorts of evils, and particularly against the machinations of evil spirits; and therefore no one undertook anything of much moment without first crossing himself.[1] Other ceremonies I pass without notice.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF DIVISIONS OR HERESIES IN THE CHURCH.

1. MOST of the sects which disquieted the church in the preceding centuries, caused it various troubles also in this; for the energies of the Montanists, Valentinians, Marcionites, and other Gnostics, were not wholly subdued by the numerous discussions of their tenets. Adelphius and Aquilinus of the Gnostic tribe, but very little known, endeavoured to insinuate themselves and their doctrines into the esteem of the public at Rome and in Italy.[2] But these and others of the same class were resisted by Plotinus himself, the coryphæus of the Platonists of this age, and by his disciples, with no less boldness and energy than the orthodox Christians were accustomed to manifest; for the philosophical opinions of this faction concerning God, the origin of the world, the nature of evil, and other subjects, could not possibly meet the approbation of the Platonists. These united forces of the Christians and the philosophers were doubtless competent to bring the Gnostics gradually to lose all credit and influence among the well-informed.[3]

2. While the Christians were struggling with these corrupters of the truth, and upon the point of gaining the victory [a little past the middle of this century], a new enemy, more fierce and dangerous than those, suddenly appeared in the field. Manes,[4] whom his disciples called Manichæus,[5] a Persian,[6] educated among the Magi, and himself one of the Magi before he became a Christian, was instructed in all the sciences and arts which were in repute among the Persians and the adjacent nations, and was an astronomer (though a rude one), a physician, a painter, and a philosopher; but he had an exuberant imagination, and, as appears very probable, was delirious and fanatical. This man adventured to combine the principles of the Magi with Christianity, or rather to explain the latter by the former. To facilitate the accomplishment of this object, he gave out that Christ had left the way of salvation imperfectly explained, and that he himself was the Paraclete whom the Saviour promised to send to his disciples when he left the world. Many were seduced by his eloquence, his grave aspect, and the simplicity and innocence of his life, and in a short time he established a sect; but at last he was put to death by Varanes I. King of the Persians. The cause, time, and manner of his execution, are variously stated by the ancients.[7]

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1 The Christians at first used the sign of the cross, to bring to remembrance the atoning death of Christ, on all occasions. Hence Tertullian, *De Corona Militis*, cap. iii. p. 121, says:—Ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum, ad vestitum, ad calciatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quæcunque nos conversatio exercet, frontem crucis signaculo terimus. Compare also his work, *Ad Uxorem*, lib. ii. So late as the second century the Christians attached no particular virtue to the sign of the cross, and they paid it no adoration. See Tertullian, *Apologet.* cap. xvi.; and *Ad Nationes*, cap. xii.; but afterwards powerful efficacy began to be ascribed to it. See Cyprian, *Testimonia adv. Judæos*, lib. ii. cap. xxi. xxii. p 294; and Lactantius, *Institut.* lib. iv. cap. xxvii. xxviii.—*Schl.*

2 Porphyry, *Vita Plotini*, cap. xvi. p. 118, &c.

3 The book of Plotinus against the Gnostics is still extant among his works. *Ennead* ii. lib. ix. p. 213, &c. [Semler, in his *Historiæ Eccles. Selecta Capita*, vol. i. p. 81, conjectures, and not without reason, that the Gnostics and all the assailants of the Old Testament, lost their power after Origen introduced the allegorical and tropological mode of expounding Scripture, and extended it in some measure to the history of Christ. And as he further supposes, the labours of Dionysius Alex. and other learned fathers, *e.g.* Dorotheus, a presbyter of Antioch (who understood the Hebrew; Eusebius, *H.E.* vii. 32), may have contributed much to diminish the Gnostic party, as they carried investigation farther and more lucidly confuted the Jewish notions, and at the same time approximated a little towards the Gnostic doctrines concerning the Son of God. Hence it is we hear no more about the Gnostics in this century; and the few who still remained united themselves with the Manichæans.—*Schl.*

4 The oriental writers call him Mani; (Hyde, *De Relig. Vet. Persarum*, cap. 21; and D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orientale*, art. *Mani*); but the Greeks and Latins call him Μάνης, Μάνεις, and Manes. See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer*. vol. i. p. 691.—*Schl.*

5 See the *Acta Archelai*, cap. v. 49; Augustine, *De Hæresib.* cap xlvi.; and *Contra Faustum*, lib. xix. cap. xxii.—*Schl.* [See the *Acta Disputationis Archelai Epis. et Manetis Hæresiar.* in Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, vol. iv. p. 111, Oxfd. 1818.—*R.*

6 Notwithstanding the Greek and oriental writers represent Manes as being a Persian, Walch (*Hist. der Ketzer*. vol. i. p. 708), and Beausobre (*Hist. Crit. de Manichée*, tome i. p. 66), think it more probable that he was a Chaldean; because Ephrem Syrus expressly so states, *Opp. Syro-Latin.* tom. ii. p. 468; and because Archelaus, in his *Acta, ubi supra*, cap. xxxvi. charges Manes with understanding no language but that of the Chaldees.—*Schl.*

7 All that is extant concerning the life, actions, and doctrines of this very singular genius, has been very carefully collected and reviewed ingeniously, though often with more ingenuity and copiousness, than were necessary by Beausobre, in his *Hist. Critiq. de Manichée et du Manichéisme*, Amsterdam, 1734—39, 2 vols. 4to. [Whoever would gain the best acquaintance with the history of Manes and the Manichæans, may consult, besides Beausobre, *ubi supra*, the long essay of Mosheim, in his *Comment. de Rebus*, &c. pages 728—903; Wolf, *Manichæismus ante Manichæos*, &c. Hamb. 1707, 8vo; Lardner's *Cred. of the Gos. Hist.* part ii. vol. iii pages 364—753; and Walch's *Hist. der Ketzer*. vol. i. pages 685—814. These principal writers being consulted, all the rest may be neglected. The last of these works has the great advantage that it concentrates

3. The religious system of Manes is a compound of Christianity and the ancient philosophy of the Persians, which he had imbibed in early life. What the Persians relate concerning their Mithras, Manes applied to Christ. According to his views and those of the Persians, there are two first principles of all things, a subtile and very pure substance or light, and a gross and corrupt substance or darkness. Over each of these a Lord has reigned from all eternity. The Lord of light is denominated God; the regent of the world of darkness is called Hyle (ὕλη, *matter*), or dæmon (the devil). These two Lords are of opposite natures and dispositions. The Lord of light, as he is himself happy, so he is beneficent; the Lord of darkness, being himself miserable, is malignant, and wishes others also to be miserable. Each has produced a numerous progeny of his own peculiar character, and distributed them over his empire.

4. For a very long period of time the prince of darkness was ignorant of the existence of light, and of the world of light; but on occasion of a war which arose in his kingdom, he gained some knowledge of the light; and on discovering it, he was eager to possess it. The Lord of light opposed him with an army; but the general of the celestial army, whose name was The First Man, was rather unsuccessful; and the troops of darkness succeeded in getting possession of a considerable portion of the celestial elements, and of light itself, which is an animate substance, and these they mixed with depraved matter. The next general on the side of the world of light, called The Living Spirit, conducted the war more successfully; yet he was unable to liberate the celestial substance now in combination with the vicious elements. The vanquished prince of darkness produced the parents of the human race. The men who are born of this stock consist of a body formed from the depraved matter of the world of darkness, and of two souls, the one sensitive and concupiscent which they derived from the prince of darkness, the other rational and immortal, being a particle of that divine light which was plundered by the army of darkness and immersed in matter.

5. Men being thus formed by the prince of darkness, and minds which were the daughters of eternal light being inclosed in their bodies, God now, by the living Spirit who had before vanquished the prince of darkness, formed this our earth out of vicious matter, that it might become the residence of the human race, and afford God advantages for gradually delivering souls from their bodies, and separating the good matter from the bad. Afterwards God produced from himself two majestic beings, who should afford succour to the souls immured in bodies, namely, Christ and the Holy Spirit. Christ is the being whom the Persians call Mithras. He is a most splendid substance, consisting of the purest light of God, self-existent, animate, excelling in wisdom, and having his residence in the sun. The Holy Spirit likewise is an animate and lucid substance, which is diffused through the whole atmosphere that encompasses our earth, warms and enlightens the souls of

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arranges properly, criticises acutely and solidly, and expresses in a lucid and agreeable style all that has been said on the subject by the useful Wolf, the agreeable and learned but prolix Beausobre, the acute Mosheim, and the solid and critical Lardner. — *Von Ein.* [In regard to the *History of Manes*, there is much disagreement between the oriental and the Grecian writers. Yet in the particulars stated in the text there is no disagreement. We will extract from Mosheim's *Comm. de Reb. Christ.* p. 734, &c. so much as is necessary to give a history of this extraordinary man. Manes, on meeting with the books of the Christians, found that the religion they contained coincided with his philosophy in some respects, and contradicted it in others. He determined to unite the two together, to enlarge and improve the one by the other, and thus to give the world a new religion. He began by giving out that he was the Paraclete (ὁ Παράκλητος, John xvi. 7, 13, &c.) and perhaps he really supposed he was so. He rejected or altered such books of the Christians as contravened his opinions, and substituted others in their place, particularly those which he pretended were written by himself under a divine impulse. The King of Persia threw him into prison, but for what cause is unknown. The Greek writers (especially Archelaus, in his *Acta Disputationis*, &c. who furnished the other Greek and Latin writers with nearly all the historical facts they state), represent that he was imprisoned, because having promised to cure the king's son, he failed and caused the death of the young prince. A different account is given by the oriental writers, Persian, Syrian, and Arabian, cited by D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orient.* art. *Mani*; Hyde, *Historia Relig. Veter. Persarum*, cap. xxi., Renaudot, *Historia Patriarch. Alexandrinor.* p. 42; Pocock, *Specimen Hist. Arabum*, p. 149, &c. They state that Manes, coming to the court of King Sapor, was received kindly; and that his doctrines were embraced by the monarch. Hereupon Manes became so bold as publicly to attack the Persian religion. This drew on him persecution, and so endangered his life that he was obliged to flee into Turkistan. Here he collected many followers, and spent a whole year in a cave, where he composed his book entitled *Ertenq*, or *Arzenq*, *i.e.* the *Gospel*, and which is adorned with splendid paintings. This book he represented to be a gift of God. In the mean time Sapor died, and was succeeded by his son Hormisdas, who was so favourable to Manes as to embrace his religion. After the death of Hormisdas, Varanes I. succeeded to the throne. He was at first well disposed towards Manes, but soon turned against him and determined on his destruction. For this purpose he allured him from his safe retreat, under pretence of a disputation with the Magi, and caused him to be put to death as a perverter of the true religion. This took place in the year 278; or, according to Walch, (*Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. i. p. 724) in the year 277. The shocking fate of Manes rather animated than terrified his followers. The most able and eloquent of them roamed through Syria, Persia, Egypt, Africa, and over most parts of the world; and by the severity of their morals and the simplicity of their religion, they everywhere made proselytes. And notwithstanding all the persecutions which have befallen them, their descendants exist to this day, in the mountains between Persia and India.— *Schl.* [More recent writers may be consulted, viz. Neander *Kirchengesch.* vol. i. part ii. pages 813—56, and Von Reichlin Meldegg, *Die Theologie des Manes u. ihr Ursprung.* 1825, 8vo.—*Mur.*

men, fecundates the earth, elicits gradually from it the latent particles of divine fire, and wafts them upward that they may return to their native world.

6. After God had for a long time admonished the captive souls immured in bodies, by angels and by men instructed by himself, he, at length, in order to accelerate their return to the heavenly country, directed Christ, his son, to descend from the sun to this our world. He being clad in the form and shadow of a human body, but not joined to a real body, appeared among the Jews, pointed out the way in which souls may extricate themselves from the body, and proved his divinity[1] by his miracles. But the prince of darkness instigated the Jews to crucify him. This punishment, however, he did not actually endure, because he had not a body; but the people supposed he was crucified. Having accomplished his embassy, Christ returned to the sun, his former residence, and charged his apostles to propagate the religion he had taught them throughout the world. Moreover, when about to depart he promised to send at some time a greater and more perfect apostle, whom he called the Paraclete, who should add many things to the precepts he had delivered, and dispel all errors in regard to religious subjects. This Paraclete promised by Christ was Manes the Persian, who by command of God explained the whole doctrine of salvation perfectly, and without any ambiguity or concealment.

7. The souls which believe Jesus Christ to be the Son of God cease from worshipping the God of the Jews (who is no other than the prince of darkness), obey the laws which were given by Christ and enlarged and explained by Manes, the Paraclete, and perseveringly resist the lusts of the evil soul, these shall progressively become purified from the contaminations of base matter. Yet the entire purgation of the soul cannot be effected in the present life. Therefore souls when freed from the body must undergo a twofold purification after death, before they are admitted into the world of light; the first purification is by sacred water, and the second by sacred fire. They first go to the moon, which consists of sacred water, and are there purified during fifteen days; thence they proceed to the sun, the holy fire of which removes entirely all their remaining pollution. The bodies which they left behind, being formed of base matter, revert back to their original mass.

8. But the souls which have neglected the means for their purgation will, after death, pass into other bodies, either of animals or of other beings, until they become cleansed. Some also, being peculiarly depraved, will be delivered over to the evil demons inhabiting our atmosphere, to be tormented for a season. When the greater part of the souls shall be liberated and restored to the world of light, then, at the command of God, infernal fire will burst from the caverns in which it is contained, and will burn up and destroy the fabric of this world. After these events, the prince and powers of darkness will be compelled to retire to their wretched country, where they must remain for ever. For, to prevent their renewing war against the world of light, God will encompass the world of darkness with an invincible guard. That is to say, the souls whose salvation has become desperate will keep watch like soldiers about the world of darkness, so that its miserable inhabitants can no more go out.

9. To give these monstrous opinions some plausibility, Manes rejected nearly all the sacred books in which the Christians believed their religion was contained. The Old Testament especially he pronounced to be the work, not of God but of the prince of darkness, whom he represented the Jews as worshipping in place of the true God. The four histories of Christ which we call Gospels, he either denied to have been composed by the apostles, or he maintained that if they were so, they had been corrupted, interpolated, and stuffed with Jewish fables by crafty and deceitful men. In place of them he substituted another gospel which he denominated Erteng, and which he affirmed had been dictated to him by God himself. The Acts of the Apostles he wholly rejected. The Epistles which are ascribed to St. Paul he admitted to have been written by him, but maintained that they were adulterated. What he thought of the other books of the New Testament we are not informed.

10. The rules of life which Manes prescribed for his followers were peculiarly rigorous and severe. He directed them to mortify and macerate the body, which he regarded as the very essence of evil and the work of the prince of darkness, to deprive it of every convenience and gratification, to extirpate every sensual appetite, and to divest themselves of all the propensities and instincts of nature. But as he

[1] Not his *Divinity*; for this, in the true and proper sense of the word, the Manichæans could not predicate of Christ nor of the Holy Ghost. They held neither of them to be more ancient than the world. See Fortunatus in his dispute with Augustine, i. p. 69. They believed that the light of the Son might be obscured by intervening matter, but that the light of the Father could not. See Mosheim, *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 775, &c.—*Schl.*

foresaw that he could expect few to embrace his system, if he imposed upon all without discrimination such severe rules of life, he divided his followers into two classes, the elect and the hearers; that is, the perfect Christians and the imperfect. The former, or the elect, were to abstain from flesh, eggs, milk, fish, wine, and every inebriating drink, from marriage and from every indulgence of sexual passions, to live in the most abject poverty, to sustain their emaciated bodies with bread, herbs, pulse, and melons, to abstain from all active life, and to be devoid both of love and hatred. A milder rule was prescribed for the hearers. They might possess houses, lands, and goods, eat flesh though sparingly, and marry wives: yet even these indulgences had their limitations. The whole body of Manichæans were subjected to one president, who represented Jesus Christ; with him were connected twelve masters or rulers, who represented the twelve apostles; next to these there were seventy-two bishops, corresponding with the seventy-two disciples of Christ; and under each bishop there were presbyters and deacons. All these officers were from the class of the elect.[1]

11. The sect of the Hieracites was formed in Egypt near the close of this century, by Hierax of Leontopolis, who was a book-copier by trade, a man of learning and venerable for the visible sanctity of his deportment. Many have supposed that this sect was a branch of the Manichæan family, but erroneously; for although Hierax held some notions in common with Manes, yet he differed from him in many respects. He believed it was the great business of Christ to promulgate a new law, more perfect and more strict than that of Moses. Hence he concluded that Christ had prohibited to his followers, marriage, flesh, wine, and whatever was grateful to the senses or the body; which things had been allowed by Moses, but were abrogated by Christ. Yet if we duly consider all accounts, we shall conclude that Hierax, as well as Manes, did not suppose these severe injunctions were imposed by Christ on all his followers, but only on those who aspired after the highest attainments in virtue. To this radical error he added others, either growing out of it or originating from other sources: for example, he excluded infants, who died before they came to the use of reason, from the kingdom of heaven; because divine rewards could be due to none but such as had actually passed through regular conflicts with the body and its lusts. He also maintained that Melchisedec, the king of Salem who blessed Abraham, was the Holy Spirit. The resurrection of the body he denied, and the whole sacred volume, especially its historical parts, he obscured with allegorical interpretations.[2]

12. The controversies respecting the Trinity which commenced in the preceding century, from the time when Grecian philosophy got into the church, had a wider spread in this century and produced various methods of explaining that doctrine. First [in the early part of the century] Noëtus, a man of whom little is known, a native of Smyrna, maintained that God himself whom he denominated the Father, and held to be absolutely one and indivisible, united himself with the man Christ, whom he called the Son, and in him was born and suffered. From this dogma of Noëtus his adherents were called Patripassians; *i.e.* persons who held that the great Parent of the universe himself, and not merely some one person of the Godhead, had made expiation for the sins of men. Nor were they unfitly denominated so, if the ancients correctly understood their views.[3]

1 All these particulars are more fully stated and supported by citations from antiquity, in my *Comment. de Rebus Christ.* &c. [pages 728—903; with which the reader should compare Walch's *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. i pages 685—814. From both we extract the following notices respecting the worship of this sect. They reverenced the sun and the moon, though they did not account them deities. Their worship was so simple, that they claimed to be farther removed from paganism than all other Christians. They had no temples, no altars, no images, no oblations, and no burning of incense. They observed Sundays which they kept as fasts. But they observed none of the Christian festivals which relate to the incarnation and baptism of Christ. They celebrated the memorial of Christ's death but with little of devotion. Whether they observed Easter is uncertain, but they observed the anniversary of Manes' death, which they called Bama (βῆμα), with great devotion. Fasting was one of their most important religious exercises. They kept sacred Sundays and Mondays. They made use of baptism, but did not baptize either children or grown persons who were only hearers; and even to the elect, it was left optional whether they would be baptized or not. The elect observed likewise the Lord's Supper, though it is not known what they used in place of wine, which was with them altogether prohibited.—*Schl.* [The student may also consult, on Manes or Mani and his system, Matter, *Hist. du Gnost.* vol. iii. p 70, &c.; Gieseler, *Lehrbuch*, sec. 61, Davidson's Transl. vol. i. p. 223; Milman's *Hist. of Christ*, vol. ii. p. 322, &c. where he will find much authentic information from the best sources; and Rose's translation of Neander's *Kirchenges.* vol. ii p. 140, &c. —*R.*

2 Epiphanius, *Hæres.* lxvii [and Augustine, *Hæresib.* cap. xlvii.] from whom nearly all others have borrowed, with little exception, all they state. [See Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* &c. pages 903—910; Walch, *Hist. der Ketz.* vol. i. pages 815—823; Tillemont, *Mém. pour servir à l' Hist. Eccléс.* tome iv. p. 411, and Lardner's *Credib. of the Gos. Hist.* part ii. vol. vi. p. 76, &c.—*Schl.*

3 See Hippolytus, *Sermo contra Hæresin Noëti*, in his *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 5, ed. Fabricii; Epiphanius, *Hæres.* lvii. *Opp.* tom. i. p. 479; Theodoret, *Hæret. Fabul.* lib. iii. cap. iii.; *Opp.* tom. iv. p. 227. [Noëtus so held the unity of God as to discard the orthodox opinion of a plurality of persons in the Godhead. In fact he acknowledged but one person, who is designated in the Scriptures by the title of the Father. Noëtus therefore was

13. After the middle of the century appeared Sabellius, an African presbyter or bishop, at Ptolemais, the principal city in Pentapolis, a province of Libya Cyrenaica. He explained what the scriptures teach concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in a manner somewhat different from Noëtus, and gathered a number of followers, although he was confuted by Dionysius of Alexandria. Noëtus had supposed that God the Father, personally, assumed the human nature of Christ; but Sabellius held that only a certain energy put forth by the supreme Parent, or a certain portion of the divine nature being separated from it, became united with the Son or the man Christ. And the Holy Spirit he considered as being a similar portion or part of the eternal Father.[1] Hence it appears that the Sabellians must have been denominated by the ancients Patripassians, in a different sense of the word from that in which the Noëtians were so called. Yet the appellation was not wholly improper.

14. Nearly at the same time [about A.D. 244], Beryllus, bishop of Bostra in Arabia, a pious and learned man, taught that Christ before his birth of the Virgin had no distinct divinity, but only that of the Father. This proposition, if we duly consider what is reported concerning him by the ancients, contained the following sentiment: that Christ had no existence before he was born of Mary; that at his birth, a soul, originating from God himself, and therefore superior to the souls of all men, being a particle of the divine nature, entered into and was united with the man. Beryllus was so lucidly and energetically confuted by Origen in a council assembled at Bostra [A.D. 244], that he gave up the cause, and returnd into the bosom of the church.[2]

15. Very different from him, both in

a Unitarian, as respects the doctrine of three persons; but in regard to the character of Christ, he held better views than the Socinians. So far as relates to two natures united in one person in Christ, he agreed with the orthodox; but the divine person which was united with the human nature, according to Noëtus' views, was no other than the person of the Father, because there was no other person in the Godhead. See Mosheim, *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* pages 681—687; and Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ii. pages 1—13.—*Schl.*

1 Most of the ancients who wrote against the heretics, speak of Sabellius [especially Epiphanius, *Hæres.* lxii. and Theodoret, *Hæret. Fabul.* lib. ii. cap. ix.] To these add Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. cap. vi.; Athanasius, *De Sententia Dionysii* [and Basil the Great, *Ep.* 210 and 235.] Nearly all that is written by the ancients has been collected by Wormius in his *Historia Sabelliana*, Francf. and Lips. 1696, 8vo, a learned work, only a small part of which relates to Sabellius. [See Mosheim, *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* &c. pages 688—699; Beausobre, *Histoire de Manichée*, &c. tome i. p. 533, &c.; Lardner, *Credibility of the Gos. Hist.* part ii. vol. iv. p. 558, &c. and Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ii. pages 14—49. The last of these differs somewhat from Mosheim in his description of the Sabellian doctrine. He states it thus:—the ancients one and all say that the Sabellian system marred the true doctrine concerning God, and concerning all the three persons. It was one of two directly opposite errors of which Arianism was the other; and the true doctrine occupied the middle ground between them. Indeed Arius, by pushing his opposition to Sabellius too far, was led into his error. It hence follows that Sabellius, who did not deny the existence of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, made too little distinction between them, while Arius made the distinction too wide. It is clear that Sabellius acknowledged but one person, and considered the Son of God as not being a distinct person; so that he could not have taught a personal distinction in the Trinity. By the Word (Λόγος) Sabellius understood an *energy*, by which the man Christ performed his works. So long as Christ remained on earth, this divine energy was in him, but afterwards it ceased. It was therefore like a sunbeam, which operates on bodies and produces the effects of the sun, without being itself a person. So also is it with the Holy Ghost, by which we are to understand the operations of God in men, tending to further their knowledge of the truth and their advancement in virtue. The manner of God's putting forth his energy, by which the Son was produced, and by which the Holy Ghost is still produced and continued, the ancients expressed by the words, to *spread out* or *extend* (πλατύνεσθαι, protendere, extendere), to *send forth* (πέμπεσθαι), and to *transform*, or *change one's form and appearance* (μεταμορφοῦσθαι, μετασχηματίζειν). From what has now been stated, it may be perceived how Sabellius could have taught the existence of three *forms* or *aspects* (τρία πρόσωπα) in the divine essence, without admitting the reality of three different persons; and how his opposers could infer that he admitted but one distinction under three different names. The greatest difficulty is in this, that according to some representations, Sabellius taught there was a *difference* or *separation* (διαίρεσιν) between the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but according to other accounts, he maintained such a unity as was inconsistent with it. This difficulty is the most easily surmounted, by supposing the former to refer to an imagined or conceived distinction, and not any real one. Such are Walch's views of the Sabellian system [and very similar are those of Neander, *Kirchengesch.* vol. i. part iii. pages 1018—1025.] Walch thinks that Sabellius ought not to be called a *Patripassian*, for these held Christ to be one person, in whom two natures were personally united; and believed that, not the divine nature of the Son, as a person, but the divine nature of the Father, who was the only person, was united with the human nature in Christ. Now as Sabellius held the Son to be no real part of the Father, and still less held to a personal union of two natures in Christ, he cannot truly be called a Patripassian. According to Sabellius' opinion, Christ was a mere man, in whom resided a divine power that produced those effects which we regard as the acts of the divine nature united to the human. Among the opposers of Sabellius, Dionysius of Alexandria attracted the most notice. Yet the opposition made by this bishop was not satisfactory to all. Offensive passages were found in his epistles against the Sabellians. As he there brought forward the doctrine of Christ's incarnation, and from that deduced his proof of the real distinction between the Father and the Son, he was understood as holding that the Son, in so far as he was a divine being, was a created one, or as denying that the Father and the Son were of the same essence. Dionysius defended himself, and showed that he had been misunderstood. Notwithstanding this the Arians after his death claimed him as on their side, which obliged Athanasius to vindicate the reputation of Dionysius against them. Still there continued to be some to whom this defence appeared insufficient—Basil the Great is an example. There can be no doubt that Dionysius thought with Athanasius in regard to the Trinity, but he used the language of Arius. In regard to the person of Christ, he expressed himself in the manner of Nestorius, for he carried the distinction between the divine and the human natures of Christ so far as wholly to exclude the former from a participation in those changes in the latter which were the result of the personal union of the two natures. See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ii. pages 50—63.—*Schl.*

2 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. cap. xx. and xxxiii.

morals and in sentiment, was Paul of Samosata, a bishop of Antioch [in Syria], and at the same time clothed with the civil office of a ducenarius.[1] He was an ostentatious man, opulent and arrogant;[2] and greatly disquieted the eastern church soon after the middle of this century, by his novel explanations of the doctrine concerning the divine nature and concerning Christ. The sect which embraced his opinions were called Paulians or Paulianists. So far as can be judged from the accounts which have reached us, he supposed the Son and the Holy Spirit to exist in God, just as reason and the active power do in man; that Christ was born a mere man; but that the wisdom or reason (λόγος) of the Father descended into him and enabled him to teach and work miracles; that on account of this union of the divine Word (Λόγος) with the man Christ, we might say Christ was God, though not in the proper sense of the word. He so concealed his real sentiments under ambiguous forms of speech, that repeated ecclesiastical councils were wholly unable to convict him; but at last in the council assembled A.D. 269, Malchion, a rhetorician, drew him from his concealment, and he was convicted and divested of his episcopal office.[3]

16. In a very different way some obscure philosophers in Arabia, the disciples of a man unknown, marred a part of the Christian system. They denied the soul to be immortal, maintaining that it died with the body, and that it would be resuscitated with it by the power of God.[4] The believers in this doctrine were called Arabians, from the country in which they lived. Origen being sent for from Egypt, disputed against them with such success in a full council, that they renounced their error.

17. Among the sects which arose in this century, that of the Novatians is placed last. They did not indeed corrupt the doctrines of Christianity, but by the severity of the discipline to which they adhered,

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Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. lx.; Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. cap. vii. Among the moderns, see Le Clerc, *Ars Critica*, tom. i. par. ii. sec. i. cap. xiv.; Chauffepié. *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. Crit.* tome i. p. 268, &c. [See Mosheim, *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 699, &c. and Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ii. pages 126—136. Walch does not place Beryllus among the heretics, because he is not chargeable with obstinacy in his errors, nor with establishing a sect or party; both of which are necessary to constitute a heretic. Mosheim's assertion that Beryllus represented Christ as possessing a soul derived from the divine essence, is a mere conjecture that cannot be supported by proof.—*S h.* [Neander, *Kirchengesch.* vol. i. part iii. p 1014, &c. places Beryllus among that class of Patripassians who considered the personality of the Son of God as originating from a radiation or emanation from the essence of God into a human body. He therefore places Beryllus and Sabellius in the same class.—*Mur.*

[1] The *ducenarii* were a species of *procurators* for the emperors in the provinces, whose salary was two hundred sestertia [*ducena* sestertia, equal to above £1600 Ster.] from which sum these officers derived their title. See *Dion Cassius*, lib. liii.; Suetonius, *Claudian*, cap. xxiv. and *Salmasius*, Notes on Capitolinus, *Pertinax*, p. 125. From Seller's *Antiquities of Palmyra*, Lond. 1696, 8vo, p. 166, &c. it appears that this office was much used in the province of Syria, and Mosheim conjectures (*Comment. de Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 705) that Paul obtained it by means of Zenobia, who had a high esteem for him.—*Schl.*

[2] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. cap. xxx. [Eusebius here gives copious extracts from the circular letter of the council, which condemned Paul and ordained Domnus his successor. The council characterize Paul as having risen from poverty to opulence, by extortion and bribery; as proud, and insolent, and ostentatious; as choosing to be addressed by his civil title, and appearing in public attended by guards and all the splendour of worldly rank; as abusing authority as an officer in the church; as intolerably vain, and coveting the adulations of the multitude; as decrying the fathers of the church, exalting himself, and abolishing the hymns in common use, and appointing women to sing psalms in praise of himself; as sending out bishops and presbyters to sound his praise, and to extol him as an angel from heaven; as keeping several young and handsome women near his person, whom he enriched with presents, and as living in luxury with them. How much of colouring there may be in this picture we have not the means of determining. But there can be little doubt the character of Paul was such as did not become a bishop.—*Mur.*

[3] See *Epistola Concilii Antiocheni ad Paulum*, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, tom. xi. p. 302, ed. Paris, 1644, fol. and Dionysius Alexandrinus, *Ep. ad Paulum*, ibid. p. 273, and *Decem Pauli Samosateni Quæstiones*, ibid. p. 278. See also Mosheim, *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* &c. pages 701—718, and Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ii p pages 64—125. From the last writer we extract the following to give a more full and correct view of the Samosatenian doctrines:—1. Paul of Samosata taught that there is but one God, who in the Scriptures is denominated the Father. 2. He did not deny that the Scriptures speak of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. 3. What he understood by the Holy Ghost we do not know; and Mosheim has attempted to supply this defect by a mere conjecture. 4. Concerning the Word and the Wisdom of God, he has spoken largely; but whether he distinguished between the *Word in God* (Λόγος ἐνδιάθετος) and the *Word produced from God* (Λογος προφορικὸς), is doubtful. 5. This *Word* or *Wisdom* in God is not a substance or a person. 6. But it is in the divine mind, as reason is in men. 7. Christ was a mere man. 8. He first began to exist when he was born of Mary. 9. Yet in this man dwelt the divine Word or Wisdom, and it was operative in him. 10. The union commenced when Christ was conceived in the womb of Mary. 11. By means of this Wisdom of God in him, Christ gradually acquired his knowledge and his practical virtues. By it he became at once God and the Son of God, yet both in an improper sense of the terms. From this account it appears that Photian in the next age came very near to Paul of Samosata, not indeed in his statements and expressions, but rather in his grand error, that Christ was a mere man, and superior to other men only on account of his pre-eminent gifts.—*Schl.* [See Neander, *Kirchenges.* vol. i. part iii. pages 1007—14.—*Mur.*

[4] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. cap. xxxvii. [See Mosheim. *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 718, and Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ii. pages 167—171. As Eusebius, who is the only witness we have in regard to this sect, gives a very brief account of them, the learned in modern times have entertained two opinions concerning their system. Some suppose they held that the soul, though immaterial, sleeps while the body is in the grave; which however the words of Eusebius seem to contradict, for they describe the soul as *dying*, and *being dissolved, with the body*, συναποθνήσκειν τοῖς σώμασι καὶ συνδιαφθείρεσθαι. Others suppose, more correctly, that they were Christian materialists, who regarded the soul as being a part of the body. And Mosheim conjectures that their error originated from their combining the Epicurean philosophy with Christianity.—*Schl.*

they produced a lamentable schism. Novatian,[1] a presbyter in the church of Rome, a man of learning and eloquence, but of a stern and austere character,[2] maintained that such as had fallen into the more heinous sins, and especially such as had denied Christ during the Decian persecution, ought never to be admitted again to the church. Most of the other presbyters as well as Cornelius, whose influence was very great, were of a different opinion. Hence in the year 250, when a new bishop was to be chosen at Rome in place of Fabian, Novatian strenuously opposed the election of Cornelius. Cornelius however was chosen, and Novatian withdrew from communion with him. On the other hand Cornelius, in a council held at Rome A.D. 251, excommunicated Novatian and his adherents. Novatian, therefore, founded a new sect, in which he was the first bishop. This sect had many adherents who were pleased with the severity of its discipline; and it continued to flourish in many parts of Christendom until the fifth century. The principal coadjutor of Novatian in this schism was Novatus, a presbyter of Carthage, who fled to Rome during the heat of this controversy, in order to escape the wrath and the condemnation of Cyprian his bishop, with whom he had a violent quarrel.[3]

18. Respecting the fundamental articles of the Christian faith, there was no disagreement between the Novatians and other Christians. Their peculiarity was, that they would not receive into the church persons who, after being baptized, fell into the greater sins. They did not, however, exclude them from all hopes of eternal salvation They considered the Christian church as a society of innocent persons, who from their entrance into it had defiled themselves with no sin of any considerable magnitude; and hence it followed that all associations of Christians which opened the door for the return of gross offenders were in their view unworthy of the name of true churches of Christ. And hence they assumed the appellation of Cathari, that is, the pure; and what was still more, they rebaptized such as came over to them from the Catholics; for, such influence had the error they embraced upon their own minds, that they believed the baptism of those churches which re-admitted the lapsed could not impart to the subjects of it remission of sins.[4]

[1] The Greeks always write his name Novatus or Navatus; but the Latins generally write it Novatianus, perhaps to distinguish him from Novatus of Carthage, the names being really the same.—*Mur.* [Eusebius writes it Νοουάτος.—*R.*

[2] These traits of character he perhaps owed to the Stoic philosophy, to which some have supposed him addicted. See Walch, *ubi supra* p. 125.—*Schl.*

[3] The student will find an account of this sect, and of the disturbances excited both in Carthage and Rome, in Milner's *Hist. of the Church*, cent iii. chap. ix. and x.; and in Burton's *Lect. on the Eccl. Hist.* &c. vol. ii. p 327, &c. But a more full and accurate detail is given by Mosheim, *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* pages 497 and 503, and Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ii. p. 220, &c. —*R.*

[4] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. cap. xliii; Cyprian, in various of his epistles, as *Ep* 49, 52, &c.; Albaspinæus, *Observat. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap xx. xxi.; Orsi, *De Criminum Capital. inter Veteres Christ. Absolutione*, p. 254, &c.; Kenckel, *De Hæresi Novatiana*, Strasburg, 1651, 4to [also Mosheim, *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* &c. pages 512–537, and Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ii. pages 185–288.—*Schl.* [And Neander, *Kirchengesch.* vol. i. part i. pages 387–407.—*Mur.*

END OF BOOK I.

BOOK II.

FROM CONSTANTINE THE GREAT

TO

CHARLEMAGNE.

CENTURY FOURTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS AND THE ADVERSE EVENTS OF THE CHURCH.

1. THAT I might not separate too far those facts which are intimately connected with each other, I have determined to exhibit the prosperous and the adverse events, not in distinct chapters, as heretofore, but combined in one series, following as much as possible the order of time. In the beginning of this century the Roman empire had four sovereigns, of whom two were superior to the others, and bore the title of Augustus; namely, Diocletian and Maximianus Herculius; the two inferior sovereigns, who bore the title of Cæsars, were Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximianus. Under these four [associated] emperors, the state of the church was tolerably prosperous.[1] Diocletian, though superstitious, indulged no hatred towards the Christians.[2] Constantius Chlorus, following only the dictates of reason in matters of religion, was averse from the popular idolatry, and friendly to the Christians.[3] The pagan priests, therefore, from well-grounded fears lest Christianity, to their great and lasting injury, should spread far and wide its triumphs, endeavoured to excite Diocletian, whom they knew to be both timid and credulous, by means of feigned oracles and other impositions, to engage in persecuting the Christians.[4]

2. These artifices not succeeding very well, they made use of the other emperor, Galerius Maximianus, who was son-in-law to Diocletian in order to effect their purpose. This emperor, who was of a ferocious character and ill-informed in every thing except the military art, continued to work upon his father-in-law, being urged on partly by his own inclination, partly by the instigation of his mother, a most superstitious woman, and partly by that of the pagan priests, till at last, when Diocletian was at Nicomedia in the year 303, he obtained from him an edict, by which the temples of the Christians were to be demolished, their sacred books committed to the flames, and themselves deprived of all their civil rights and honours.[5] This first edict spared the lives of the Christians; for Diocletian was averse from slaughter and blood-

[1] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. viii. cap. i. [Eusebius here describes the prosperous state of the Christians, and their consequent security and vices. The imperial palaces were full of Christians, and no one hindered them from openly professing Christianity. From among them men were chosen to the offices of imperial councillors, provincial governors, magistrates, and generals. The bishops and other clergy were held in honour, even by those who adhered to the old religion of the state, and the number of Christians was seen to be increasing daily. Hence in all the cities spacious buildings were erected for public worship, in which the people assembled without fear; and they had nothing to wish for, unless it were that one or more of the emperors might embrace their religion.—*Schl.*

[2] He had Christians in his court who understood how to lead him, and who would probably have brought him to renounce idolatry, had not the suggestions of their enemies prevailed with him. His wife Prisca was in reality a concealed Christian; and also his daughter Valeria, the wife of Galerius Maximianus. See Lactantius, *De Mortib. Persecutor.* cap. xv.—*Schl.*

[3] Some go still farther, and make him to have been actually a Christian. But from the representations of Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. viii. cap. xiii. no more can be inferred than that he was disposed to look favourably upon the Christian religion.—*Schl.*

[4] Eusebius, *De Vita Constant.* lib. ii. cap. i.; Lactantius, *Institut. Divinar.* lib. iv. cap. xxvii. and *De Mortib. Persecutor.* cap. x. [According to Eusebius, *ubi supra*, it was reported to the emperor that the oracle of Apollo had declared he was prevented from giving true responses by the righteous men on the earth, and this the pagan priests interpreted, when questioned by the emperor, with reference to the Christians. According to Lactantius, *ubi supra*, while Diocletian was at Antioch in the year 302, the priests who inspected the entrails of the consecrated victims declared that they were interrupted in their prognostications by the sign of the cross made by several of the emperor's servants. —*Schl.*

[5] Lactantius, *De Mortib. Persecutor.* cap. xi.; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. viii. cap. ii. [This persecution should properly be named that of Galerius and not that of Diocletian. For Diocletian had much the least hand in it, and he resigned his authority before the persecution had continued quite two years; moreover, Galerius in his edict for putting an end to the persecution, a little before his death, acknowledges that he himself was the author of it. See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* cap. viii. p. 17, and Lactantius, *De Mortib. Persecutor.* cap. xxxiv. See Mosheim, *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* &c. pages 916 —922.—*Schl.* [And Milman, *Hist. of Christ.* vol. ii. p. 272, &c.—*R.*

shed. Yet it caused many Christians to be put to death, particularly those who refused to deliver up their sacred books to the magistrates.[1] Seeing this operation of the law, many Christians and several even of the bishops and clergy, in order to save their lives, voluntarily surrendered the books and sacred utensils in their possession. But they were regarded by their more resolute brethren as guilty of sacrilege, and were branded with the name of Traditors.[2]

3. Not long after the publication of this first edict, there were two conflagrations in the palace of Nicomedia; and the enemies of the Christians persuaded Diocletian to believe that Christian hands had kindled them. He therefore ordered many Christians of Nicomedia to be put to the torture, and to undergo the penalties due to incendiaries.[3] Nearly at the same time, there were insurrections in Armenia and in Syria; and as their enemies charged the blame of these also upon the Christians, the emperor by a new edict ordered all bishops and ministers of Christ to be thrown into prison; and by a third edict soon after, he ordered that all these prisoners should be compelled by tortures and punishments to offer sacrifice to the gods;[4] for he hoped, if the bishops and teachers were once brought to submission, the Christian churches would follow their example. A great multitude, therefore, of excellent men, in every part of the Roman empire, Gaul only excepted, which was subject to Constantius Chlorus,[5] were either punished capitally or condemned to the mines.

4 In the second year of the persecution A.D. 304, Diocletian published a fourth edict, at the instigation of his son-in-law and the other enemies of the Christians. By this edict the magistrates were directed to compel all Christians to offer sacrifices to the gods, and to use tortures for that purpose.[6] And as the governors yielded strict obedience to these orders, the Christian church was reduced to the last extremity.[7] Galerius Maximianus therefore no longer hesitated to disclose the secret designs he had long entertained [A.D. 305]. He required his father-in-law [Diocletian], together with his colleague [Valerius] Maximianus Herculius, to divest themselves of their power, and constituted himself Emperor of the East, leaving the West to Constantius Chlorus, whose health he knew to be very infirm. He also associated with him in the government two assistants of his own choosing; namely, Maximinus his sister's son, and Severus, excluding altogether Constantine, afterwards styled the Great, the son of Constantius Chlorus.[8] This revolution in the Roman government restored peace to Christians in the western provinces which were under Constantius;[9] but in the eastern provinces, the persecution raged with greater severity than before.[10]

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1 Augustine, *Breviculum Collat. cum Donatistis*, cap. xv. xvii. in his *Opp.* tom. ix. pag. 387, 390, and Baluze, *Miscellan.* tom. ii. pag. 77, 92.

2 Optatus, Milevit. *De Schismate Donatist.* lib. i. sec. 13 p. 13, ed. Du Pin.

3 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. viii. cap. vi.; Lactantius, *De Mortib. Persecutor.* cap. xiv.; Constantine the Great, *Oratio ad Sanctorum Cœtum*, cap. xxv. [After the second conflagration Galerius left Nicomedia, pretending to be afraid of being burned by the Christians. Diocletian also compelled his wife and daughter to sacrifice to the gods in proof that they were not Christians, and caused many Christians of his household and court to be cut off, and Lonthimus the bishop of Nicomedia, with many of the clergy and common Christians, to undergo cruel deaths, because they refused to offer sacrifices to the gods.—*Schl.*

4 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. viii. cap. vi. and *De Martyribus Palæstinæ.*

5 Lactantius, *De Mortib. Persecutor.* cap. xv. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. viii. cap. xiii. xviii. [Constantius Chlorus presided over Spain and Britain, as well as Gaul. In Spain there were some martyrs; because Constantius not being present there in person, he could not prevent the rigorous execution of the decree of the senior emperor. But in Gaul, where he was personally present, he favoured the Christians as much as sound policy would permit. He suffered some of the churches to be demolished, and most of them to be shut up. And when the last edict of Galerius against the Christians was promulgated, he deprived of their offices all those of his servants who resolved to adhere to Christianity, and retained the others in his service.—*Schl.*

6 Eusebius, *De Martyr. Palæstinæ*, cap. iii. [Diocletian was not yet willing the Christians should be put to death outright; his orders to the governors were couched in general terms that they should compel the Christians, by all kinds of corporeal sufferings, to give honour to the heathen gods. See Eusebius, *De Vita Constant.* lib. ii. cap. ii.; compare Lactantius, *Instit. Divinar.* lib. v. cap. xi.; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ix. cap. ix. and lib. viii. cap. xii. Hence, according to the disposition of the several governors was their execution of the imperial edict. Some only sent the Christians into banishment, when the attempt to make them offer sacrifices failed. Others deprived them of an eye, or lamed one of their feet by burning it; and others exposed them to wild beasts, or lacerated their bodies with iron hooks or with the scourge, and afterwards sprinkled vinegar and salt on the wounds, or dropped melted lead into them. In Phrygia a whole city with all its inhabitants was burned to ashes, because not an individual in it would offer sacrifice. Lactantius, *Instit. Divinar.* lib. v. cap. xi. Some Christians also brought death upon themselves by holding religious meetings contrary to the emperor's prohibition, or by voluntarily presenting themselves before the governors and requesting to be martyred. Sulpitius Severus, *Hist. Sacra*, lib. ii. cap. xxxii.; and Eusebius, *De Martyr. Palæstinæ*, cap. iii.—*Schl.*

7 Lactantius, *Instit. Divinar.* lib. v. cap. xi.

8 Lactantius, *De Mortib. Persecutor.* cap. xviii. xx. [Galerius Maximianus was in more fear of the young prince Constantine than of his father Constantius. Yet Galerius had this prince in his power; for he detained him at his court in Nicomedia, and if he found occasion might have put him out of his way by assassination or some other means. Indeed, he attempted this in the year 306. Lactantius, *De Mortib. Persecutor.* cap. xxiv. But Constantine saved himself by flight, and repaired to his father in Britain. This sagacity of the prince overset the whole plan of the emperor, and was the means of rescuing the Christian religion from its jeopardy. See Mosheim, *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 942, &c.—*Schl.*

9 Eusebius, *De Martyr. Palæstinæ*, cap. xiii.

10 Lactantius, *De Mortib. Persecutor.* cap. xxi. [Maxi-

5. But Divine Providence frustrated the whole plan of Galerius Maximianus; for Constantius Chlorus dying in Britain in the year 306, the soldiery by acclamation proclaimed his son Constantine Augustus or emperor, the same who by his achievements afterwards obtained the title of the Great; and the tyrant Galerius was obliged to submit and even to approve this adverse event. Soon after, a civil war broke out; for Maxentius [the son of the ex-emperor, Herculius, and] the son-in-law of Galerius Maximianus, being indignant that Galerius should prefer Severus before him and invest him with imperial power, himself assumed the purple, and took his father, Maximianus Herculius, for his colleague in the empire. In the midst of these commotions, Constantine beyond all expectation made his way to the imperial throne. The western Christians, those of Italy and Africa excepted, enjoyed a considerable degree of tranquillity and liberty during these civil wars.[1] But the oriental churches experienced various vicissitudes, adverse or tolerable, according to the political changes from year to year.[2] At length Galerius Maximianus, who had been the author of their heaviest calamities, being brought low by a terrific and protracted disease, and finding himself ready to die, in the year 311 issued a decree which restored peace to them, after they had endured almost unbounded sufferings.[3]

6. After the death of Galerius Maximianus [A.D. 311], Maximianus and Licinius [who was created Augustus by Galerius Maximianus after the death of Flavius Severus, A.D. 307], divided between themselves the provinces which had been governed by Galerius. At the same time Maxentius, who held Africa and Italy, determined to make war upon Constantine, who governed in Spain and Gaul, in order to bring all the west under his authority. Constantine anticipated his designs, marched his army into Italy in the year 312, and in a battle fought at the Milvian bridge near Rome, routed the army of Maxentius. In the flight the bridge broke down, and Maxentius fell into the Tiber and was drowned. After this victory, Constantine with his colleague Licinius immediately gave full liberty to the Christians of living according to their own institutions and laws; and this liberty was more clearly defined the following year A.D. 313, in a new edict drawn up at Milan.[4] Maximin, indeed, who reigned in the East, was projecting new calamities for the Christians,[5] and menacing the Emperors of the West with war; but being vanquished by Licinius, he put an end to his own life by swallowing poison at Tarsus in the year 313.

7. About this time Constantine the Great, who was previously a man of no religion, is said to have embraced Christianity, being induced thereto principally by the miracle of a cross appearing to him in the heavens. But this story is liable to much doubt; for his first edict in favour of the Christians, and many other things, sufficiently evince

min, who governed Syria and Egypt, at first showed himself quite mild towards the Christians. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ix. cap. ix. But afterwards he seemed to wish to surpass all other enemies of the Christians in cruelty towards them. See Mosheim, *Comment. de Reb.* &c. p. 945, &c.—*Schl.*

1 Constantine, as soon as he came into power, gave the Christians full liberty to profess and to practise their religion. Lactantius, *De Mortib. Persecutor.* cap. xxiv. and *Institut. Divinar.* lib. i. cap. i. This he did, not from a sense of justice or from magnanimity, and still less from any attachment to the Christian religion, but from principles of worldly prudence. He wished to attach the Christians to his party, that they might protect him against the power and the machinations of Galerius Maximian. His brother-in-law, Maxentius, imitated his example, and with similar views; and therefore the Christians under him in Africa and Italy enjoyed entire religious liberty. See Optatus Milevitanus, *De Schismate Donatist.* lib. i. cap. xvi.; and Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. viii. cap. xiv. See Mosheim, *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* p. 952, &c.—*Schl.*

2 The cause of these vicissitudes is to be sought in the political state of things. In this year Maximin assumed the title of Cæsar in Syria against the will of Galerius; and the latter appeared about to declare war against the former, who was therefore indulgent towards the Christians in order to secure their friendship. But as Galerius was appeased, Maximin became more severe against the Christians, to ingratiate himself more effectually with the emperor. After a while, however, he abated his severity; and towards the end of the year 309, and in the beginning of 310, the Christians enjoyed great freedom (Eusebius, *De Martyr. Palæstinæ*, cap xiii.); for Galerius was now in declining health, and in such circumstances Maximin wished not to alienate the Christians from himself. But when the governor of the province informed him, in the year 310, that the Christians abused their freedom, Maximin renewed the persecution. Soon after Galerius was seized with his last and fatal sickness, and Maximin being apprehensive that the imperial power could be secured only by a successful appeal to arms, policy required him again to desist from persecuting the Christians. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. viii. cap. xvi. See Mosheim, *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* p. 955, &c.—*Schl.*

3 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. viii. cap. xvi. Lactantius, *De Mortib. Persecutor.* cap. xxxiii. [The decree is given us in Greek by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. viii. cap. xvii. and in Latin, by Lactantius, *De Mortib. Persecutor.* cap. xxxiv.—*Schl.*

4 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. x. cap. v.; Lactantius, *De Mortib. Persecutor.* cap. xlviii. [It is the second edict, or that of Milan, which is found in the passages here referred to. Eusebius gives it in Greek, Lactantius in Latin. The first edict is wholly lost; yet from the second we may learn what was obscure or indefinite in the first. The first edict gave religious freedom, not only to the Christians, but to all other sects; yet it forbade any person abandoning the religion in which he had been born and brought up. This prohibition operated disadvantageously to the Christian cause, and occasioned many who had recently embraced Christianity to return to their former religion in obedience to the imperial edict. This prohibition, therefore, with all other restraints, was removed in the second edict. See Mosheim, *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* p. 959.—*Schl.*

5 See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. x. cap. ii.; Lactantius, *De Mortib. Persecutor.* cap. xxxvi.; and Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* &c. p. 961, &c.—*Schl.*

that he was at that time well disposed towards the Christians and their worship, but by no means that he regarded Christianity as the only true and saving religion. On the contrary it appears that he regarded other religions, and among them the old Roman religion, as likewise true and useful to mankind; and he therefore wished all religions to be freely practised throughout the Roman empire.[1] But as he advanced in life Constantine made progress in religious knowledge, and gradually came to regard Christianity as the only true and saving religion, and to consider all others as false and impious. Having adopted this view he now began to exhort his subjects to embrace Christianity, and at length he proclaimed war against the ancient superstitions. At what time this change in the views of the emperor took place, when he began to look upon all religions but the Christian as false, cannot be determined. This however is certain, that the change in his views was first made manifest by his laws and edicts in the year 324, after the death of Licinius when he became sole emperor.[2] His purpose however of abolishing the ancient religion of the Romans, and of tolerating only the Christian religion, he did not disclose till a little before his death, when he published his edicts for pulling down the pagan temples and abolishing the sacrifices.[3]

8. That the emperor was sincere and not a dissembler in regard to his conversion to Christianity, no person can doubt who believes that men's actions are an index of their real feelings. It is indeed true that Constantine's life was not such as the precepts of Christianity required;[3] and it is also true that he remained a catechumen all his life, and was received to full membership in the church by baptism at Nicomedia, only a few days before his death.[4] But

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1 This is evident from Eusebius, *De Vita Constant.* lib. i. cap. xxvii. In the commencement of the war with Maxentius, he was still at a loss to what god he should trust himself and his affairs. He at length determined to honour that one God only whom his father had worshipped, and to show no reverence to the ancient Roman deities. The grounds on which he came to this decision were feeble; namely, the good fortune of his father who adhered to this worship, and the ill fortune and lamentable end of Diocletian, Galerius Maximian, and other emperors, who had worshipped the pagan deities. And according to Eusebius (*De Vita Constant.* lib. i. cap. xxviii.) he knew so little of the God of his father, that he prayed he might be able to know him. He was a deist of the lowest class, who considered the God of his father as a limited being, though more benevolent and powerful than any of the Greek and Roman deities. This is manifest from his regulations in favour of the Christians, and from his laws tolerating the pagan haruspices. *Codex Theodos.* lib. ix. tit. xvi. leg. 1, 2; and lib. xvi. tit. x. leg. 1. Compare Zosimus, lib. ii. p. 10, ed. Oxford, 1679, 8vo. See Mosheim, *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* p. 971, &c.—*Schl.*

2 Eusebius, *De Vita Constant.* lib. ii. cap. xx. and xliv. [In this year, 324, all those who, for their adherence to Christianity during the preceding persecution, had become exiles, or been sent to the mines, or been robbed of their property, were restored to their country, their liberty, and their possessions; and the Christian temples were ordered to be rebuilt and enlarged.—*Schl.*

3 See Gothofredus, *Ad Codicem Theodos.* tom. vi. part i. p. 290, &c. [The statement of Zosimus (lib. ii. p. 104) is not to be wholly rejected. He says that after the death of Licinius a certain Egyptian came to Rome from Spain, and convinced the emperor of the truth of the Christian religion. No reason can be assigned why Zosimus should have fabricated such a story. This Egyptian was probably Hosius, the Bishop of Corduba, who was a native Egyptian and was then at the court of Constantine, very probably soliciting the restoration of the church goods which had been confiscated. At least it is expressly stated that the money destined for Africa was paid in consequence of his efforts. This conjecture is favoured by Baumgarten, *Auszug der Kirchengesch.* vol. ii. p. 691. The later Greeks ascribe the emperor's conversion to a courtier named Euphrates; of whom, however, the ancients make no mention. Theodoret (*Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. xvii.) ascribes it to the influence of Helena, his mother; but she was brought to embrace Christianity by her son, according to Eusebius, *De Vita Constant.* lib. iii. cap. xlvii. Zosimus relates further that Constantine asked the pagan priests to absolve him from the guilt of destroying Licinius, Fausta, and Crispus; and when they told him this was impossible, the Egyptian before mentioned undertook to show that the Christian religion offered the means of cleansing away his guilt; and this it was which induced the emperor to embrace Christianity. There is perhaps some degree of truth in this story; perhaps Constantine did in fact, after the death of Licinius, first learn either from this Egyptian or from some others, that the blood of Christ was expiatory for believers therein. It is at least certain that in the first years after his victory over Maxentius, he had very incorrect ideas of Christ and of the Christian religion, as is manifest from his *Rescript to Anulinus* in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles* lib x. cap. vii. See Mosheim, *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* p. 976, &c.—*Schl.* [On the conversion of Constantine, see Beugnot, *Hist. de la Destruct. du Paganisme en Occident*, Paris, 1835, tome i. p. 54, &c.; Milman's *Hist. of Christ.* vol. ii. p. 308, &c.; Waddington's *Hist. of the Church*, vol. i. p. 172, 3; Welsh's *Elements of Ch. Hist.* vol. i. p. 380, &c.; and the first excursus or dissertation appended to the excellent edition of Eusebius, *De Vita Constant.* by Heinichen, Lips. 1830, 8vo. See also a tract by Hesse, entitled *De Constantini Mag. Christianismo Politico*, Jena, 1713, 4to. It is much doubted whether Constantine issued an edict for abolishing the heathen sacrifices generally. He no doubt early forbade the celebration of such as were of an immoral tendency, and forbore himself to take a part in the state sacrifices; but no such edict as that referred to by Mosheim in the text is on record, and history shows that sacrifices continued to be offered up as formerly. See the whole subject of Constantine's conduct towards his heathen subjects, and the question of this alleged edict in particular, fully discussed by Rüdiger in his valuable tract, *De Statu et Conditione Paganorum sub Imperatoribus Christ post Constantinum*, Bres. 1825; and by Milman, in his *Hist. of Christ.* vol. ii. p. 460, &c.—*R.*

3 He put to death his own son Crispus and his wife Fausta on a groundless suspicion; and cut off his brother-in-law Licinius and his unoffending son, contrary to his plighted word; and was much addicted to pride and voluptuousness.—*Schl.*

4 Eusebius, *De Vita Constant.* lib. iv. cap. lxi, lxii. Those who in reliance on more recent and dubious authorities, maintain that Constantine received Christian baptism at Rome in the year 324, and from the hands of Sylvester then the bishop of Rome, do not at this day gain the assent of intelligent men, even in the Roman Catholic Church. See Noris, *Historia Donatist.* in his *Opp.* tom. iv. p. 650; Mamachius, *Origines et Antiq. Christ.* tom. ii. p. 232, &c. [Valesius in his Notes on Eusebius, *De Vita Constant.* lib. iv. cap. lxi. where Eusebius relates that Constantine first received imposition of hands previous to his baptism a little before his death, infers that the emperor then first be-

neither of these is adequate proof that the emperor had not a general conviction of the truth of the Christian religion, or that he only feigned himself a Christian; for in that age many persons deferred baptism till near the close of life, that they might pass into the other world altogether pure and undefiled with sin;[1] and it is but too notorious that many persons who look upon the Christian religion as indubitably true and divine, yet in their lives violate its holy precepts. It is another question whether worldly motives might not have contributed in some degree to induce Constantine to prefer the Christian religion to the ancient Roman, and to all other religions, and to recommend the observance of it to his subjects. Indeed, it is no improbable conjecture that the emperor had discernment to see that Christianity possessed great efficacy, and idolatry none at all, to strengthen public authority and to bind citizens to their duty.[2]

9. The sign of the cross which Constantine most solemnly affirmed he saw in the heavens near mid-day, is a subject involved in the greatest obscurities and difficulties. It is however an easy thing to refute those who regard this prodigy as a cunning fiction of the emperor, or who rank it among fables;[3] and also those who refer the phenomenon to natural causes, ingeniously conjecturing that the form of a cross appeared in a solar halo, or in the moon;[4] and likewise those who ascribe the transaction to the power of God, who intended by a miracle to confirm the wavering faith of the emperor.[5] Now, these suppositions

came a catechumen, because he then first received imposition of hands. But that Constantine, long before this time declared himself a Christian, and was acknowledged as such by the churches, is certain. It is also true that he had, for a long time, performed the religious acts of an unbaptized Christian, that is, of a catechumen; for he attended public worship, fasted, prayed, observed the Christian sabbath, and the anniversaries of the martyrs, and watched on the vigils of Easter, &c. &c. See Mosheim, *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* p. 965, &c.—*Mur.*

[1] See Busching's *Disput. de Procrastinatione Baptismi apud Veteres, ejusque Causis.*—*Schl.*

[2] See Eusebius, *De Vita Constant.* lib. i. cap. xxvii.

[3] Hornbeck, *Comment. ad Bullam Urbani VIII. de Imaginum Cultu*, p. 182, &c.; Oiselius, *Thesaurus Numism. Antiq.* p. 463; Tollius, Preface to his French translation of *Longinus*, and in his Notes on Lactantius, *De Mortib. Persecut.* cap. xlv.; Thomasius, *Observat. Hallens.* tom. i. p. 380; and others. [There is difference of opinion as to the time when and the place where the emperor saw this cross. Some follow Eusebius (*De Vita Constant.* lib. i. cap. xxviii.) and believe that he saw it while in Gaul, and when making preparations for the war with Maxentius. Others rely on the testimony of Lactantius (*De Mortib. Persecut.* cap. xliv.) and believe that he saw the cross on the 26th day of October A. D. 312 [the day before the battle in which Maxentius was vanquished, near Rome]. So thought Baluze (see his Notes on this passage in *Lactantius*), whom Pagi, Fabricius, and others have followed. The point is a difficult one to decide, and the brothers Ballerini (*Observ. ad Norisii Hist. Donatist. Opp.* tom. iv. p. 662) would compromise it by supposing there were two appearances of the cross, both in dreams, the first in Gaul and the last in Italy; which is a miserable shift. Among those who regard the whole story as a fabrication, some suppose it was a pious fraud, and others that it was a trick of state. The first supposition is most improbable; for at the time the cross is said to have appeared to him, Constantine thought nothing about spreading the Christian religion, but only about vanquishing Maxentius. Besides, he was not then a Christian, and did not use the event for the advancement of Christianity, but for the animation of his troops. The other supposition has more probability; indeed, Licinius once resorted to something like this, according to Lactantius, *De Mortib. Persecut.* cap. xlvi. But Constantine solemnly averred the reality of this prodigy, and if he had been inclined to use artifice in order to enkindle courage in his soldiers, he would far more probably, as his army was made up chiefly of barbarians and such as were not Christians (see *Zosimus*, lib. ii. p. 86), have represented Mars or some other of the vulgar deities as appearing to him. See Mosheim, *Comment. de Reb. Christ.* p. 978, &c.—*Schl.*

[4] See Schmidt, *Diss. de Luna in Cruce visa*, Jena, 1681, 4to; and Fabricius, *Diss. de Cruce a Constantino visa*, in his *Biblioth. Gr.* vol. vi. cap. i. p. 8, &c. [This opinion also has its difficulties. Fabricius himself admits that on his hypothesis the appearance of visible words in the air cannot be explained. And he resorts to a new exposition of the language of Eusebius for relief; and believes that the words, "by this conquer," (*τούτῳ νίκα, hâc vince*), were not actually seen, but that the sense of them was emblematically depicted in a crown of victory which appeared in the heavens. But (1) if the emperor intended to say this, he expressed himself very obscurely. (2) It is certain that Constantine did not intend to be so understood, for he caused the very words mentioned to be affixed to the standards (*Labara*) of the legions, and to the medals and other monuments of the event; which he would not have done, had he not designed it should be understood that these words were actually seen in the heavens. (3) All the ancient writers so understood the account given by Eusebius. (4) Such a halo about the sun as that described by the emperor has never been seen by man. For he did not see the sign or form of a real cross, but the Greek letter X intersected perpendicularly by the letter P, thus [Euseb. *De Vita Constant.* lib. i. sec. xxxi.] See Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* p. 985.—*Schl.* [The general belief is that the emperor invented this monogram, and that it was only now seen or used for the first time. But an eminent Italian antiquarian, Buonarruoti, in his *Osservazioni sopra alcuni Frammenti di Vasi Antichi*, Flor. 1716, 4to, has given good reasons for believing that this Eastern or Grecian monogram had been in frequent use among the Christians prior to the time of Constantine; and that he only borrowed it from them and adopted it as the imperial ensign. See also Aringhi, *Roma subterranea*, vol. ii. p. 566.—*R.*

[5] Eusebius alone (*De Vita Constant.* lib. i. cap. xxviii.—xxxi.) among the writers of that age gives us any account of the vision of the cross; though Lactantius (*De Mort. Persec.* cap. xliv.) and others speak of the dream in which Constantine was directed to use the sign of the cross. But if Eusebius' account be true, how happens it that no writer of that age, except Eusebius, says one word about the luminous cross in the heavens?—How came it that Eusebius himself said nothing about it in his *Eccles. Hist.* which was written twelve years after the event, and about the same length of time before his *Life of Constantine?* Why does he rely solely on the testimony of the emperor, and not even intimate that he ever heard of it from others; whereas, if true, many thousands must have been eyewitnesses of the fact?—What mean his suggestions that some may question the truth of the story, and his caution not to state anything as a matter of public notoriety, but to confine himself simply to the emperor's private representation to himself?—Again, if God intended to enlighten Constantine's dark mind and show him the truth of Christianity, would he probably use for the purpose the enigma of a luminous cross, in preference to his inspired word or a direct and special revelation?—Was there no tendency to encourage a superstitious veneration for the sign of the cross in such a miracle?—And can it be believed that Jesus Christ

being rejected, the only conclusion which remains is, that Constantine saw in a dream while asleep the appearance of a cross, with the inscription "By this conquer."[1] Nor is this opinion unsupported by competent authorities of good credit.[2]

10. The happiness anticipated by the Christians from the edicts of Constantine and Licinius was a little afterwards interrupted by Licinius, who waged war against his kinsman Constantine. Being vanquished in the year 314, he was quiet for about nine years. But in the year 324 this restless man again attacked Constantine, being urged on both by his own inclination and by the instigation of the pagan priests. That he might secure to himself a victory, he attached the pagans to his cause, by severely oppressing the Christians and putting not a few of their bishops to death.[3] But his plans again failed. After several unsuccessful battles, he was obliged to throw himself upon the mercy of the victor, who nevertheless ordered him to be strangled in the year 325. After his victory over Licinius, Constantine reigned sole emperor till his death; and by his plans, his enactments, his regulations, and his munificence, he endeavoured as much as possible to obliterate gradually the ancient superstitions, and to establish Christian worship throughout the Roman empire. He had undoubtedly learned from the wars and the machinations of Licinius, that neither himself nor the Roman empire could remain secure while the ancient superstition continued prevalent; and therefore from this time onward he openly opposed the pagan deities and their worship, as being prejudicial to the interests of the state.

11. After the death of Constantine, which happened in the year 337, his three surviving sons, Constantine II. Constantius, and Constans, in accordance with his will, assumed the empire, and were all proclaimed Augusti and emperors by the Roman senate. There were still living two brothers of Constantine the Great, namely Constantius Dalmatius and Julius Constans, and they had several sons. But nearly all these were slain by the soldiers at the command of Constantine's sons, who feared lest their thirst for power might lead them to make insurrections and disturb the commonwealth.[4] Only Gallus and Julian, sons of Julius Constans, escaped the massacre;[5] and the latter of these afterwards became

actually appeared to the emperor in a vision, directing him to make an artificial cross and to rely upon that as his defence in the day of battle?—But how came the whole story of the luminous cross to be unknown to the Christian world for more than twenty-five years, and then to transpire only through a private conversation between Eusebius and Constantine?—Is it not supposable that Eusebius may have misunderstood the account the emperor gave him of a singular halo about the sun which he saw, and of an affecting dream which he had the night after and which induced him to make the *Labarum* and use it as his standard?—Such are the arguments against this hypothesis.—*Mur.*

[1] Lactantius mentions only the dream: and the same is true of Sozomen, lib. i. cap. iii.; and Rufinus, in his translation of the *Eccles. Hist.* of Eusebius; and likewise of the author of the *Chronicon Orientale*, p. 57. Indeed the appeal of Eusebius to the solemn attestation of the emperor (*De Vita Constant*, lib. i. cap. xxviii.), and the statement of Gelasius Cyzicenus (*Acta Concilii Nicæni*, lib. i. cap. iv. in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom i. p. 351) that the whole story was accounted fabulous by the pagans, confirm the supposition that it was a mere dream. For the appeal of Eusebius would have been unnecessary, and the denial of its reality by the pagans would have been impossible, if the whole army of Constantine had been eye-witnesses of the event.—*Schl.* [On the whole of this much litigated question of the miracle of the luminous cross, see in favour of its reality Newman's *Essay on the Eccles. Miracles* prefixed to his translation of Fleury, Oxf. 1842, p. 133, &c. and against the miraculous part, Milman's *Hist. of Christ.* vol. i p. 351, and *Welsh's Elements of Ch. Hist.* vol. i. p. 387.—*R.*

[2] The writers who treat of Constantine the Great are carefully enumerated by Fabricius, *Lux Salutaris Evangelii Toti Orbi Exoriens*, cap. xii. p. 260, &c. [The latest and by far the best (says Heeren, *Ancient Hist.* p. 475, ed. Bancroft, 1828) is, *Leben Constantin des Grossen*, by Manso, Bresl. 1817.] Fabricius moreover (ibid. cap. xiii. p. 273, &c.) describes the laws of Constantine relating to religious matters under four heads. The same laws are treated of by Gothofredus, *Admot. ad Codicem Theodosianum*; and in a particular treatise by Fr. Baldwin, in his *Constantinus Magn. seu de Legibus Constantini Ecclesiast. et Civil.* lib. ii. ed. 2d, by Gundling, Halle, 1727, 8vo. [The student will find a full discussion of the extent of Constantine's laws in favour of Christianity in Klst, *De Commutatione quem Constantino Magno auctore, societas subiit Christiana.* Utrecht, 1818. See these several laws enumerated by Gieseler, *Lehrbuch*, &c. sect. 56, and those against paganism, in sec. 75, Davidson's Transl. vol. i. pages 201, 2, and pages 305, 6. See also on Constantine's establishment of Christianity, its extent and results, the valuable observations of Milman, *Hist. of Christ.* vol. ii. p. 356; and especially pages 464—76; the 20th chap. of Gibbon's *Decl. and Fall of the Rom. Emp.*; and Jortin's *Remarks on Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. pages 122—138.—*R.*

[3] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. x. cap. viii. and *De Vita Constant.* lib. i. cap. xlix. Even Julian, than whom no one was more prejudiced against Constantine, could not but pronounce Licinius an infamous tyrant who was sunk in vices and crimes. See Julian's *Cæsares*, p. 222, ed. Spanheim. I would here observe, what appears to have been overlooked hitherto, that Aurelius Victor mentions this persecution of Licinius in his book *De Cæsaribus*, cap. xli. p. 445, ed Arntzenii, where he says: *Licinio ne insontium quidem ac nobilium philosophorum servili more cruciatus adhibiti modum fecere.* The philosophers whom Licinius is here said to have tortured were doubtless Christians, whom many from their slight acquaintance with our religion have mistaken for a sect of philosophers. The commentators on Aurelius have left this passage untouched, which is apt to be the case with those who are intent only on the enlargement of grammatical knowledge derived from ancient writers.

[4] Mosheim attributes this massacre equally to the three sons of Constantine, whereas almost all authors agree that neither young Constantine nor Constans had any hand in it at all.—*Macl.*

[5] Because they were despised; Gallus, being sickly, it was supposed would not live long; and Julian, being but eight years old, created no fear. Some years after they were sent to a remote place in Cappadocia, where they were instructed in languages, the sciences, and gymnastics, being in a sense kept prisoners; and were at last designed for the clerical office, having been made lectors or readers. Ammianus Marcell. lib. xxii. cap. ix.—*Schl.*

emperor. Constantine II. held Britain, Gaul, and Spain; but lost his life A.D. 340 in a war with his brother Constantius. Constans at first governed only Illyricum, Italy, and Africa; but after the fall of his brother Constantine II. he annexed his provinces to his empire, and thus became emperor of all the West, until he lost his life A.D. 350 in the war with Magnentius, a usurper. After the death of Constans, Magnentius being subdued, the third brother, Constantius, who had before governed Asia, Syria, and Egypt, in the year 353 became sole emperor, and governed the whole empire till the year 361, when he died. Neither of these brothers possessed the disposition or the discernment of their father; yet they all pursued their father's purpose of abolishing the ancient superstitions of the Romans and other pagans, and of propagating the Christian religion throughout the Roman empire. The thing itself was commendable and excellent, but in the means employed there was much that was censurable.[1]

12. The cause of Christianity, which had been thus flourishing and prosperous, received immense injury and seemed on the brink of ruin, when Julian, the son of Julius Constans, brother of Constantine the Great, now the only surviving branch of the Constantinian family, after a successful campaign in Gaul, A.D. 360, was hailed emperor by his soldiers, and on the death of Constantius A.D. 361 obtained possession of the whole empire. For Julian, though educated in the Christian religion, yet influenced partly by hatred of the Constantinian family, which had murdered his father, brother, and all his relatives, and partly by the artifices of the Platonic philosophers, who deceived this credulous and vainglorious prince with fictitious miracles and prophecies, apostatized from Christianity to paganism, and laboured to restore idolatry, now ready to become extinct, to its former splendour. Julian seemed to abhor all violent measures, and to give full liberty to his subjects of choosing their religion, and of worshipping God in the manner they pleased; but at the same time he artfully and dexterously cut the sinews of the Christian cause, by abrogating the privileges granted to this religion and to its ministers, by shutting up the Christian schools in which philosophy and the liberal arts were taught, by not only tolerating but even encouraging and animating all sectarians, by writing books against the Christians, and in other ways. He likewise had many projects in contemplation; and would doubtless have done immense harm to Christianity, if he had returned victorious from the Persian war which he undertook directly after he came to the throne. But in this war, which was both undertaken and carried on with little discretion, he fell by a wound received in battle A.D. 363, when he had just entered the thirty-second year of his age, and after reigning sole emperor only twenty months from the death of Constantius.[2]

13. Those who rank Julian among the greatest heroes the world has produced, nay, place him the first of all who ever filled a throne, which many, and even persons of learning and discernment,[3] at this

[1] Coercive measures were adopted which only made nominal Christians. A law was enacted in the year 342, that all the heathen temples should be shut up, and that no person should be allowed to go near them. All sacrifices and all consultations of the oracles and soothsayers were prohibited, on pain of death and confiscation of property; and the provincial magistrates were threatened with the same penalties if they were dilatory in punishing transgressors of the law. This was to compel the conscience and not to convince it. The history of these emperors may be found in the *Universal History*, and in Le Beau, *Histoire du Bas Empire*.—*Schl.* [See also Gibbon's *Decl. and Fall*, &c. in the new and best edition, by Milman, Lond. 1838, and 2d edition, 1845. The best edition of Le Beau is by Saint-Martin, Paris, 1824-36, in 21 vols. 8vo.—*R.*

[2] See, besides Tillemont [the *Universal History*; Le Beau, *Histoire du Bas Empire*, tome iii. liv. xii.—xiv.] and other common writers, the accurately written work of Bletterie, *Vie de Julien*, Paris, 1734, 8vo; the *Life and Character of Julian the Apostate, illustrated in Seven Dissertations*, by Des Vœux, Dublin, 1746, 8vo; Spanheim, Preface and Notes to the Works of Julian, Lips. 1699, fol.; and Fabricius, *Lux Salutaris Evangelii*, cap. xiv. p. 294, &c. [See Neander, *Uber Kayser Julianus und sein Zeitalter*, Hamb. 1812, 8vo.—*Mur.* [To these works should by all means be added Milman's *Hist. of Christ.* who devotes chapter vi. in vol. iii. to Julian and his reign. See also his edition of Gibbon's *Decl. and Fall*, &c. vol. iv. chaps. xxii. xxiii. and xxiv. and Beugnot, *Hist. de la Destruct. du Pagan. en Occident*, vol. i. livr. iii. where three chapters are occupied with Julian, p. 177—220.—*R.*

[3] Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, livr. xxiv. chap. x. says: *Il n'y a point eu après lui de prince plus digne de gouverner des hommes.* [To form a correct judgment of Julian, it is necessary cursorily to survey the history of his life. He was born A.D. 331, and lost his mother Basilina the same year, and his father, Julius Constantius, a few years after. Mardonius, a eunuch, and Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, were his first instructors. When Gallus was made a Cæsar, Julian obtained permission to come to Constantinople, where he attended the public schools; then he went to Bithynia, everywhere attaching himself to the most noted teachers. At Pergamus he became acquainted with Ædesius, an aged Platonic philosopher, and heard his scholars, Eusebius and Chrysanthes, as also Maximus of Ephesus, who initiated him in theurgia, brought him to apostatize from Christianity, and presaged his elevation to the throne. This change in his religion he was obliged to conceal from Constantius and Gallus. Julian therefore devoted himself to a monastic life, assumed the tonsure, and became a public reader in the church at Nicomedia. In the year 354, after the death of Gallus, he was deprived of his liberty and carried to Milan. After being in custody there seven months, he obtained by the intercession of the empress Eusebia a release, and liberty to travel into Greece, where he applied himself, at Athens, to the sciences and to eloquence, and became acquainted with Basil and Gregory of Nazianzen. In the year 355 he was proclaimed Cæsar, and had Gaul, Spain, and Britain entrusted to him. But Constantius greatly limited his power, and nominated not only the military commanders there, but also the officers of Julian's court, who were to keep strict watch

day do, must either be so blinded by prejudice as not to see the truth, or they must have never read attentively Julian's writings which still remain, or lastly they do not know what constitutes true greatness and excellence. If we set aside genius,—which, however, as his writings show, in him was not above mediocrity,—military courage, love of learning, acquaintance with that fanatical and vain philosophy called modern Platonism, and lastly patience of labour, all that remains in Julian was certainly little and unworthy of commendation. His excellences were counterbalanced by very great defects; first, a monstrous and almost anile superstition, the surest indication of a little mind; then a puerile pursuit of applause and vulgar popularity, extreme credulity and instability, a disposition to use dissimulation and artifice; and finally, ignorance of solid and sound philosophy. I will grant that in some respects he was superior to the sons of Constantine the Great, but in many respects he was inferior to Constantine himself, whom he censures so immoderately.

14. As Julian affected to appear unwilling to trouble any of his subjects on account of their religion and opposed to no sect whatever, he showed so much indulgence to the Jews as to give them liberty to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem. The Jews commenced the work, but were obliged to desist before even the foundations were laid. For balls of fire issued from the ground, accompanied with a great explosion and a tremendous earthquake, which dispersed both the materials which were collected and the workmen. The fact itself is abundantly attested,[1] though the Christians, as often

over him. Julian performed some successful campaigns in Gaul, which procured him the affections not only of the soldiery, but of all the Gallic subjects. This awakened the jealousy of Constantius, who, under pretext of the Persian war, recalled a great part of the troops from Gaul. In the spring of 360, the soldiers proclaimed Julian Augustus, and compelled him to assume that dignity. A reconciliation was attempted in vain. Constantius insisted that Julian should resign. Julian prosecuted the German war successfully, and after vanquishing the Germans, whom Constantius had excited against him, and subduing Illyria and Italy, he marched unencumbered against Constantius, who came forward to meet him, but was taken sick on the way, and died in Cilicia. Julian now took quiet possession of the whole Roman empire, and caused Constantius to be honourably buried. During the Illyrian campaign, in the year 361, he publicly sacrificed to the gods; and after the death of Constantius, he let it be distinctly known that it was his purpose to reinstate idolatrous worship. But as he was aware of the ill consequences which formerly resulted from direct persecution, and coveted the reputation of being magnanimous and benevolent; and as in prospect of his Persian campaign he stood in fear of the numerous body of Christians, he endeavoured to assail and to undermine them by artifice. For this purpose he adopted the following measures:—First, he endeavoured to reform the pagan idolatry, and to introduce improvements in it derived from the Christian worship. With this view he attended to his official duties as *Pontifex Maximus*, offered sacrifices daily in his palace and garden, attended the public sacrifices on all the pagan festivals, and officiated personally even in the meanest service. He re-established the public sacrifices of the cities and provinces. Where there were no temples, or where the destroyers of the ancient temples could not be found, he erected temples at his own cost, and gave to the idolatrous priests high rank and large revenues. As he had been converted to paganism by philosophers of the new Platonic school, and who were willing to borrow from Christianity, hence originated many burdensome ceremonies of worship, together with a considerable apeing of Christian institutions. He was strenuous for the virtuous behaviour of the priests; and he forbade their going to theatres, or having much intercourse with those in civil authority. He wished to place the reading of useful books, giving public exhortations, and taking care of the poor, the sick, and funerals, on the same footing as they were among the Christians; and he required that the priests in many places should annually be supplied with corn, and wine, and money, which they were to distribute to the poor. Secondly, he encouraged and extended the internal divisions among the Christians; for he restored all silenced and ejected teachers, and required that such parties as had been laid under ecclesiastical censures should be reinstated in their privileges. He wrote letters to the most noted and most restless heretics, and encouraged them to disseminate their doctrines. He allowed the leading members of the different parties to come to him, and under colour of attempting to reconcile their differences, he inflamed them more against each other. Thirdly, he deprived the clergy of the franchises and permanent incomes which they had enjoyed under the former emperors, especially of their exemption from burdensome civil duties, and of the distribution of corn to the churches from the emperor's storehouses; and he compelled the monks and the ministers of religion, by force, to perform military duty. Fourthly, he excluded the Christians from all promotions, and in terms of bitter sarcasm forbade their access to the public schools, their studying the Greek authors and sciences, and their practising physic. Fifthly, he commanded the idolatrous temples, images, and altars, to be rebuilt at the cost of those who had pulled them down. Sixthly, acts of violence done by pagans to Christians, he either did not punish at all, or punished very slightly; but on the contrary, every tumult among Christians was punished most severely. Seventhly, he connected idolatry with all solemn transactions, and with the manifestations of respect due to himself. The soldiers, for instance, when extraordinary gratuities were presented them, must strew incense upon an altar; and to all the publicly exhibited pictures of the emperor, idolatrous deities were attached. Eighthly, he ridiculed the Christians and their worship scornfully, and wrote books in confutation of their doctrines. His work against Christianity, which was composed in the year 363, and in part during his Persian campaign, is lost. Indeed the Marquis d'Argens, in his *Défense du Paganisme par l'Empereur Julien, en Grec et François, avec des Dissertations et Notes*, Berlin, 1764, 8vo, has endeavoured to recover this work by means of the confutation of it by Cyril; but the recovery is very incomplete. Yet these remains of it show that the book was more likely to injure Christianity by the style in which it was written, and by the perversion of scripture, than by either the strength or the originality of its arguments and objections. Ninth and lastly, the emperor showed much partiality to the Jews, and allowed them to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, in order to confute by facts the prediction of Christ. Immediately after there were banishments, tortures, and executions of Christians, under pretence that they had showed themselves refractory against the commands of the emperor; and there were many, especially in the eastern provinces, who became apostates. Yet there were not wanting resolute confessors of the Christian religion. See Baumgarten's *Auszug der Kirchengesch.* vol. ii. pages 763, 780, 792, &c.—*Schl.*

[1] See Fabricius, *Lux Salutaris Evangelii*, p. 124, where the testimonies are collected. See also the acute Moyle, *Posthumous Works*, p. 101, &c. [The principal authorities cited by Fabricius are, Chrysostom, *Homil. v. adv. Judæos*, and elsewhere; Ammianus Marcell. lib.

happens in such cases, appear to have inconsiderately amplified it with some additional miracles. As to the causes which produced the event, there is room for debate, and there *is* debate. All, however, who weigh the subject with an impartial mind will easily perceive that they must join with those who ascribe the phenomenon to the omnipotent will of God; and that they who choose to ascribe it to natural causes or to artifice and fraud, offer no objections which are insurmountable.[1]

15. The soldiers elected Jovian to succeed Julian. He died in the year 364, after reigning seven months, and therefore accomplished but little.[2] The other emperors of this century, who reigned after Jovian, were Valentinian I. [in the West, from A.D. 364—375, with] Valens [in the East, from A.D. 364—378], then Gratian [in the West, A.D. 375—383, with] Valentinian II. [also in the West, A.D. 375—392, and] Theodosius the Great [in the East, A.D. 379—395], Honorius [in the West, A.D. 395—423], with Arcadius [in the East, A.D. 395—408]. All these were Christians, and did much to advance the religion they professed. They all endeavoured, though not with equal zeal, to extirpate wholly the pagan religion. In this particular, Theodosius the Great, the last emperor of this century [in the East, except Arcadius,] exceeded all the rest. He came to the throne A.D. 389, and died A.D. 395; and during his whole life he did all he could to extirpate idolatry throughout the provinces of the empire, and enacted severe laws against its adherents. The same design was prosecuted by his sons Arcadius and Honorius; so that, in the close of this century, the ancient superstitions were ready to expire, and had lost all their credit.[3]

16. Yet this severity of the government could not prevent the existence of some pagan temples and ceremonies, especially in the remoter provinces. Indeed, these rigorous laws against the worshippers of the pagan deities seemed to have been aimed rather against the common people than against persons of rank and distinction; for it appears, that during the reign of Theodosius, as well as after his death, individuals filled the highest offices, and continued in them till old age, who are known to have been averse from Christianity and attached to paganism. Of this Libanius is an example, who was very hostile to the Christians, and yet was made præfect of the prætorian guards by Theodosius himself. Perhaps greater indulgence was shown to philosophers, rhetoricians, and military commanders, than to other people, on account of their supposed usefulness to the commonwealth.

17. Yet these very rhetoricians and philosophers, whose schools were supposed to be so profitable to the community, exhausted all their ingenuity, both before the days of Constantine the Great and afterwards, to arrest the progress of Christianity. In the beginning of this century, Hierocles, the great ornament of the Platonic school, composed two books against the Christians, in

xxiii. cap. i.; Gregory Naz. *Orat.* iv.; Ambrose, *Ep.* 40. (al. 29, written A.D. 388.) Socrates, *H. E.* lib. iii. cap. xx.; Sozomen, *H. E.* lib. v. cap. xxi.; Theodoret, *H. E.* lib. iii. cap. xx.; Rufinus, *H. E.* lib. i. cap. xxxvii.; Philostorgius, *H. E.* lib. vii. cap. ix.—xiv.; *Hist. Eccles. Tripartita*, lib. vi. cap. xliii.; Nicephorus, lib. x. cap. xxxii.; Zonaras, lib. xiii. cap. xii.; Rabbi David Gantz, *Zemach David*, pt. ii. p. 36; Rabbi Gedaliah, *Schalschelet Hakkabala*, p. 109; Lardner (*Collection of Jewish and Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv. pages 57—71, ed. London, 1767), maintains the whole story to be false. His chief arguments are, that Julian only purposed to rebuild the temple after his Persian expedition; that he needed all his resources for that expedition; the silence of some of the fathers, living near the time; and the decorations of the story by others of them. But these arguments seem wholly insufficient against the explicit testimony of so many credible witnesses, Christians and pagans, and several of them contemporary with the event.—*Mur.*

[1] Basnage, in his *Hist. des Juifs*, tome iv. p. 1257, &c. contests the reality of this miracle. Against him appeared Cuperus, in his *Epistolæ*, p. 400, edited by Bayer. Recently, Bp. Warburton has maintained the reality of the miracle, with an excess of ingenuity, in an appropriate treatise, entitled: *Julian, or a Discourse concerning the earthquake and fiery eruption which defeated that emperor's attempt to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem*; London, 1750, 8vo. [See notes of Guizot and Milman to the latter's edition of Gibbon's *Decl. and Fall*, &c. vol. iv. pages 100, 1, referring this phenomenon to natural causes; and Waddington's *Hist. of the Church*, vol. i. pages 226—9, on the other side.—*R.*

[2] See Bletterie, *Vie de Jovien*, 2 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1748, in which work he completes the history of Julian, and gives a French translation of some of Julian's writings. [The following notices are worth inserting:—Both during the lifetime of Julian, and after his death, when the soldiers made him emperor, Jovian openly declared himself on the side of Christianity; for when Julian gave orders to all the military officers who were Christians either to quit the army or renounce their religion, Jovian chose to relinquish his office. Yet Julian would not release him, but gave him promotion during the Persian war. When chosen emperor, Jovian would not accept the office until the army had declared themselves in favour of Christianity. When he arrived at Antioch he repealed all the laws of Julian adverse to Christianity (*Rufinus*, lib. xi. cap. i. and *Sozomen*, lib. vi. cap. iii.), and wrote to all the provincial governors, commanding them to take diligent care that the Christians should not be disturbed in their public assemblies. He restored to the churches, the clergy, and to widows, all the franchises and privileges which had been granted them by Constantine and his sons, but which Julian had taken from them. He likewise restored the use of the Labarum, or the standard with a cross, and he compelled one Magnus to rebuild the church of Berytus at his own cost, he having commanded it to be demolished. Theodoret, lib. iv. cap. xix. In regard to the religious controversies of that day, he joined with the orthodox against the Arians, and he treated Athanasius with peculiar respect. See Baumgarten's *Auszug der Kirchenhistorie*, vol. ii. p. 805, and the *Universal Hist.*— *Schl.*

[3] See the laws of these emperors in favour of the Christian religion, and against the professors and friends of the ancient religion, in the *Codex Theodosianus*, tom. vi. and Peter and Jerome Ballerini, Diss. i. in *Zenonem Veronensem*, p. 45, &c. Verona, 1739, fol.

which he had the audacity to compare our Saviour with Apollonius Tyanæus, and for which he was chastised by Eusebius [of Cæsarea], in a tract written expressly against him.[1] Lactantius speaks of another philosopher who endeavoured to convince the Christians they were in error, but his name is not mentioned.[2] After the reign of Constantine the Great, Julian wrote a large volume against the Christians; and Himerius[3] and Libanius,[4] in their public declamations, and Eunapius, in his lives of the philosophers,[5] zealously decried the Christian religion; yet not one of these persons was punished for the licentiousness of his tongue or of his pen.

18. How much these sophists or philosophers, who were full of the pride of imaginary knowledge and of hatred to the Christian name, injured the cause of Christianity in this century, appears from many examples, and especially from the apostacy of Julian, who was seduced by such men. Among those who wished to appear wise, and to take moderate ground, many were induced by their arguments and explanations to devise a kind of religion, intermediate between the old superstition and Christianity, and to imagine that Christ had enjoined the very same things which had long been represented by the pagan priests under the envelope of their ceremonies and fables. Of these views were Ammianus Marcellinus, a very prudent and discreet man,[6] Chalcidius, a philosopher,[7] Themistius, a very celebrated orator,[8] and

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1 Hierocles, who flourished about A.D. 303, was governor of Bithynia, and afterwards prefect of Egypt. He was a zealous persecutor of the Christians, and wielded both the sword and the pen against them. His character and his two books addressed to the Christians, are thus described by Lactantius, *Institut. Divinar.* lib. v. cap. ii. iii.: "He was one of the judges, and was the principal author of the persecution [under Diocletian]. But not content with this crime, he also attacked with his pen the people he persecuted, for he composed two books—not against the Christians, lest he should seem to address them as an enemy—but to the Christians, that he might appear friendly to them, and anxious for their good. In these books he endeavours to prove the falsehood of the scriptures, by making them appear full of contradictions."—"He affirms that Christ was outlawed by the Jews, and that he afterwards collected a company of nine hundred banditti, and became a robber."—"Also, wishing to overthrow his miracles (which he does not pretend to deny), he attempts to show that Apollonius had performed as great, and even greater."—"Having poured out such crudities, and having laboured utterly to extirpate the truth, he has the temerity to entitle his nefarious books, which are hostile to God (φιλαληθεῖς), *devoted to the truth.*"—Eusebius, *Liber contra Hierocem*, Gr. and Lat. subjoined to his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, ed. Paris, 1628.—See Lardner's Works, vol. viii. and Bayle, *Diction. Histor. et Crit.* art. *Hierocles* (2d.)—*Mur.*

2 Lactantius, *Institut. Divinar.* lib. v. cap. ii.

3 See Photius, *Biblioth.* cod. clxv. p. 355. [The works of Himerius are lost.—*Mur.*

4 Libanius, the sophist, was born at Antioch about A.D. 314, and lived probably till about the end of the century. He taught rhetoric and declamation at Nice, Nicomedia, Constantinople, Athens, and Antioch. The emperor Julian, when young, was forbidden to attend the school of Libanius; but he obtained and read his writings, and made them his model as to style. When Julian came to the throne he offered Libanius a public office, which the sophist proudly refused. Libanius was an inflated, pedantic man, full of himself, yet independent in his feelings, and free in the expression of his opinions. He was an avowed pagan, yet a strenuous advocate for religious toleration. His numerous writings still remain, consisting of a prolix Life of himself, a large number of eulogies and declamations, and more than a thousand letters. They seldom contain either profound or original thought, or display research, but they are of some use to throw light on the times in which he lived. They were published, Gr. and Lat. vol. i. Paris, 1606, and vol. ii. by Morell, 1627, fol. The most complete edition of his epistles is by Wolf, Amsterdam, 1738, fol. A volume, containing seventeen of his declamations, was published at Venice, 1755:—See his *Life* written by himself in his Works, vol. ii. pages 1—84; Eunapius, *Vitæ Philos. et Sophistarum*, p. 130, &c.; Tillemont, *Hist. des Emper.* tome iv. p. 571, &c; Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* tom. vii. pages 376—414; Lardner, *Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv. pages 127—163; and Gibbon, *Decl. and Fall*, chap. xxiv.—*Mur.* [See his life, in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog.* vol. ii. p. 774.—*R.*

5 See Eunapius, *Lives of Ædesius, Maximus*, &c. Eunaplus also wrote a chronicle, to which he frequently refers in his *Lives of the Sophists*, the first edition of which is full of reproaches against the Christians and Constantine the Great; the second edition is more temperate. Both editions were extant in the time of Photius; see his *Biblioth.* codex lxxvii.—*Schl.*

6 Ammianus Marcellinus, a celebrated Latin historian of Grecian extract, was a soldier for at least twenty years, from A.D. 350 onwards, and served in the honourable corps called *Protectores Domestici*. On retiring from military life he fixed his residence at Rome, where he lived perhaps till the end of the century. There it was he composed his faithful and valuable history. The work originally consisted of thirty-one books, and gave the Roman history from the accession of Nerva (where Suetonius ends), to the death of Valens. The first thirteen books, which must have been very concise, are lost. The last eighteen, which are more full, include the period from A.D. 353—378. The style is harsh and unpolished, and sometimes difficult, but the fidelity and accuracy of the narration render the work highly valuable. Marcellinus was probably a real pagan, but he was not a bigot, and he was willing to give every one his due according to his best judgment. The best editions of his work are that of Valesius, republished by Gronovius, Leyden, 1693, and that of Ernesti, Lips. 1775. See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Marcellin.*—*Mur.* [Gibbon gives him a high character for accuracy and impartiality.—*Decl. and Fall*, &c. vol. iv. pages 389 and 406. He observes that Marcellinus was the last subject of Rome who composed a profane history in Latin. See his life, in Smith, *ubi supra*, vol. i. p. 142.—*R.*

7 Chalcidius, a philosopher of the fourth century, was author of a Latin translation of the *Timæus* of Plato, and of a commentary on it, which were published by Meursius, Leyden, 1617, 4to. Mosheim's opinion of his religious faith is farther developed in his *Diss. de turbata per Recentiores Platonicos Ecclesia*, sec. xxxi. and in his notes on Cudworth's *Intellectual System*, vol. i. p. 732, &c. Fabricius (in his notes on Chalcidius, *passim*, and in his *Biblioth. Latina*, lib. iii. cap. vii. p. 557, &c.) and some others hold that Chalcidius was a pagan.—Brucker (*Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. iii. p. 472, &c.) makes him a Christian, though infected with the new Platonism of his age.—*Mur.*

8 Themistius, a Greek philosopher of Paphlagonia, called Euphrades (the fine speaker) from his eloquent and commanding delivery, was made a Roman senator, and enjoyed the favour of Constantius, Julian, and the succeeding emperors, down to Theodosius the Great, who made him prefect of Constantinople, and appointed him tutor to his son Arcadius. He wrote when young some commentaries on Aristotle, fragments of which are still extant, and thirty-three Orations. His works are best edited by Harduin, Paris, 1684, fol. He was a strenuous advocate for the free toleration of all religions, as being all good and tending to the same result by different ways. Concerning him and his religious

others, who conceived that both religions were in unison as to all the more important points, if they were rightly understood; and therefore held, that Christ was neither to be contemned nor to be honoured, to the exclusion of the pagan deities.[1]

19. As Constantine the Great and his sons and successors took much pains to enlarge the Christian Church, it is not strange that many nations, before barbarous and uncivilized, became subject to Christ.[2] Many circumstances make it probable that the light of Christianity cast some of its rays into both Armenias, the Greater and the Less, soon after the establishment of the Christian church.[3] But the Armenian church first received due organization and firm establishment in this century, near the beginning of which, Gregory, the son of Anax, commonly called the Illuminator, [Φωστῆρα], because he dispelled the mists of superstition which beclouded the minds of the Armenians, first persuaded some private individuals, and afterwards Tiridates, the king of the Armenians, as well as his nobles, to embrace and observe the Christian religion. He was therefore ordained the first bishop of Armenia by Leontius, bishop of Cappadocia, and gradually diffused the principles of Christianity throughout that country.[4]

20. In the middle of this century, one Frumentius proceeded from Egypt into the neighbouring country of Abyssinia or Ethiopia, the inhabitants of which were called Auxumitæ, from their capital city Auxuma, and baptized both the king of the country and very many of the nobles. Afterwards returning to Egypt, he was consecrated by St. Athanasius, first bishop of the Auxumitæ. From this circumstance the Ethiopic church, even to this day, is dependent on that of Alexandria, and receives its bishop from it.[5] In Iberia, a province of Asia which is now called Georgia, a Christian woman who had been carried captive into that country, partly by the sanctity of her life and partly by miracles, induced the king and his queen to renounce idolatry and embrace Christ, and also to send for priests from Constantinople, from whom they and their people might gain a fuller and more accurate knowledge of the Christian religion.[6]

21. A part of the Goths inhabiting Thrace, Mœsia, and Dacia (now the north-east part of Rumelia, with Bulgaria and Walachia on the Danube), had embraced Christianity before the commencement of this century,[7] and Theophilus, their bishop, was present at the Nicene council.[8] Constantine the Great, after having vanquished them and the Samaritans, induced great numbers of them to become Christians.[9] But still a large part of the nation remained estranged from Christ until the time of the emperor Valens, who permitted them to pass the river Ister [or Danube], and to inhabit Dacia, Mœsia, and Thrace, on condition that they would be subject to the Roman laws and would embrace Christianity, to which condition their king Fritigern consented.[10] The bishop of the Goths inhabiting Mœsia in this century was the much celebrated Ulphilas, who, among other laudable deeds, gave his countrymen an alphabet of his own invention, and translated the bible for them into the Gothic language.[11]

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views, see Brucker's *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. ii. p. 484, &c.—*Mur.*

[1] This favourite opinion Mosheim defends more at length in his *Diss. de turbata per Recentiores Platonicos Ecclesia*, sec. xxx. xxxi. xxxii.; among his *Dissert. ad Hist. Eccles. pertinentes*, vol. i. pages 85—216, Altona, 1733.—But it does not seem necessary to adopt this hypothesis, which has but slender support from argument, because the Eclectic or new Platonic philosophy might easily lead its votaries to speak in terms of moderation, and even of commendation of the Christian religion, especially in an age when it prevailed almost universally, and was the religion of the state and of the imperial court.—*Mur.*

[2] Gaudentius, *Vita Philastrii*, sec. iii.; Philastrius, *De Hæres.* Præf. p. 5, ed. Fabricii; Socrates, *Hist. Eccles* lib. i. cap. xix.; Georgius Cedrenus, *Chronograph.* p 234, ed. Paris; and others.

[3] For Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. cap. xlvi.) informs us that Dionysius of Alexandria, about the year 260, "wrote concerning penance to the brethren of Armenia, over whom Meruzanes was bishop;" and, according to the *Acta Martyrum*, some Armenians suffered martyrdom in the persecution under Decius, (A.D. 253) and Diocletian (A.D. 304).—*Schl.*

[4] See *Narratio de Rebus Armeniæ*, in Combefis, *Auctarium Biblioth. Patr. Græcor.* tom. ii. p. 287, &c.; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* tom. i. pages 419 and 1356; Schröder, *Thesaur. Linguæ Armeniacæ*, p. 149, &c. [Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 8; Moses Chorenensis, *Hist. Armenica*, lib. iii. ed. Whistoni, Lond. 1736, 4to, p. 256, &c.; Martin, *Mem. Hist. et Geogr. sur l'Armenie*, Paris, 1818, 8vo.—*Mur.*

[5] Athanasius, *Apologia ad Constantium*, *Opp.* tom. i. pt. ii. p. 315, ed. Benedict; Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. xlix.; Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. xxiv.; Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. xxiii.; Ludolf, *Comment. ad Hist. Æthiopic.* p. 281.; Lobo, *Voyage d' Abissinie*, tome ii. p. 13, &c.; Fontaninus, *Hist. Literar. Aquileiæ*, p. 174. [Bruce's *Travels in Abyssinia*, Edin. 1804, vol. v. p. 4, &c.; and vol. vii. p. 73, &c.—*Mur.*

[6] Rufinus, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. x.; Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. vii; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* tom. i. p. 1333, &c. [Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.* i. cap. xxiv.—*Mur.*

[7] Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. v.—*Schl.*

[8] Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. i. p. 319.—*Schl.*

[9] Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. xviii.

[10] Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. xxxiii.; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* tom. i. p. 1242; Benzel, *Præf. ad in. Evangelia Gothica* (ascribed to Ulphilas), cap. v. p. 18, &c. ed. Oxon. 1750, 4to.

[11] Mascovius, *Hist. German.* tom. i. p. 317; tom. ii Note, p. 49; *Acta Sanctor.* March, vol. iii. p. 619; Benzel, *ubi supra*, cap. viii. p. xxx. [Zahn, *Einleitung in Ulfilas Bibelübersetzung*, p. iv. &c. ed. Weissenfels, 1805, 4to, where is condensed all that is stated of Ulphilas and his translation by the ancients. viz. Philostorgius, *H.E.* lib. ii. cap. v.; Socrates, *H. E.*

22. In the European provinces of the Roman empire there still remained a vast number of idolaters; and though the Christian bishops endeavoured to convert them to Christ, the business went on but slowly. In Gaul, the great Martin, bishop of Tours, was not unsuccessful in this work. Travelling through the provinces of Gaul, by his discourses and by his miracles (if we may believe Sulpitius Severus) he everywhere persuaded many to renounce their idols and embrace Christ, while he destroyed their temples, and threw down their statues.[1] He therefore merited the title of the Apostle of the Gauls.

23. It is very evident that the victories of Constantine the Great, and the fear of punishment, as well as the desire of pleasing the Roman emperors, were cogent reasons, in the view of whole nations as well as of individuals, for embracing the Christian religion. Yet no person well informed in the history of this period will ascribe the extension of Christianity wholly to these causes; for it is manifest that the untiring zeal of the bishops and other holy men, the pure and devout lives which many of the Christians exhibited, the translations of the sacred volume, and the excellence of the Christian religion, were as efficient motives with many persons as the arguments from worldly advantage and disadvantage were with others. As for miracles, I cheerfully unite with those who look with contempt on the wonders ascribed to Paul, Antony, and Martin.[2] I also grant that many events were inconsiderately regarded as miracles which were according to the laws of nature, not to mention pious frauds. Still I cannot join with such as believe that in this age God did never manifest his power by any extraordinary signs among Christians.[3]

24. Although the Christian church within the Roman empire was involved in no severe calamities from the times of Constantine the Great onwards, except during the commotion of Licinius and the short reign of Julian, yet slight tempests sometimes beat upon it in certain places. Athanaric, for instance, a king of the Goths, fiercely

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lib. ii. cap. xii. and lib. iv. cap. xxxiii.; Sozomen, *H. E.* lib. iv. cap. xxiv. lib. vi. cap. xxxvii.; Theodoret, *H. E.* lib. iv. cap. xxxvii.; and others. Ulphilas (or *Ulfila, Urphilas, Gilfulas*, &c. but should, according to Jornandes, be written *Wulfila*, i.e. *Wölflein*, diminutive of *Wulf* or *Wolf*, a wolf) is said by Philostorgius to have been descended from Christian Greeks of Sadagoltina in Cappadocia, who were carried into captivity by the Goths in the year 266. Others suppose from his name that he was of Gothic extract. Philostorgius also makes him first bishop of the Goths, and says he was ordained by the Arian Eusebius of Nicomedia, in the reign of Constantine the Great. Others make him to have succeeded Theophilus, and to have flourished from the year 360 to 380. He was a man of talents and learning, an Arian (at least in the latter part of his life), and possessed vast and salutary influence among the Goths in Dacia, Mœsia, and Thrace. He was at the Arian synod of Constantinople in the year 359, and was twice sent on embassies by the nation to the imperial court. His last embassy was in the reign of Valens, A.D. 376, to obtain permission for the Goths to pass the Danube and settle in Mœsia. He was successful; and 200,000 Goths were admitted into the Roman empire, on conditions of obeying the Roman laws and joining the Arian interest. It is not known when he died, but it was some time in the reign of Theodosius the Great (A.D. 379—395); he was succeeded in his episcopal office by Theotimus, or, as some report, by Selinas. He was author of a translation of the whole Bible except the books of Kings, from Greek into the language of the Goths of Mœsia. The books of Kings were omitted by him, lest their history of wars and battles should inflame the already too great thirst of the Goths for war and carnage. The alphabet he used was of his own devising, and formed chiefly from the Greek and Latin. Nothing remains of this translation except a single copy, somewhat mutilated, of the four Gospels, called the *Codex Argenteus*, because written in letters of silver, now at Upsal in Sweden; and a few fragments of the epistle to the Romans, recovered from an erasure of a MS. of the eighth or ninth century. Ulphilas' Gospels were first published by Junius, Dort, 1665, 2 vols. 4to; afterwards at Stockholm, 1671, 4to; very learnedly at Oxford, 1750, fol.; and lastly, in a very convenient German edition, by Zahn, Weissenfels, 1805, 4to, with a complete Apparatus in the German language.—*Mur.* [A few unimportant fragments have been recently recovered by Cardinal Mai, among the MSS. of the Ambrosian Library in Milan, and published there in 1819 under this title:—*Ulphilæ partium ineditarum in Ambrosianis Palimpsestis ab Ang. Majo repertarum Specimen*, &c. Milan, 1819, 4to. The latest edition of the Gothic translation, is that entitled —*Vet. et Nov. Test. versionis Gothicæ Fragmenta quæ supersunt ad fidem cod. castigata, cum Glossario*, &c. curâ H. C. de Gabelentz et Loebe, 4to, in two volumes. The first contains the Text, Leips. 1843; and the second contains the Glossary and a Grammar of the Gothic language. Leips. 1843.—*R.*

[1] See Sulpitius Severus, Dial. i. *De Vita Martini*, cap. xiii. xv. xvii. Dial. ii. p. 106, &c. ed. Hier. a Prato, Verona, 1741, fol.—[This Martin was born in Sabaria in Pannonia, and brought up at Pavia in Italy. He embraced Christianity contrary to the will of his parents, and served in the army, following the occupation of his father. He afterwards left the military life, and committed himself to the instruction of Hilary of Poictiers. From the Arians he suffered much persecution; and he was principally instrumental in the introduction of monasticism among the Gauls. [He was ordained bishop of Tours, A.D. 374, and died in the year 397, aged 81.] For other particulars of his life see his biographer, Sulpitius Severus; also Tillemont, *Mémoires à l'Hist. de l'Eglise*, tome x.; and the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome i. pt. ii. p. 413.—*Schl.* [The English reader may consult Milner's *Church History*, cent. iv. chap. xiv.—*Mur.*

[2] Hieronymus a Prato in his preface to Sulpitius Severus, p. xiii. &c. contends zealously for the miracles of Martin and others in this century. [An account of the miracles of St. Martin may be found in Sulpit. Sever. *Vita Martini*; and *Epistles* i.—iii. and *Dialogues* ii. iii. The miracles of some contemporary monks of Egypt and the East are the subject of Dialogue i. For the history of Paul, see Jerome, *De Vita S. Pauli Eremitæ*, in his *Opp.* tom. i.; and for that of Antony, see Athanasius, *De Vita S. Antonii Eremitæ*, in his *Opp.* tom. ii. ed. Paris, 1627.—*Mur.* [The life of Antony, by Athanasius, has been translated into English, Lond. 1697, 12mo. The student should turn to what is said of this piece of biography, as illustrative of the state of the Nicene Church, in Taylor's *Ancient Christ.* vol. i. p. 198, &c.—*R.*

[3] See Eusebius, *Contra Hieroclem*, cap. iv. p. 431, ed. Olearii; Dodwell, *Diss.* ii. *in Irenæum*, sec. iv. p. 195, [also Middleton's *Free Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers in the Christian Church*, and the other works referred to in Note 1, page 54, above.—*R.*

assailed for a time that portion of the Gothic nation which had embraced Christianity.[1] In the more remote provinces also, the adherents to idolatry often defended their hereditary superstitions with the sword, and murdered the Christians, who, in propagating their religion, were not always as gentle or as prudent as they ought to have been.[2] Beyond the limits of the Roman empire, Sapor II. surnamed Longæevus, the king of Persia, waged three bloody wars against the Christians in his dominions. The first was in the eighteenth year of his reign, A.D. 317; the second was in the thirtieth year; and the third, which was the most cruel, and destroyed an immense number of Christians, commenced in the next year, A D. 330, and lasted forty years, or till A.D. 370. Yet religion was not the ostensible cause of this dreadful persecution, but a suspicion of treasonable practices among the Christians; for the Magi and the Jews persuaded the king to believe that all Christians were in the interests of the Roman empire, and that Symeon, the archbishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, sent to Constantinople intelligence of all that passed in Persia.[3]

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

1. THE Greeks and Romans of this century, who wished to pass for the *literati* of the age, devoted themselves particularly to eloquence, poetry, and history; and not a few of both nations might be named who acquired some reputation in these studies; yet they all fell very far short of the highest excellence. The best of these poets, as Ausonius,[4] if compared with those of the Augustan age, are harsh and inelegant. The rhetoricians, abandoning wholly the noble simplicity and majesty of the ancients, taught the youth how to speak ostentatiously and sophistically on all subjects; and most of the historians were less attentive to method, perspicuity, and fidelity, than to empty and insipid ornaments.

2. Nearly all who attempted philosophy in this century were of the sect called Modern Platonists. It is not strange therefore that some Platonic notions are to be met with in the works of the Christians as well as others; yet there were fewer of these philosophers in the West than in the East. In Syria, Jamblichus of Chalcis expounded Plato, or rather palmed his own conceptions upon that philosopher.[5] His writings show that he was superstitious, obscure, credulous, and of ordinary intellectual powers. He was succeeded by Ædesius,[6] Maximus,[7] and others, of whose follies Eunapius gives us an account. In Egypt, Hypatia,[8] a dis-

[1] See Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum*; and among these, the *Acta Sti Sabæ*, p. 598, &c.

[2] See Ambrose, *De Officiis*, lib. i. cap. xliii. sec. xvii. where there is an important statement.

[3] See Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. i.—xiii. These Persian persecutions are expressly treated of in the *Biblioth. Oriental. Clement. Vatican.* tom. i. pages 6, 16, 181, and tom. iii. p. 52, &c.; with which, however, should be compared Asseman, *Præf. ad Acta Martyrum Oriental. et Occidental.* splendidly edited, Rome, 1748; 2 vols. fol. p. lxxi. &c. He has published the *Martyrologium Persicum* in Syriac, with a Latin translation and excellent notes.

[4] Decius, or Decimus Magnus Ausonius, was a Latin poet, born and educated at Bordeaux, who flourished in the last half of this century. He was probably a nominal Christian, was a man of poetic genius, and much caressed and advanced to high honours by those in authority. His poems were chiefly short pieces, eulogies, epigrams, &c. and not devoid of merit. Yet the style attests the declining age of Roman literature. Some of the pieces are also very obscene. Edited by Tollius, Leyden, 1671, 4to; and Lat. and Fr. by Jaubert, Paris, 1769, 4 vols. 12mo.—*Mur.* [The student will find an excellent life of Ausonius by Professor Ramsay, in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biog.* vol. i. p. 444.—*R.*

[5] Jamblichus. There were three of this name, the first lived early in the second century, his works are now lost; the second probably died about the year 333, and wrote largely; the third was contemporary with Julian, and wrote the life of Alypius the musician. The second is the one intended by Mosheim. He was a pagan, an enthusiast, and a great pretender to superior talents and learning. Of his works there remain a *Life of Pythagoras*, published Gr. and. Lat. with notes by Kuster, Amsterdam, 1707, 4to; *Exhortation to the Study of Philosophy*; three books *on Mathematical Learning*; *Commentary* on Nicomachus; *Institutes of Arithmetic*; and a *Treatise on the Mysteries of the Egyptians and Chaldeans of Assyria*; published Gr. and Lat. with notes, by Tho. Gale, Oxf. 1678, fol. See Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. ii. pages 260—270. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* vol. iv. p. 282, &c. and Lardner's Works, vol. viii.—*Mur.*

[6] Ædesius of Cappadocia, a disciple of Jamblichus, and like his master a devotee of theurgia. See Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. ii. p. 270, &c.—*Mur.*

[7] Maximus of Ephesus, called the Cynic, another pretender to superhuman knowledge. He is said to have persuaded Julian to apostatize; and he certainly had great influence over that emperor. He was put to death for practising magic, in the reign of Valens. See Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. ii. p. 281, &c. Eunapius (*De Vitis Sophistarum*) gives account of Jamblichus, Ædesius, and Maximus.—*Mur.*

[8] Hypatia of Alexandria, a lady who excelled all the philosophers of her age, and who publicly taught philosophy with great applause, flourished in the close of

tinguished lady, Isidorus,[1] Olympiodorus,[2] Synesius, a semi-Christian,[3] and others of less fame, propagated this kind of wisdom, or rather folly.

3. As the emperor Julian was a passionate admirer of this philosophy (which his writings clearly show), very many were induced by his influence to vie with each other in their endeavours to set it forth in the most alluring dress.[4] But when Julian died a dreadful storm burst upon the Platonists during the reign of Valentinian, and several of them were arraigned and tried for their lives, on the charge of practising magic and other crimes. In these commotions Maximus, the preceptor of Julian, among others, suffered death;[5] but it was rather the intimacy of these men with Julian, whose counsellors they had been, than the philosophy they embraced, which proved their ruin. Hence, the rest of the sect which had not been connected with the court, were exposed to very little danger or loss in this persecution of the philosophers.

4. The Christians, from the time of Constantine the Great, devoted much more attention to the study of philosophy and the liberal arts than they had done before; and the emperors omitted no means which might awaken and cherish a thirst for learning. Schools were established in many of the towns, libraries were formed, and literary men were encouraged by stipends, privileges, and honours.[6] All this was requisite to the accomplishment of their object of gradually abolishing pagan idolatry; for the old religion of the pagans derived its chief support from the learning of its advocates; and, moreover, if the Christian youth could find no instructors of their own religion, there was danger of their applying to the pagan teachers of philosophy and rhetoric, to the injury of the true religion.

5. Yet it must not be supposed that the Christian church was full of literary, erudite, and scientific men, for there was no law as yet to prevent the ignorant and illiterate from entering the sacred office; and it appears, from explicit testimony, that very many of both bishops and presbyters were entirely destitute of all science and learning; besides, the party was both numerous and powerful who considered all learning, and especially philosophical learning, as injurious and even destructive to true piety and godliness. All the ascetics, monks, and eremites, were inclined towards this party, which was also highly favoured, not only by women, but by all those who estimate piety by the gloom of the countenance, the sordidness of the dress, and the love of solitude, or, in other words, by the many.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH, AND OF ITS TEACHERS.

1. CONSTANTINE the Great permitted the external organization of the church to remain as it had been; yet in some respects he improved and extended it. While therefore he suffered the church to continue to be, as before, a sort of republic, distinct from the political body, he assumed to himself the supreme power over this sacred republic, and the right of modelling and controlling it in such a manner as would best subserve the public good. Nor did any bishop call in question this power of the emperor. The people therefore in the same manner as before, continued to elect freely their own bishops and teachers; and the bishops severally, in their respective districts or cities, directed and regulated all ecclesiastical affairs, using their presbyters as their council, and calling on the people for their assent. The bishops also met together in conventions or councils, to deliberate on the subjects in which the churches of a whole province were interested, on points of religious controversy, on the rites of worship, and other matters of like import. To these minor councils of one or more provinces there were now added, by authority of the emperor, assemblies or grand councils of the whole church, called œcumenical or general councils, the emperor having first summoned one of this

this century and the first part of the next. She was murdered in a tumult, A.D. 415. See Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. cap. xv.; Suidas, art. *Hypatia*, tom. iii. p. 533; Tillemont, *Mémoires à l' Hist. Eccles.* tome xiv. p. 274; Menage, *Hist. Mulier. Philos.* sec. xlix. &c. p. 494, &c.; and Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. ii. p. 351.—*Mur.* [To these works may be added J. Ch. Wernsdorf, *Dissert. Acad.* iv. *de Hypatia*. Wittem. 1747; and Wolfius, *Catalogus fœminar. Illustr.* pages 368—71.—*R.*

[1] This Isidorus was surnamed Gazæus, from Gaza in Palestine, the place of his birth. Concerning him, see Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. ii. p. 343, &c.—*Schl.*

[2] Olympiodorus, author of a *Commentary upon Plato*, still preserved in MS. at Paris, and a *Life of Plato*, of which a Latin version has been published. There were several persons of this name. See Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. ii. p. 490.—*Mur.*

[3] Synesius, of Cyrene in Africa, studied under Hypatia; resided at Constantinople from A.D. 397—400, as deputy from his native city; was made bishop of Ptolemais, A.D. 410. He wrote well for that age, though he was too much infected with the reigning philosophy. His works have been edited by Petavius, Gr. and Lat. Paris, 1612 and 1631, fol.—*Mur.*

[4] See Spanheim, *Præfatio ad Opp. Juliani, et ad versionem Gallicam Cæsarum, Juliani*, pt. iii. et *Adnotat.* p. 234. Bletterie, *Vie de Julien*, liv. i. p. 26, &c.

[5] Ammianus Marcellin. *Hist.* lib. xxix. cap. i. p. 556, ed. Valesii; and Bletterie, *Vie de Julien*, p. 30, &c. 155, 159, &c.; and *Vie de Jovien*, tome i. p. 194.

[6] See Gothofredus, *ad Codic. Theodos.* under the titles or chapters, *De Professoribus et Artibus Liberalibus*: Balduin, *Constantinus Magn.* p. 22, &c.; Conringius, *Diss. de Studiis Romæ et Constantinop.* subjoined to his *Antiquit. Academicæ.*

character at Nice; for he deemed it suitable (very probably at the suggestion of the bishops), that causes of great moment, and affecting either the church universally or the general principles of Christianity, should be examined and decided in conventions of the whole church. There were never, indeed, any councils held which could strictly and properly be called universal; those, however, whose decrees and enactments were received and approved by the whole church, or by the greatest part of it, have been commonly called œcumenical or general councils.

2. Most of these rights and privileges, however, were gradually diminished very much, from the time that various disturbances, and quarrels, and threatening contests arose here and there respecting ecclesiastical affairs, religious doctrines, or the elections of bishops. For, as the weaker parties generally appealed to the court, this afforded to the emperors the best opportunity of encroaching on the power of the bishops, the liberties of the people, and the ancient customs of the church. The bishops likewise, whose wealth and influence were not a little augmented from the time of Constantine, gradually subverted and changed the ancient principles of church government. For they first excluded the people altogether from having a voice in ecclesiastical affairs, and next by degrees deprived the presbyters of their former authority, so that they might control everything at their discretion; and in particular appropriate the ecclesiastical property to themselves, or distribute it as they pleased. Hence, at the close of this century, only a mere shadow of the ancient form of church government remained; and the former rights of the presbyters and the people were engrossed chiefly by the bishops, while those of the whole church passed into the hands of the emperors or their provincial governors and magistrates.

3. Constantine, to render his throne secure and prevent civil wars, not only changed the system of Roman jurisprudence, but likewise altered in many respects the constitution of the empire.[1] And as he wished, for various reasons, to adapt the ecclesiastical administration to that of the commonwealth, it became necessary that new grades of honour and pre-eminence should be introduced among the bishops. The chief among the bishops were those who had before held a pre-eminent rank, namely, the bishops of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria, with whom the bishop of Constantinople was joined, after the imperial residence was transferred to that city. These four prelates answered to the four prætorian præfects created by Constantine, and perhaps, even in this century, bore the Jewish title of Patriarchs. Next to these were the exarchs, corresponding with the civil exarchs, and presiding each over several provinces. The metropolitans came next, who governed only single provinces. After them ranked the archbishops, who had the inspection only of certain districts. The bishops brought up the rear, whose territories were not in all countries of the same extent, being in some more extensive and in others confined to narrower limits. To these several orders of bishops I should add that of the chorepiscopi, or rural bishops, the superintendents of the country churches, were it not that the bishops, in order to extend their own power, had caused this order to be suppressed in most places.[2]

[1] See Bos, *Hist. de la Monarchie Française*, tome i. p. 64; Giannone, *Hist. de Naples*, tome i. pages 94—152.

[2] This is shown by Thomassin, *Disciplina Eccles. Vet. et Nova circa Beneficia*, tom. i. various passages. [Though the ecclesiastical divisions of the Roman empire did not coincide exactly with the civil divisions, yet a knowledge of the latter will help us to form a better idea of the former. Accordingly, we annex the following account of the civil distribution copied from an ancient *Notitia Imperii*, said to have been written before the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, or before A.D. 395. See Pagi, *Critica in Baron. ad ann.* 37, tom. i. p. 29, &c. I. The Prætorian prefecture of the East, comprising the extensive districts, or, as they were styled, the dioceses of—1st, the East; 2d, Egypt; 3d, Asia; 4th, Pontus; and 5th, Thrace. II. The Prefecture of Illyria, comprising the dioceses of—1st, Macedonia; and 2d, Dacia. III. The Prefecture of Italy, comprising the dioceses of—1st, Italy; 2d, Illyricum; and 3d, Africa. IV. The Prefecture of Gaul, comprising the dioceses of—1st, Spain; 2d, Gaul; and 3d, Britain. Thus the civil division of the Roman empire was, in this century, into four Prefectures, containing thirteen Dioceses, which embraced one hundred and sixteen Provinces. The ecclesiastical division of the empire, though founded upon the civil division, was by no means so complete or so regular. The civil provinces were generally ecclesiastical provinces, and under the inspection severally of the metropolitans or archbishops of those provinces. Yet there were many bishops who were exempt from the inspection or jurisdiction of the metropolitans, and were therefore called αὐτοκέφαλοι, independent. They also bore the titles of archbishops and of metropolitans, although they had no suffragans or bishops depending on them. Hence there were not properly five orders of bishops above the rank of chorepiscopi, as Mosheim represents; but only three —namely, patriarchs, metropolitans or archbishops, and simple bishops.—Before the times of Constantine, provincial councils were common, and these gave rise to the order of metropolitans. Among the metropolitans, those of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria stood pre-eminent in honour and influence. During the reign of Constantine the Great, the powers of these three metropolitans were enlarged; but whether they bore the title or possessed the authority of patriarchs at that time is not certain. They however became patriarchs, both in name and in power, before the century had elapsed. And these were the three original patriarchs. Towards the close of this century, the bishops of Constantinople obtained rank next to those of Rome, and extended their authority over several dioceses not subject to the other patriarchs. In the next century, the bishops of Jerusalem became independent of the patri-

4. The administration of ecclesiastical affairs was divided by Constantine himself into the external and the internal.[1] The latter he relinquished to the bishops and to councils. It embraced what was purely religious, theological controversies, forms of worship, functions of the priests, the irregularities of their lives, &c. The external administration he took upon himself. It included whatever relates to the external condition of the church or to its discipline, and also all contests and causes of the ministers of the church, both of the higher and of the lower orders, which did not respect religion and sacred functions, but property, worldly honours and privileges, and offences against the laws, and the like.[2] He and his successors therefore assembled councils, presided in them, assigned judges for religious disputes, decided contests between bishops and their people, determined the limits of the episcopal sees, and, by the ordinary judges, heard and adjudged the civil causes and common offences among the ministers of the church; but ecclesiastical causes he left to the cognizance of the councils and bishops. Yet this famous partition of the ecclesiastical government into the external and the internal administrations was never clearly explained and accurately defined. Hence, both in this and in the following centuries, we see many transactions which do not accord with it but contravene it. For the emperors not unfrequently determined matters relating to the interior of the church; and, on the other hand, councils and bishops often enacted laws respecting things which seem to belong to the external form and affairs of the church.

5. The first among the bishops, in respect to rank and dignity, was the bishop of Rome. And this pre-eminence was not founded solely on popular feeling and prejudice of long standing, and which various causes had originated, but also on those grounds which, in the estimation of men, commonly give priority and greatness. For he exceeded all other bishops in the amplitude and splendour of the church, over which he presided, in the magnitude of his revenues and possessions, in the number of his ministers of various descriptions, in the weight of his influence with the people at large, and in the sumptuousness and magnificence of his style of living.[3] These indications of power and worldly greatness were so fascinating to the minds of Christians even in this age, that often most obstinate and bloody contests took place at Rome when a new pontiff was to be created by the suffrages of the priests and people. A shocking example of this is afforded by the disturbance at Rome in the year 366, after the death of Liberius. When they came to the choice of a new bishop, one party was for placing Damasus, and another for appointing Ursicinus, a deacon, over the bereaved church; and the contention issued in a bloody warfare, in which there was fighting, burning of buildings, and many lost their lives. Damasus came off victorious in the contest; but whether his claims were better, or his cause more righteous, than those of Ursicinus, does not appear.[4] I dare not pronounce either of them a good man.

6. It is however abundantly attested that the bishops of Rome did not, in this century, possess supreme power and jurisdiction in the church. They were citizens of the commonwealth; and though higher in honour, they obeyed the laws and the mandates of the emperors, just like other

archs of Antioch; and thus there were five patriarchates formed. These five patriarchates continued from the fifth century onward to the Reformation. In the eleventh century, Nilus Doxopatrius of Constantinople informs us that the patriarch of Constantinople then presided over fifty-two metropolitans, who had under them six hundred and forty-nine suffragan bishops, and over thirteen titular metropolitans, *i.e.* bishops who were called metropolitans and αὐτοκέφαλοι, but had no suffragans, and likewise thirty-four titular archbishops. The patriarch of Antioch presided over thirteen metropolitans, with one hundred and thirty-nine suffragans, besides eight titular metropolitans, and thirteen titular archbishops. The patriarch of Jerusalem presided over four metropolitans with suffragans, and twenty-five titular archbishops. And the patriarch of Alexandria presided over seven metropolitans with suffragans, and five titular metropolitans and archbishops. The number of suffragans in the two last Patriarchates is not given.—*Mur.* [The student will find full information on the respective limits of these patriarchates in Bingham's *Orig. Eccles.* book ix. ch. i. sec. 5, 6, &c. illustrated with maps. On Ecclesiastical Geography the older works are, Carolus a St. Paulo, *Geographia Sacra*, Ams. 1703, fol.; Nic Sanson, *Atlas Antiquus Sacer, Ecc. et Profanus*, curâ J. Clericus. Ams. 1705, fol.; and more recently Möller, *Hierographie oder Topog. Synchr. Darstellung d. Gesch. d. Christ. Kirche.* twelve maps, not well executed, Elber. 1825; and Wiltsch, *Kirchhistorischer Atlas*, Gotha, 1843. The ancient names of the several sees throughout the Christian world, which it is sometimes very difficult to identify with their modern designations, are given in an excellent *Index Geographicus Episcopatuum Orbis Christ.* appended to Fabricius, *Salutaris Lux Evangelii*, &c.—*R.*

1 Eusebius, *De Vita Constant.* lib. iv. cap. 24.

2 See the imperial laws in both the Justinian and Theodosian Codex; and, among others, Gothofredus, *ad Codicem Theodos.* tom. vi. pages 55, 58, 333, &c. [This whole system resulted partly from the office of Pontifex Maximus, which was retained by Constantine and all his successors till the fifth century, and partly from the conception of Constantine, that the church was a society existing independently of the state. See Bos, *Diss. de Pontificatu maximo Imperator. Christianor.* —*Schl.*

3 Ammianus Marcellinus, *Hist.* lib. xxvii. cap. iii.

4 See the writers of Lives of the Popes, among whom Bower has stated this matter ingenuously and impartially, in his *Hist. of the Popes*, vol. i. p. 180, &c. London, 1749. [Ammian. Marcellin. *Hist.* lib. xxvii. cap. iii. says, that one hundred and thirty-seven corpses of the slain were found in one day in the church of Sicininus.—*Mur.*

citizens. The more weighty religious causes were determined either by judges appointed by the emperor, or in ecclesiastical councils; minor causes were decided by individual bishops. The laws relating to religion were enacted either by the emperors or by councils. No bishop acknowledged that his authority was derived from the plenary power of the Roman bishop, or that he was constituted a bishop by the favour of the apostolic see; on the contrary, they all maintained that they were the ambassadors and ministers of Jesus Christ, and that their authority was derived from above.[1] Yet it is undeniable, that even in this century several of those steps were laid, by which the Roman pontiffs afterwards mounted to the summit of ecclesiastical dominion, and this partly by the imprudence of the emperors, partly by the sagacity of the pontiffs themselves, and partly by the hasty decision of certain bishops. Among these steps, however, I would assign either no place, or only the very lowest, to the fourth canon of the council of Sardica, in the year 347, to which the friends of the Roman pontiff assign the first and the most important place; for, not to mention that the authority and regularity of this council are very dubious, and that, not without reason, the existing enactments of this council are regarded by some as corrupted, and by others as forged,[2] it cannot be made to appear from that canon that the bishops assembled at Sardica decided that in all cases an appeal might be made to the Roman pontiff as the supreme and final judge. But suppose they had so decided, which yet can never be proved, how weak must that right be which is founded only on the decision of a single obscure council![3]

7. Constantine the Great, by transferring the imperial residence to Byzantium, and there founding the new city of Constantinople, undesignedly raised up against the rising power of the Roman pontiff a formidable competitor in the bishop of the new metropolis; for, as the emperor wished his Constantinople to be a new Rome, and had endowed it with all the privileges, honours, and elegances of old Rome, the bishop of so great a city, which was the imperial residence, also wished to be thought every way equal to the bishop of old Rome in rank, and to have precedence of all other bishops. Nor did the emperors disapprove of this ambition, because they considered their own dignity as involved in that of the bishop of their metropolis; therefore, in the council of Constantinople, assembled in the year 381, by authority of the emperor Theodosius the Great, the bishop of Alexandria not being present, and the bishop of Rome being opposed to it, the bishop of Constantinople, by the third canon, was placed in the first rank after the bishop of Rome; the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, of course, to take rank after him. The bishop who had this honour conferred on him was Nectarius. His successor, John Chrysostom, went further, and subjected all Thrace, Asia [the diocese of the western part of Asia Minor], and Pontus, to his jurisdiction.[4] The subsequent bishops of Constantinople gradually advanced their claims still further; but this revolution in the ecclesiastical government, and the sudden elevation of the Byzantine bishop to high rank, to the injury of others, in the first place

[1] All these points are discussed at large by many writers, among whom I will name De Marca, *De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii;* Du Pin, *De Antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina;* and especially Blondell, *De la Primauté dans l'Eglise*, a very learned work [also, Spanheim, *Diss. de Primatu Papæ, et Canone* vi. *Niceno.* — *Schl.* [The sixth canon of the council of Nice, A.D. 325, gave to the bishops of Alexandria, Rome, and Antioch, severally, the same pre-eminence over their respective surrounding bishops. Meletius had encroached upon the prerogatives of his metropolitan of Alexandria; and therefore the council ordain (according to the translation of Dionysius Exiguus), ANTIQUA CONSUETUDO SERVETUR *per Ægyptum, Libyam, et Pentapolim, ita ut Alexandrinus Episcopus horum omnium habeat potestatem; quia et Romæ Episcopo parilis mos est. Similiter autem et apud Antiochiam, cæteraque provincias, suis privilegia serventur ecclesiis.* To reconcile this canon with the papal claims of universal empire, the Romanists tell us it relates merely to the patriarchal or metropolitical power of the bishop of Rome, and not to his power as pope — a distinction which does not appear to have occurred to the Nicene fathers. See Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles.* sæc. iv. diss. XX.—*Mur.*

[2] See Mich. Geddes, *Diss. de Canonibus Sardicensibus*, among his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. ii. p. 415 [and Bower, *Lives of the Popes*,—Pope Julius, vol. i. p. 420, &c., 4to.—*Mur.*

[3] This council was called by Julius, bishop of Rome, and was designed to be a general council; it was therefore held at Sardica in Illyricum, as accommodating both the East and the West; but as most of the eastern bishops withdrew from it, it was rather a council of the West. Its decrees were not confirmed by several subsequent councils, nor received by the whole church. See De Marca, *De Concordia Sacerdotii*, &c. lib. vii. cap iv. v. xi. xii. xv. By the third canon in the Greek, or the fourth in the Latin translation by Isidorus, it was ordered that if any bishop shall think himself unjustly condemned, and wish for a new trial, his judges shall acquaint the bishop of Rome therewith, who may either confirm the first judgment or order a new trial before such of the neighbouring bishops as he may choose to name. The fourth canon, according to the Greek, adds that the see of the deposed bishop shall remain vacant, till the determination of the bishop of Rome is known. By the fifth canon, according to the Greek, and the seventh of Isidorus, it is ordered that if a condemned bishop apply to Rome for relief, the bishop of Rome may, if he see fit, not only order a new trial, but if the aggrieved bishop desire it, he may send one of his presbyters to sit and have a voice in the second trial. See De Marca, cap. iii.—Thus these canons do not give the bishop of Rome even an appellate jurisdiction, but only the power to decide whether an injured bishop shall have a new trial.—*Mur.*

[4] See De Marca, *Diss. de Constantinop. Patriar. Institutione*, annexed to his work, *De Concordia Sacerdotii* tom. iv. p. 163, &c. ed. Bamb. 1789; Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* tom. i. p. 15, &c.; Parker, *An Account of the Government of the Christian Church for the First Six Hundred Years*, p. 245. Lond. 1685, 8vo. [The canon

fired the Alexandrine prelates with resentment against those of Constantinople; and in the next place, it gave rise to those unhappy contests between the pontiffs of old and new Rome, which were protracted through several centuries with various success, and finally produced a separation between the Latin and the Greek churches.

8. The vices of the clergy, especially of those who officiated in large and opulent cities, were augmented in proportion to the increase of their wealth, honours, and privileges, derived from the emperors and from various other sources; and that this increase was very great, after the time of Constantine, is acknowledged by all. The bishops had shameful quarrels among themselves, respecting the boundaries of their sees and the extent of their jurisdiction; and while they trampled on the rights of the people and of the inferior clergy, they vied with the civil governors of provinces in luxury, arrogance, and voluptuousness.[1] The presbyters in many places arrogated to themselves a dignity and authority equal to bishops. Of the pride and effeminacy of the deacons we often meet with various complaints. Those especially who ranked first among the presbyters and deacons were unwilling to be considered as belonging to the same order with the others, and therefore they not only assumed the titles of archpresbyters and archdeacons, but they thought themselves authorized to assume far greater liberties than were allowed to others.

9. Among the eminent writers of this century who were an ornament to the eastern provinces and to Greece, the most distinguished were those whose names here follow. Eusebius Pamphili, bishop of Cesarea in Palestine, a man of vast reading and erudition, and one who has acquired immortal fame by his labours in ecclesiastical history and in other branches of theological learning; yet he was not free from errors and defects, and he leaned towards the side of those who think there is subordination among the three persons in the Godhead. Some rank him among the Arians, but they certainly err in so doing, if they intend by an Arian one who embraces the opinions taught by Arius, the presbyter of Alexandria.[2] Peter, bishop of Alexan-

of the council was thus expressed: "Constantinopolitanæ civitatis Episcopum habere oportet primatûs honorem post Romanum Episcopum, *propterea quòd sit nova Roma.*"—*Mur.*

[1] See Sulpitius Severus, *Hist. Sacra*, lib. i. cap. xxiii.; lib. ii. caps. xxxii. li. *Dialog.* i. cap. xxi. Add to this the account given by Clarkson, in his *Discourse on Liturgies* (Lond. 1689, p. 185, &c), of the extremely corrupt state of morals among the clergy, and, in particular, of the eagerness of the bishops to extend the boundaries of their authority.

[2] No one has with more zeal and learning accused Eusebius of Arianism than Le Clerc, in his *Epistolæ Ecclesiast.* annexed to his *Ars Critica*, Ep. ii. p. 30, &c. To him add Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles.* sæc. iv. diss. xvii. All however that these and others labour to prove is, that Eusebius thought there was some disparity and a subordination among the persons of the Godhead. And suppose this to have been his opinion, it will not follow that he was an Arian, unless the term be taken in a very extensive and improper sense. It is to be lamented that so many abuse this term, and apply it to persons who, though in error, are very far from holding the opinions of Arius. [Eusebius Pamphili (i.e. *amicus*, φίλος) was born probably about the year 270, and at Cæsarea, where he spent nearly all his life. Till about forty years of age he lived in great intimacy with the martyr Pamphilus, a learned and devout man of Cæsarea, and founder of an extensive library there, from which Eusebius derived his vast stores of learning. Pamphilus was two years in prison, during which Eusebius was constantly with him. After the martyrdom of his friend, in the year 309, Eusebius fled first to Tyre and thence to Egypt, where he lived till the persecution subsided. After his return to Cæsarea about the year 314, he was made bishop of his own city. In the year 325 he attended the council of Nice, was appointed to deliver the address to the emperor on his entering the council, and then to be seated at his right hand. The first draft of the Nicene creed was made by him, to which however the term ὁμοούσιος and the anathemas were added by the council, and not without some scruples on the part of Eusebius. Afterwards Eusebius appeared to belong to a moderate party, who could not go all lengths with either side. About the year 330 he was offered the patriarchal chair of Antioch, which he refused, because the ancient customs forbade the removal of bishops from one see to another. He died about the year 340. The opinion advanced by Mosheim, respecting the Arianism of Eusebius, is supported at length by Socrates, among the ancients, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. xxi.; and by Cave, in his *Diss. de Eusebii Cesarien. Arianismo, adv. Jo. Clericum*; and in his *Epistola Apologet. ad eundem*; both are annexed to his *Hist. Literar. Scrip. Eccles.* Of the numerous works of Eusebius, the following have been preserved:—

Chronicon, originally in two parts; the first a brief history of the origin and revolutions of all nations; and the second, a full chronological table of the same events. Little of the original Greek remains, but we have the Latin translation of the second part by Jerome, which, with what could be gleaned of the Greek, and considerable additions from other ancient chroniclers, was published by Scaliger, 1606, fol. and a second ed. by Morus, 1658. *Præparatio Evangelica*, in fifteen books, intended to prepare the minds of pagans to embrace Christianity, by showing that the pagan religions are absurd, and far less worthy to be received than the Christian. It is a learned and valuable work. *Demonstratio Evangelica* in twenty books, of which the last ten are lost. This is an attempt to demonstrate the truth of the Christian religion by arguments drawn from the Old Testament, and was therefore intended especially for the Jews. It is far less valuable than the former. *Contra Hierocleum*, in defence of Christianity against the attack of that pagan philosopher. See the note respecting *Hierocles*, in page 123, above. *Historia Ecclesiastica* in ten books, from the birth of Christ to the death of Licinius in 324; a most valuable treasure, though less full and complete than could be wished. Eusebius was an impartial historian, and had access to the best helps for composing a correct history which his age afforded. See Kestner, *Commentatio de Eusebii Hist. Eccles. conditoris Auctoritate et Fide diplomatica, sive de ejus Fontibus et Ratione, qua eis usus est*; Gotting. 1816, 4to. The *Hist. Eccles.* with the *Vita Constantini*, was best edited Gr. and Lat. by Valesius, Paris, 1659 and 1671; and with improvements by Reading, Cambridge, 1720, 3 vols. fol. including the other Gr. ecclesiastical historians — namely, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Evagrius, Theodorus Lector, and Philostorgius. The works of Euseb. Socrat. Sozom. and Evag. with the three following, were translated into English, Cambr. 1683, 1 vol. fol. *De Martyribus Palestinæ*, usually appended to the eighth book of *Hist. Eccles.* It gives account of the sufferers in the

dria, who is highly extolled by Eusebius.[1] Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, famous, among other writings and acts, for his very strenuous opposition to the Arians.[2] Basil,

East and in Egypt, during the persecution of Diocletian, A.D. 303—313. *De Vita Constantini Magni*, a panegyric rather than a biography. *Oratio de Laudibus Constantini*, delivered on the emperor's vicennalia, A.D. 335. *Contra Marcellum*, composed by order of the council of Constantinople, 336, by which Marcellus was condemned as a Sabellian; and about a dozen other works of less value, besides several which have not reached us.—*Mur.* [Some important additions have been subsequently made to the catalogue of his extant writings; first by the publication at Milan, in 1816, of a Latin translation of his *Chronicon*, from an Armenian version, discovered at Constantinople a few years previously; the original Armenian was published at Venice in 1818, by Jo. Bapt. Aucher, in 2 vols. 4to; and more recently by the discoveries of Cardinal Mai, in the Vatican library. These he has published in the first and eighth volumes of that valuable work of his, the *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio e Vaticanis Codicibus edita*, Roma, 1825-38, 10 vols. 4to. Another work of Eusebius in a Syrian version, was discovered in 1840 in an Egyptian monastery, by the Rev. H. Tattam, the same person to whom we owe the recovery of the Syrian version of the Epistles of Ignatius, formerly referred to. This work has been translated into English by Dr. Lee of Cambridge, and published under the title of *The Theophania, or Divine Manifestation of our Lord*, &c.; Cambr. 1843, 8vo. To this work the editor has prefixed an elaborate *Vindication of the Orthodoxy and Prophetical Views of Eusebius*. Another vindication of this celebrated writer on a different point is much needed. Objections have been made by Gibbon, both in his *History* and in his *Vindication* of it, as well as by Waddington in his *Hist. of the Church* (see the note appended to chap. vi. vol. i. p. 186), and by others, to the accuracy, impartiality, and competency of Eusebius as a historian. This charge, so vitally affecting the credit of this chief source of our knowledge of ecclesiastical history, deserves and demands a full and careful examination, which it has not yet received in our literature. The way has been opened for its consideration by several tracts published in Germany, the names of which are given in Walch's *Biblio. Patristica*, curâ Danz. p. 49, and Suppl. p. 8; but those which I have seen do not exhaust the subject. In addition to the translation of Eusebius's *Eccles. Hist.* mentioned above as published at Cambridge in 1683, which however does *not* include Sozomen, and which has been frequently reprinted, there are other English translations. One for instance in folio by Hanmer, published so early as 1577, and often reprinted; and one in octavo by M. Crusè, an American divine, reprinted by Bagster (Lond. 1838) in his series of *Greek Eccles. Historians*; a series which includes also the *Life of Constantine*, Lond. 1845. Extracts from the *Præpar. Evangel.* have likewise been translated by the Rev. H. Street, under the title of *Leaves from Eusebius*, Lond. 1842, 8vo. The best edition, in the original Greek, of Eusebius's two historical works, and of his Evangelical Preparation, is by Heinichen, Leip. 1827-30.—*R.*

1 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ix. cap. vi. [Peter succeeded Thomas in the chair of Alexandria in the year 300, was imprisoned in the year 303, and whether released or not before his martyrdom in 311 is uncertain. He is represented as a very learned, pious, and active bishop. Of his writings nothing remains but some rules respecting penance, and other points of ecclesiastical discipline, to be found in the collections of the ancient canons and decrees of councils.—*Mur.*

2 The accounts given of Athanasius by the oriental writers are collected by Renaudot, in his *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin.* p. 83. All the works of Athanasius were splendidly published in three volumes, folio, by the Benedictine monk, Bernh. de Montfaucon [Paris, 1698.—*R.*]—[Athanasius was born at Alexandria about the year 298. He had a good education, and early displayed great strength of mind and uncommon sagacity as a disputant and a man of business. He was ordained a deacon in 319, and became the confidant and chief counsellor of his bishop Alexander, whom he accompanied to the council of Nice in 325. In that council he was very active, and acquired great reputation. In the year 326 Alexander died, and at his recommendation Athanasius succeeded to the see of Alexandria, when only twenty-seven or twenty-eight years old. For half a century he was the head of the orthodox party in the Arian controversy. This rendered him extremely odious to the Arians, and involved him in controversy and sufferings nearly all his life. False accusations were raised against him, and a council was held at Cæsarea, A.D. 334, before which he was summoned, but would not appear. The next year, by peremptory command of the emperor Constantine, he appeared before the council of Tyre, and answered to the charges of murder, unchastity, necromancy, encouraging sedition, oppressive exactions of money, and misuse of church property. Though his defence was good, he could not obtain justice, and he therefore fled to Constantinople, imploring the protection of the emperor. Here a council was assembled in 336, and a new charge falsely preferred against him—namely, that he prevented the shipments of corn from Alexandria to Constantinople. He was unjustly condemned, and banished to Treves in Belgium. Arius died that year, and Constantine the Great the year following. In the year 338, the sons of Constantine allowed Athanasius to return to Alexandria. He immediately began to displace Arians, and to recall the churches to the faith. Disturbances ensued, Athanasius was again accused, and made application to the bishop of Rome for aid. In 341, the council of Antioch decreed that no bishop who had been deposed by a council ought ever to return to his see; and on this ground the see of Alexandria was declared vacant, and one Gregory of Cappadocia appointed to it. Gregory took forcible possession, and Athanasius fled to Rome for protection. A provincial council held there acquitted him on all the charges of his adversaries; and three years after, A.D. 344, a much larger council held at Sardica did the same. In 347, after an exile of seven or eight years, Athanasius was permitted by the Arian emperor Constantius to return to his see. But in 350, on the death of Constans, he was again accused and persecuted. Constantius caused him to be condemned in a council at Arles in 354, and at the council of Milan in 355. Athanasius concealed himself at Alexandria two years, and then retired among the hermits of Egypt till the death of Constantius in 361. In this retirement he wrote most of his best works. On the accession of Julian in 361, he returned to his flock. But two years after, the pagans, joining the Arians, induced Julian to banish him again. But Julian died the same year, and Athanasius returned immediately to his see. In the year 367, the Arian emperor Valens made some attempts to remove him, but without success. He died A.D. 373, aged about seventy-five, having been a bishop forty-six years. He was truly a great man, a good bishop, and a most able, persevering, and successful defender of the orthodox faith in respect to the Trinity. His works are chiefly controversial, and in relation to that one doctrine. They consist of numerous letters and tracts, together with some brief expositions of the Scriptures, and a life of St. Anthony. His four Orations or Discourses against the Arians, and his Discourse against the pagans, which are his largest works, were translated into English by Parker, and printed at Oxford, 1713, 2 vols. 8vo. But a great number of letters, tracts, comments, and narratives, the production of subsequent ages, are falsely ascribed to him and printed with his works. Among these, beyond all question, is the creed, *Quicunque vult*, falsely called the *Athanasian Creed*. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* i. p. 189; Oudin, *De Scriptor. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 312; Fabricius, *Biblio. Græc.* vol. v. p. 297; Montfaucon, *Præf. ad Opp. Athanasii*; and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch* vol. xii. pages 93—252.—*Mur.* [To these may be added the most recent work, I believe, on this father, to wit, Möhler, *Athanasius der Grosse. u. die Kirche seiner Zeit besonders im Kampfe mit d. Arianismus*; Mentz, 1827-28, 2 vols. 8vo. In addition to the translation of his four orations mentioned above, his *Life of St. Anthony* was translated by D. S. Lond. 1637; his treatise on the *Incarnation of the Word*, by Whiston, and published in his *Anc. Monuments relating to the Trinity*, &c.; Lond. 1713; and vols. viii. and xix. of the Oxford Library of the Fathers, contain translations of Athanasius's Select Treatises against the Arians, and vol. xiii. his Historical Tracts. A few miscellaneous extracts from his writings, with his life, may be seen in *The Book of the Fathers*, Lond. 1837.

surnamed the Great, bishop of Cæsarea [in Cappadocia], who was inferior to few of this century in felicity of genius, skill in debate, and eloquence.[1] Cyrillus, bishop of Jerusalem, has left us some catechetical discourses which he delivered at Jerusalem, but many suspect him of intimacy with the semi-Arians.[2] John, for his eloquence surnamed Chrysostom, a man of genius, who presided over the church of Antioch and that of Constantinople, and has left us various specimens of his erudition, among which his public discourses which he delivered with vast applause, stand conspicuous.[3] Epiphanius, bishop of Salamina

There is an excellent life of this eminent father in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biog.* from the pen of one whose untimely and lamented death on board the *Pegasus* steamer, in 1843, suddenly closed his valuable contributions to that work, and plunged all who had the privilege of being acquainted with him into the deepest sorrow—I allude to the Rev. J. Morell Mackenzie, Tutor in the Independent Theological Seminary at Glasgow, whom I had the happiness of knowing for too short a time; and whose extensive erudition and genuine piety, united to the most obliging and the most amiable dispositions, never failed to ensure him the cordial respect and esteem of all who knew him.—*R.*

[1] His works are published by the Benedictine monk, Julian Garnier, Paris (1721—1730) 3 vols. fol. [Basil was born at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, about A.D. 329, and died archbishop of that church A.D. 379, æt. fifty. His first instruction in religion was from his grandmother, Mærina, a hearer and admirer of Gregory Thaumaturgus. His father, whose name was Basil, instructed him in the liberal arts. Thence he went to Constantinople or to Cæsarea in Palestine, and studied under Libanius, the philosopher and rhetorician. Next he studied at Athens, having Gregory Naz. and Julian the apostate for fellow-students. In the year 355 he returned to Cappadocia, taught rhetoric a short time, and then retired for thirteen years to a monastery in Pontus. From this time he became a most rigid ascetic, and a very zealous monk. He founded several monasteries, and composed rules and regulations for monks. In 363 he was called to Cæsarea and ordained a presbyter; the next year, falling out with his bishop Eusebius, he retired to his monastery, but was soon recalled by the bishop. He was now a very popular and efficient preacher. On the death of archbishop Eusebius, in the year 370, Basil was raised to the archiepiscopal chair. He still dressed and lived like a monk, but was a most active and efficient bishop. He died triumphantly on the 1st of January, 379. Eulogies of him were composed by Gregory Naz. Gregory Nyssen (who was his brother), Ephræm Syrus, and Amphilochius. He was an elegant writer and a good reasoner. His works which remain are numerous, consisting of near a hundred discourses, sermons, and homilies, three hundred and sixty-five epistles, various ascetic tracts, controversial pieces, a liturgy, &c. One of his best pieces is his treatise on the person and offices of the Holy Spirit. He is unequal in his performances, and comes much short of Chrysostom as an orator. Yet his enthusiasm, his flexibility of style, and his clear and cogent reasoning, notwithstanding the gloomy austerity of his monastic character, entitle him to that high rank among the ancient clergy which has ever been assigned him. See Hermant, *Vie de S. Basile le Grand, et celle de S. Grégoire de Nazianze*, Paris, 1679, 2 vols. 4to; Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* vol. viii. p. 60, &c.; Garnier, *Vita St. Basilii*, prefixed to the third vol. of his *Opp. Basilii*, Paris, 1730; and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xiii. pages 1—214; Milner's *Church History*, cent. iv. chap. xxiii. For his character as a pulpit orator, see Eschenberg, *Gesch. der Religionsvortrag*, pages 150—162, Jena, 1785, 8vo; and J. W. Schmidt. *Anleitung zum Populären Kanzelvortrag*, pt. iii. pages 87—90, ed. 2; Jena, 1800, 8vo.—*Mur.* [It should have been stated that the *best* edition of his works is the Benedictine, referred to in the beginning of this note. Indeed, wherever there is a Benedictine edition of the works of a father, it is invariably to be preferred. I know but of one exception, in the case of Jerome's works; for certainly that by Vallarsi is superior to the Benedictine. Specimens of Basil's style of writing may be seen in Boyd's *Select Passages*, &c. 2d. edit.; Lond. 1810, p. 220, &c.; and in *The Book of the Fathers* already referred to.—*R.*

[2] The later editions of his works are, in England, by Milles [Oxford, 1703, fol.], and in France, by the Benedictine August. Touttee [Paris, 1720, fol.]—[Cyril is supposed to have been born at Jerusalem about the year 315. He was made deacon in the church of Jerusalem about A.D. 335, and presbyter perhaps three years after. On the death of Maximus, the bishop Cyril was raised to the episcopal chair. But the Arian controversy, and his contest with Acacius of Cæsarea respecting the priority of their episcopal sees, caused him to be twice deposed (A.D. 357 or 358, and 360), and to be expelled from his see by the emperor Valens in 367. But he returned after short intervals to his charge; and from 379, sat peaceably in his chair till his death, A.D. 386. He appears to have been truly orthodox, though not disposed to go to extremes. (Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. xxvi.; and lib. v. cap. ix.) Of his works, we have twenty-three Lectures to Catechumens, which, though written when Cyril was a young man and only a presbyter, about the year 348 or 349, are an invaluable treasure to us, as they are the most complete system of theology, and most circumstantial account of the rites of the church, which have reached us from so early an age. They are plain, didactic treatises, well adapted to the object for which they were written. See Tzschirner, *De Claris Vet. Eccl. Oratoribus*, Lips. 1821, 4to. Besides these lectures, a letter of his to the emperor Constantius, giving account of a marvellous appearance of a luminous cross in the heavens A.D. 351, and a discourse he delivered at Tyre, are preserved. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.*; Touttee, preface to Cyril's Works; and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xii. pages 343—444.—*Mur.* [The only work of Cyril which has been translated into English is his *Catechetical Lectures*, forming the second volume of the Oxford Library of the Fathers.—*R.*

[3] For the best edition of the entire works of this most elegant and gifted man, in eleven [thirteen] large folio volumes, we are indebted to the industry of Bernh. de Montfaucon, Paris, 1718–38. [John Chrysostom was the son of a respectable military gentleman of Antioch in Syria, named Secundus. He was born in the year 354 [this date is rejected by Schroeckh, Montfaucon, and others; it ought to be either 347 or 351 or 2.—*R.*] and lost his father in his childhood. Early discovering marks of uncommon genius, his mother Anthusa, a pious and excellent woman, procured for him the best instructors in all branches of learning. After spending three years under the religious instruction of Meletius, the bishop of Antioch, he attended the schools of Libanius in rhetoric, of Andragathias in philosophy, and of Carterius and Diodorus (afterwards bishop of Tyre), in sacred literature, who taught him to construe the Scriptures literally. Distinguished as a scholar, he was also early pious; and about the age of twenty, embracing a monastic life, he retired to the mountains and spent four years in the society of an aged hermit, and two years more in a solitary cave. Nearly worn out by his austerities, he was obliged to return to Antioch, where he was made a deacon in 381, and commenced author at the age of twenty-six. Five years after he was ordained a presbyter, and began to preach. During twelve years he wrote and delivered an immense number of sermons, orations, and homilies. In the year 398 he was made patriarch of Constantinople, and in that station laboured and preached incessantly. But his life was too austere, and his preaching too pungent, and his discipline too strict, for that corrupt metropolis. The empress, the lax clergy, and many courtiers combined against him. In the year 403 he was summoned before an irregular council, to answer to forty-six frivolous or false charges, and refusing to appear he was condemned, deposed, and banished for contumacy. But his people were so tumultuous that his enemies were compelled to recall him. The next year, however, A.D. 404, he was forcibly removed to Cucusus in Armenia, to the unspeakable grief of all good men. Here he suffered extremely, his health failed, and being removed

in Cyprus, has described the various sects of Christians as far down as his own time, in a large volume, which however contains many defects and misrepresentations, arising from the credulity and ignorance of the author.[1] Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa obtained much renown among the theologians and disputants of this century, and their works show that they were not unworthy to be held in estimation.[2]

to Pityûs in Colchis, he died on the road thither, the 14th of September, 407, aged fifty-two years and eight months. For overpowering popular eloquence, Chrysostom had no equal among the fathers. His discourses show an inexhaustible richness of thought and illustration, of vivid conception, and striking imagery. His style is elevated, yet natural and clear. He transfuses his own glowing thoughts and emotions into all his hearers, seemingly without effort and without the power of resistance. Yet he is sometimes too florid, he uses false ornaments, he accumulates metaphors and illustrations, and carries both his views and his figures too far. The spirit of the man, and some idea of his style, may be learned from the following literal translation of a paragraph in one of his private letters to a friend, written during his exile:—"When driven from the city I cared nothing for it. But I said to myself, if the empress wishes to banish me, let her banish me: the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof. If she would saw me in sunder, let her saw me in sunder; I have Isaiah for a pattern. If she should plunge me in the sea, I remember Jonah. If she would thrust me into the fiery furnace, I see the three children enduring that. If she would cast me to wild beasts, I call to mind Daniel in the den of lions. If she would stone me, let her stone me—I have before me Stephen the protomartyr. If she would take my head from me, let her take it—I have John the Baptist. If she would deprive me of my worldly goods, let her do it—naked came I from my mother's womb, and naked shall I return. An apostle has told me, 'God respecteth not man's person;' and, 'If I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ.' And David clothes me with armour, saying, 'I will speak of thy testimonies before kings, and will not be ashamed.'" The works of Chrysostom (including some falsely ascribed to him) consist of about three hundred and fifty sermons and orations on a great variety of subjects and occasions; about six hundred and twenty homilies or exegetical discourses, on different books of the Old and New Testaments, and about two hundred and fifty letters; together with several tracts on monasticism, and a treatise *on the Priesthood*. There is also a *Liturgy* which bears his name, being that used at Constantinople, and which perhaps received some alterations from his hand. For an account of his life and writings, see Cave, *Hist. Liter.*; Tillemont, *Mémoires à l'Hist. Eccles.* tome xi. pages 1–405, 547—626; Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. x. pages 245—490; Montfaucon, *Opp. Chrysost.* tom. xiii. pages 1—177. For the sentiments, character, and influence of the man, see Neander's *Johannes Chrysostomus und die Kirche in dessen Zeitalter*, Berlin, 1821-22, 2 vols. 8vo.—*Mur.* [Several of his works have been translated into English. Two of his treatises appeared in English about the middle of the 16th century. His *Golden Book* on the education of children, translated by Evelyn, Lond. 1659; *Companion for the Penitent*, by Veneer, Lond. 1728; *On the Priesthood*, by Hollier, Lond. 1728; by Bunce, Lond. 1759, and recently by Marsh, 1844; select homilies and specimens of his extraordinary eloquence are given in Boyd's *Select Passages*, &c. and in the *Book of the Fathers*. And in the Oxford Library of the Fathers, vols. ii. and xv. contains his Homilies on *Matthew*; vol. vii. those on *Romans*; vols. iv. and v. on 1st *Corinthians*; vol. vi. on *Galatians* and *Ephesians*; vol. xiv. on *Philippians*, *Colossians*, and *Thessalonians*; vol. xii. on *Timothy*, *Titus*, and *Philemon*; and vol. ix. his Homilies on the *Statues*, as they are called. I may add that Neander's valuable life has been translated into English by J. C. Stapleton, but only the first volume has yet appeared, Lond. 1838. The student ought to read Milner's account of this father in his *Hist. of the Church*. cent. v. chap. i. vol. ii. p. 279, &c.; and that given from a wholly different point of view by Milman in his *Hist of Christ*. vol. iii. p. 206, &c. There is also an excellent sketch of his life in the American *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. i. p. 669. For Chrysostom's character as an expositor of Scripture, see Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics*, p. 119.—*R.*

[1] His works, with a Latin translation and notes, were published by the Jesuit Petavius [Paris, 1622, 2 vols. fol. and Cologne (Lips.) 1682.] His life is given in a good sized volume by Gervasius, Paris, 1738, 4to. [Epiphanius of Jewish extract was born at Bezanduca, a village near Eleutheropolis, about twenty miles from Jerusalem, about the year 310. He became a monk in early life, visited Egypt, fell into the toils of the Gnostics, escaped, was intimate with St. Anthony; and returning to Palestine in his twentieth year, about 330, became a disciple of Hilarion, established a monastery near his native village called Ancient Ad, where he lived more than thirty years. He read much, and was ordained a presbyter over his monastery. In the year 367 he was made archbishop of Constantia (formerly Salamis) in Cyprus, but still lived by monastic rules. He engaged in all the controversies of the times, was an active and popular bishop for thirty-six years, and regarded as a great saint and worker of miracles. In 376 he was at Antioch on the Apollinarian heresy, and 382, at Rome on the Meletian controversy. He had a long and fierce contest with John bishop of Jerusalem respecting Origenism, which he regarded with strong abhorrence. His friend Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, having expelled some monks from Egypt, on the charge of Origenism, in the year 401, Epiphanius held a provincial council of the bishops of Cyprus against that error; and as the expelled monks fled to Constantinople, Epiphanius followed them in 402, intending to coerce Chrysostom into a condemnation of those monks and of Origenism. But his enterprise wholly failed, and he died on his way home, A.D. 403 [402?], aged above ninety years. He became an author when turned of sixty. His first work, *Ancharatus* (The Anchor), was written A.D. 374, to teach the world genuine Christianity, in opposition to the prevailing and especially the Arian heresies. Soon after he composed his great work [*Panarium*] *contra Octoginta Hæreses*. He also made an epitome of this work, and wrote a treatise on (Scripture) Weights and Measures, a Letter to John bishop of Jerusalem, another to Jerome, and some other works of little value. It is said he understood five languages—Hebrew, Syriac, Egyptian, Greek, and Latin. His learning was great, his judgment rash, and his credulity and mistakes very abundant.— See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* pages 231—234; and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. x. pages 1—100.—*Mur.*

[2] Tolerable editions of the writings of both these men were published in France, during the seventeenth century; but better editions are anticipated from the Benedictines. [After long delay, the first volume of the expected Benedictine edition of Gregory Nazianzen's works appeared at Paris, 1778, by Clemencet, large fol. [but no additional volume has since appeared. *R.*] Of the old editions, the best is that of Billius, Gr. and Lat. Paris, 1609, 1630, and Cologne (Lips.) 1690, 2 vols. fol. His works, as here published, consist of about fifty orations or sermons, near two hundred and fifty epistles, and about one hundred and forty poems. Besides these, Muratori has published two hundred and twenty-eight epigrams and short poems of his, in his *Anecdota Gr.* pages 1—116, Petav. 1709, 4to. Some of the orations are violent attacks upon Arians and others, many others are eulogies on his friends and on monks, and a few are discourses on practical subjects. Of the poems, one of the longest is an account of his own life. Most of them were written after he retired from public life and are of a religious character, but of no great merit as specimens of genius. As an orator, Gregory Naz. is considered superior to Basil for strength and grandeur. He also possessed a fertile imagination. But he has little method, and he abounds in false ornament. He was born about the year 325. His father, who was also named Gregory, was bishop of Nazianzus in Cappadocia for about forty-five years, from A.D. 329 to 374. His mother Nonna, like the mother of Samuel, devoted her son to the Lord before he was born. His education was begun at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, continued at Cæsarea in Palestine and at Alexandria, and completed at Athens at the age of thirty, A.D. 355. He was at

But after ages would have prized them higher if they had been less attached to Origenism, and more free from the false eloquence of the sophists. Among the Syrians, Ephræm has given immortality to his name by the sanctity of his life and by a great number of writings, in which he confutes heretics, explains the Scriptures, and treats of religious duties.[1] Among those of whom but few works have reached us are Pamphilus, the martyr and intimate friend of Eusebius,[2] Diodorus of Tarsus,[3] Hosius of Corduba,[4] Eustathius of Antioch,[5] Didymus

Athens about five years, and there commenced that intimacy with Basil the Great which lasted through life. On his return to Nazianzus in 356, he was baptized, and betook himself to a retired and studious life, for which he always manifested a strong predilection. In 361 his father compelled him to receive ordination as a presbyter, and the next year he preached his first sermon. On the death of Julian, who had been his fellow-student at Athens, he composed two invectives against him. His friend archbishop Basil, in the year 372, offered him the bishopric of Sasima, which he refused with indignation on account of his aversion to public life. Yet he afterwards consented to be ordained as assistant to his aged father, on condition of not being obliged to succeed him. Soon after the death of his father in 374, he retired to Seleucia and spent three years in obscurity. In 379, being pressed beyond the power of resistance, he went to Constantinople to preach to the remnant of the orthodox there. His success in converting Arians was here very great; and he was so popular that the general council of Constantinople and the emperor Theodosius constrained him to accept the patriarchal chair of that metropolis. But before the council rose, it being objected to him that it was irregular for a bishop to be transferred from one see to another, he gladly resigned. Returning to Nazianzum, he discharged the episcopal functions there for a short time. But in 383 he retired altogether from public life, and after about seven years spent chiefly in writing religious poetry, he closed his life about A.D. 409. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.*; and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xiii. pages 268—458.—Gregory, bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia, and younger brother of Basil the Great, was probably born about 331, at Cæsarea in Cappadocia. Of his early education little is known. He was no monk, and at first averse from the ministry. He was made bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia, about the year 372. But soon after he was driven from his see by the persecution of the Arians, and for several years travelled from place to place. In 378 he returned to his see. Afterwards he was much employed on councils, and was greatly esteemed by the orthodox. The council of Antioch, in 379, appointed him to visit the churches in Arabia, and restore order there. On his way he visited Jerusalem, and was disgusted with the profligate morals there. In the year 381, he wrote his principal work against Eunomius the Arian, which procured him great reputation. At the general council of Antioch, in the same year, he is reported to have made the new draft of the Nicene creed, which was afterwards universally adopted by the orthodox. He was also at the council of Constantinople in 394, and probably died not long after. He was a man of considerable acumen, a zealous polemic, and an extravagant orator. His works consist of polemic discourses and treatises, orations, eulogies, letters, and homilies; and were published Gr. and Lat. by F. le Duc, Paris, 1615, 2 vols. fol. to which Gretser added a third vol. Paris, 1618. The three vols. were reprinted, but less correctly, Paris, 1638, fol. A better edition has long been desired. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.*; and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xiv. pages 3—147.—*Mur.* [Some specimens of the eloquence of these two Gregories may be seen in Boyd's *Select Passages*, &c. and the *Book of the Fathers*. Ample references to the numerous works relative to their history and writings, are given by Danz in his Walch's *Biblio. Patristica*; and full biographies of both may be seen in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biogr.* With these accounts ought to be compared Milner's views of their character, in cent. iv. chap. xx. and xxiv. of his *Hist. of the Church*. On Gregory Nazianzen and his poetic talent, see Milman's *Hist. of Christ.* vol. iii. p. 196, &c. For their character and merits as biblical interpreters, see Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics*, p. 116.—*R.*

[1] An elaborate account is given of him by Asseman in his *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. i. p. 24, &c. The English published several of his works in Greek at Oxford [by Edw. Thwaites, 1709, fol.]. The same were published in a Latin translation by Vossius [Rome, 1589—97, 3 vols. fol.] His works were published in Syriac a few years since at Rome, by Asseman. [Six vols. in all; vol. i. ii. iii. Gr. and Lat. 1732-43-46; vol. iv. v. vi. Syriac and Lat. 1737-40-43. fol.—Ephræm Syrus, a monk and deacon of the church at Nisibis in northern Syria, was born and spent his whole life in and near that city. When elected bishop there, he feigned himself deranged, and absconded to avoid promotion. He was a most ardent devotee of monkery, a man of genius, and a prolific writer. His works consist of essays and sermons, chiefly on the monastic and moral virtues, commentaries on nearly the whole Bible, and hymns and prayers. A few of his essays are polemic. All his works were written in Syriac, and were so popular in Syria as to be read in public after the Scriptures; and being early translated into Greek, were held in high estimation in that age. It is said his hymns and prayers are still used in the Syriac churches. He died A.D. 378. See Jerome, *de Scriptor. Illustr.* cap. cxv. Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. cap. xvi. Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. cap. xxx. and iv. 29; Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol viii. 255, &c. and xv. 527, &c. Milner's *Church History*, cent. iv. chap. xxi.—*Mur.*—[Selections from his writings, with a life, are given in the *Book of the Fathers*. Danz refers to two recent works by C. A. Lengerke, published the one at Halle, in 1828, and the other at Königsberg in 1831, on the character of this father as an interpreter of Scripture. See Walch's *Biblio. Patrist.* ed. Danz. p. 466.—*R.*

[2] Pamphilus, a presbyter of Cæsarea in Palestine, was born at Berytus, studied under Pierius of Alexandria, and spent his life at Cæsarea. He was a learned, benevolent, and devout man, and a great promoter of theological learning. He procured an immense theological library, which he gave to the church of Cæsarea. Most of the works of Origen he transcribed with his own hand, and particularly the corrected copy of the Septuagint in Origen's *Hexapla*. One of these transcripts, P. D. Huet states is still in the possession of the Jesuits of Clermont. He wrote a vindication and biography of Origen in five books, to which Eusebius added a sixth. The whole are lost except a Latin translation of book first made by Rufinus. During the persecution he was imprisoned two years, and then put to death. Eusebius, his great admirer, wrote his life, which is lost. See Jerome, *De Scriptor. Illustr.* cap. lxxvii. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. cap. xxxii. Cave, *Hist. Liter.*—*Mur.*

[3] Diodorus or Theodorus, bishop of Tarsus, was head of a monastic school and presbyter at Antioch, where he had Chrysostom for a pupil. He became bishop of Tarsus in 378, sat in the general council at Constantinople 381, and was succeeded at Tyre by Phalerius A.D. 394. He was a learned man, and a voluminous though not an elegant writer. None of his works remains entire, but abstracts and numerous extracts are preserved by Photius and others. See Suidas, voce Διόδωρος, Socrates, *H. E.* vi. 3.; Sozomen, *H. E.* viii. 2; Theodoret, *H. E.* iv. 25.; Jerome, *de Scriptor. Illustr.* cap. cxix.; Cave, *Hist. Liter*; Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* vol. viii. p. 358, &c.; Tillemont, *Mémoires à l'Hist. Eccles.* tome viii. p. 558, &c. 802, &c.; Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. x. pages 247—251.—*Mur.*

[4] Hosius, bishop of Corduba in Spain, was born about the middle of the preceding century, became a bishop before the end of it, and sat in the council of Illiberis A.D. 305. He was chief counsellor in ecclesiastical affairs to Constantine the Great, who summoned him to the council of Arles in 314, and sent him to Egypt to settle the religious disputes of that country in 324. He stood at the head of the council of Nice in 325, and presided in that of Sardica in 347. By the Arian council of Sirmium, 356, he was banished, when near a hundred years old; and, unable to resist, he now signed an artfully drawn Arian creed, and died A.D. 361, having lived more than a hundred years, and been a bishop

of Alexandria[1], Amphilochius of Iconium,[2] Palladius, author of the *Lausiac History*,[3] Marcarius, senior and junior,[4] Apollinaris senior,[5] and a few others,[6] are most fre-

during about seventy. Nothing written by him remains, except an epistle to the emperor Constantius, preserved by Athanasius in his *Hist. Arian. ad. Monachos*. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.*; Tillemont, *Mémoires a l' Hist. Ecclés.* tome vii. pages 360—321; and Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* vol. viii. p. 899.—*Mur.*

[5] Eustathius, a native of Side in Pamphylia, was bishop of Baræa (now Aleppo) in Syria, and promoted to the patriarchate of Antioch by the council of Nice, A.D. 325. He had previously distinguished himself as an opposer of Arianism, and in that council he acted a conspicuous part. This, together with his work *contra Arianos*, rendered him extremely obnoxious to the abettors of Arianism, who procured his condemnation in one of their councils about the year 330. Eustathius appealed in vain to the emperor, Constantine the Great; he was banished to Trajanopolis in Thrace, where he died about the year 360. The only entire works of his now extant, are his treatise on the witch of Endor, in opposition to Origen, and a short address to the emperor, delivered at the council of Nice. These, together with a treatise on the *Hexaëmeron* which is ascribed to him, were published by Leo Allatius, Lyons, 1629, 4to. What remains of his work against the Arians was published by Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* vol. viii. p. 170, &c. He was highly esteemed by the orthodox of his times. See Jerome, *de Scriptor. Illustr.* cap. lxxxv. Chrysostom, *Laudatio Eustathii*, Opp. Chrysost. tom. ii. p. 603; Athanasius, *Epist. ad Solitarios*; Cave, *Hist. Liter.* Du Pin, *Biblioth. des Auteurs Ecclés.* vol. iii.; Fabricius, *ubi supra*, p. 166, &c.; and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. v. p. 275, &c.—*Mur.*

[1] Didymus, a learned monk of Alexandria, and head of the catechetic school there, was the preceptor of Jerome and Rufinus. He lost his eyesight when young, yet became very conspicuous as a scholar and a theologian. He was born about the year 311, and was alive A.D. 392, then more than eighty-three years old. Of his numerous works only three have reached us—namely, *De Spiritu Sancto*, preserved in a Latin translation of Jerome (inter *Opp. Hieronymi*, tom. iv. pt. i. p. 393, &c.), *Scholia on the canonical Epistles*, also in a Latin translation. Both these are given in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. v. pag. 320, 338. *Adversus Manichæos*; Gr. and Lat. in Combefis, *Auctarium noviss. Biblioth. Patr.* pt. ii. p. 21, &c. See Jerome, *De Scriptor. Illustr.* cap. cix. and Cave, *Hist. Liter.*—*Mur.*

[2] Amphilochius, after being a civil magistrate, and living a while with Basil and Gregory Naz. in their monastery, was made bishop of Iconium in Lycaonia about the year 370 or 375. He sat in the second general council at Constantinople A.D. 381; and in the same year was appointed by the emperor Theodosius inspector of the clergy in the diocese of Asia. He probably died A.D. 395. Ten short pieces, chiefly orations, and various fragments, were published as his works, though most of them are of dubious origin, by Combefis, Gr. and Lat. Paris, 1644, fol. including the works of Methodius Patarensis and Andreas Cretensis. See Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* vol. vii. pages 500—507; Oudin, *Comment. de Script. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 216, &c.; Cave, *Hist. Liter.*; and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xii. pages 67—70.—*Mur.*

[3] Palladius of Galatia, born A.D. 368, at the age of twenty went to Egypt to get a practical knowledge of monkery. After residing there several years, his health failed and he returned to Palestine, still leading a monastic life. In the year 400, going to Bithynia, Chrysostom ordained him bishop of Helenopolis, which he afterwards exchanged for Aspona in Galatia. After the fall of Chrysostom in 404, Palladius was banished, and died in exile about A.D. 431. His great work was composed about the year 420, and contains the history of the principal monks of his own times, with many of whom he was personally acquainted. Being written at the request of Lausus, the emperor's lord of the bedchamber, it was called *Historia Lausiaca*. It is the honest statement of a credulous monk who almost adored the heroes of his story. Several Latin editions have been published. In Greek it appeared at Leyden, 1616, 4to; and Gr. and Lat. in the *Auctar. Biblioth. Patr.* Paris, 1624, tom. ii. pages 893—1053, fol.; and in *Biblioth. Patr.* Paris, 1624, tom. xiii.—Some other works are ascribed to him. See Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* vol. ix. p. 2, &c.; Du Pin, *Biblioth. des Auteurs &c.*; Cave, *Hist. Liter.*; Tillemont, *Mémoires à l' Hist. Ecclés.* tom. xi. p. 500, &c.—*Mur.* [See a full account of him in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biogr.* vol. iii. p. 95.—*R.*

[4] Macarius senior or the Great, called the Egyptian Macarius, a native of Thebais, was born A.D. 302, early addicted himself to a monastic life, at the age of thirty retired to the wilderness of Scetis and the mountains, Nitria, where he lived a hermit for sixty years, and died at the age of ninety, A.D. 391. Much is related of his austerities, his virtues, his wisdom, and his miracles. To him are ascribed seven *opuscula* and fifty homilies or discourses upon practical and experimental religion; edited last by Pritius, Gr. and Lat. Lips. 1714, 2 vols. in one, 12mo. Macarius junior, called the Alexandrian Macarius, because he was born and spent the first part of his life at Alexandria, was contemporary with Macarius senior, with whom he is often confounded. He was born about A.D. 304, pursued traffic some years, became a monk, retired to the wilderness of Scetis, was baptized at forty, became a presbyter, headed a numerous band of monks in the mountains of Nitria, and died about A.D. 404, aged one hundred years. He was no less distinguished for his virtues and his miracles than the other Macarius. But the elder Macarius was unsocial, especially with strangers, whereas the younger was very affable and often visited the city of Alexandria, whence he was called πολιτικὸς, the citizen. The younger wrote nothing but a single letter to his disciples. The code of thirty monastic rules ascribed to him, was probably the production of a later age. See Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. xxiii.; Palladius, *Hist. Lausiaca*, cap. xix. xx.; Rufinus, *Vitæ Patrum*, cap. xxviii.; Cassian, *De Cœnobior. Institut.* lib. v. cap. xli.; and *Collat.* v. cap. 12, xv. cap. 3. xxiv. cap. 13.; Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. cap. xiv. lib. vi. cap. xxix.; Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. xxi.; Tillemont, *Mémoires à l'Hist. Eccl.* tome viii. pages 243, 264, 357; Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* vol. vii. p. 491, &c.; Cave, *Hist. Liter.*—*Mur.*

[5] Apollinaris or Apollinarius, sen. was born at Alexandria, taught grammar at Berytus, and at Laodicea in Syria, where he became a presbyter. He associated with Epiphanius the sophist, a pagan, and attended his lectures, for which both he and his son, the younger Apollinaris, were excommunicated; but repenting they were restored. In the year 362, when the emperor Julian prohibited the Christians from reading the classic poets and orators, Apollinaris and his son undertook to compose some sacred classics to supply the place of the pagan. The father took up the Old Testament, and transferred the Pentateuch into heroic verse in imitation of Homer; and also according to Sozomen the rest of the Old Testament history he formed into comedies, tragedies, lyrics, &c. in imitation of Menander, Euripides, and Pindar. The son laboured on the New Testament, and transferred the Gospels and the canonical Epistles into Dialogues, in imitation of those of Plato. Nearly all if not the whole of these sacred classics are lost; yet there is extant a poetic Gr. version of the Psalms bearing the name of Apollinaris. The tragedy of Christ suffering, published among the works of Gregory Naz. is also by some ascribed to the elder Apollinaris. The younger Apollinaris wrote several works, of which only fragments remain. He believed that the divine nature in Christ did the office of a rational human soul; so that God the Word, a sensitive soul (ψυχὴ), and a body, constituted the person of the Saviour. For this he was accounted a heretic, and condemned by public councils. He died between A.D. 380 and 392. Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. 104; Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 46 and iii. 16; Sozomen, *H. E.* v. 18 and vi. 25; Philostorg. *H. E.* viii. 11—15; Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* vol. vii. p. 659, &c. viii. p. 332. Tillemont, *Mémoires à l'Hist. Ecclés.* vol. vii.; Cave, *Hist. Liter.*—*Mur.*

[6] Less distinguished than the foregoing were, in the Eastern or Greek church, the pseudo-Dorotheus, a fabled bishop of Tyre, who was a confessor in the Diocletian persecution and a martyr under Julian, aged more than a hundred years. To him is attributed the Epitome of the lives of the Prophets, Apostles, and the seventy Disciples of Christ, extant in the *Biblioth. Patr* tom. iii. p. 421. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.*

quently mentioned on account of their learning and their achievements.

10. Among the Latin writers the following are most worthy of notice. Hilary, bishop of Poictiers, famous for his twelve books on the Trinity and for other writings. He possessed a considerable degree of perspicacity and ingenuity, but he was often

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Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, A.D. 312—325, famous as beginning the controversy with Arius, who was his presbyter. Of more than seventy epistles written by him on the Arian controversy only two are extant, which are preserved, one by Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. iv. and the other by Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. vi.

Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, and afterwards court bishop of Constantinople, and the staunch patron of Arius. He was condemned in the council of Nice and banished, retracted and was restored, became the great supporter of Arianism, and died A.D. 342. A single epistle of his has been preserved by Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. vi.

James, bishop of Nisibis in Syria, a confessor in the Diocletian persecution, an assessor in the Nicene council, and died in the reign of Constantius. He probably wrote wholly in Syriac, but his works were first published, Armenian and Latin, by Antonelli, Rome, 1756, fol. containing nineteen essays and discourses, chiefly on moral and practical subjects.

Antonius [or St. Antony], a renowned Egyptian monk who flourished about A.D. 330. His life, written by Athanasius, is still extant; likewise his monastic rules, his remarks on cases of conscience, and about twenty discourses. These *Opuscula* were published in a Latin translation from Arabic, Rome, 1646, 8vo.

Asterius of Cappadocia, a fickle and ambitious man in the period next following the Nicene council, and a zealous Arian. He was never admitted to the clerical office, possessed some talent, and wrote comments on the Scriptures and tracts in favour of Arianism, of which only fragments remain.

Marcellas, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia. He held a council at Ancyra in 315, and was conspicuous in the orthodox ranks at the council of Nice. Afterwards his zeal against Arianism carried him into Sabellianism. He was condemned and deposed in 335, acquitted in 347, but still regarded with suspicion. He died A.D. 370. His works are lost.

Theodorus, bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, A.D. 334—344, a semi-Arian and a zealous opposer of Athanasius. He died about the year 358. His commentaries on various parts of the Bible are highly commended by Jerome and others for their style and erudition. All are lost except his commentary on the Psalms, which is prefixed to the *Catenæ Veterum Patrum in Psalmos*, ed. Antwerp, 1643, 3 vols. fol.

Acacius, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, A.D. 340—366, successor to Eusebius whose secretary he had been, a man of learning and eloquence, but unstable, and fluctuating between Arianism and orthodoxy. He wrote much, particularly in explanation of the Scriptures, but nothing has been preserved.

Triphilus of Ledris in Cyprus flourished A.D. 340. He was bred to the bar, and was considered one of the most elegant writers of his age. He wrote on the Canticles and the life of Spiridon, his bishop, but nothing of his remains.

Eusebius, bishop of Emessa in Phœnicia, was born at Edessa, studied there, and at Alexandria in Egypt and Antioch in Syria. As early as 312 he was distinguished for scholarship and for unassuming modesty. He refused the bishopric of Alexandria in 341, but soon after accepted that of Emessa, and died about A.D. 360. He leaned towards semi-Arianism, wrote much and elegantly on the Scriptures, and against the Jews. What has been published as his has been much questioned.

George, bishop of Laodicea, a staunch Arian and active in all their measures, from A.D. 335 to 360. He wrote against the Manichæans, the life of Eusebius, of Emessa, and several epistles, one of which is preserved by Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. xiii.

Pachomius (died 350), Theodorus, his successor, and Oresiesis, were distinguished contemporary monks of Tabbennesis in Thebais, Egypt. They flourished from A.D. 340—350. Monastic rules, some epistles, and several discourses are extant, under the names of one or more of them.

Serapion, a monk of Thebais, distinguished for his learning and eloquence, was the friend of Athanasius, who made him bishop of Thmuis. He died about A.D. 358. Of his once popular writings, only his book *Contra Manichæos* is extant, Latin, in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. iv. p. 160.

Basil, bishop of Ancyra, from 336 to 360, was a semi-Arian, highly esteemed by Constantius, and very active against the orthodox. Contention between him and Acacius preceded his deposition and banishment to Illyricum in the year 360. He wrote much, and in particular against Marcellus, his predecessor; but none of his works are extant.

Leontius, the Arian bishop of Antioch, A.D. 348—358, a crafty and deceptive man, who was active in the contentions of his times. Of his writings, only a fragment of one discourse remains.

Marcus, an Egyptian bishop and a friend of Athanasius, banished in 356 by George bishop of Alexandria. He wrote an oration against the Arians, which is published with Origen's tract on the Lord's prayer, by Wetstein, Amsterd. 1695, 4to.

Aëtius of Syria, a goldsmith, physician, deacon at Antioch, bishop somewhere, and finally a heretic. He held Christ to be a mere creature. He died about the year 366. His book, *De Fide*, is transcribed and refuted in Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 76.

Eudoxius, bishop of Germanicia on the Euphrates, and (356) of Antioch, and (360) of Constantinople, died A.D. 370. He was successively an Arian, a semi-Arian, and an Aëtian; a learned but a verbose and obscure writer. Large fragments of his discourse, *De Incarnatione Dei Verbi*, are extant.

Eunomius, the secretary and disciple of Aëtius, but more famous than his master. He was made bishop of Cyzicum, A.D. 360, banished soon after, wandered much, and died about A.D. 394. He wrote on the epistle to the Romans, many letters, his own creed, and an apology for it. Only the two last are extant. He held Christ to be a created being, and of a nature unlike to that of God.

Meletius, bishop of Sebaste in Armenia, and (360) of Antioch. He was banished A.D. 361, returned under Julian, was banished again under Valens, and restored by Gratian, and died while attending the general council of Constantinople A.D. 381, at an advanced age. There is extant (in Epiphanius, *Hæres.* lxxiii. cap. xxix.—xxxiv.) an able discourse which he delivered at Antioch in 361.

Titus, bishop of Bostra in Arabia, was driven from his see under Julian, A.D. 362, returned under Valentinian, and died about the year 371. He wrote *Contra Manichæos*, which is extant in a Latin translation in *Biblioth. Patrum.* tom. iv. A discourse likewise on the branches of palm, Gr. and Lat. and a commentary on Luke in Latin, have been published under his name, but are questioned.

Paphnutius, a celebrated Egyptian monk, who flourished A.D. 370. He wrote the life of St. Onyphrius, and of several other monks; still extant.

Cæsarius, youngest brother of Gregory Nazianzenus, was a learned physician of Constantinople, and was elevated to civil office. He is said to have written several works, and particularly a treatise against the pagans. There are extant, under his name, four dialogues Gr. and Lat. on one hundred and ninety-five questions in theology; in Fronto le Duc's *Auctarium Biblioth. Patr.* 1624, tom. i. But they are supposed not to be his.

Evagrius, archdeacon of Constantinople in 381, and after 385, an Egyptian monk. He was a pious and learned man, and a considerable writer. Several of his devotional and practical works are extant in the different collections of the works of the fathers.

Nemesius, bishop of Emessa after being a Christian philosopher. He flourished A.D. 380, and with Origen held the pre-existence of human souls, as appears from his book *De Natura Hominis*, extant in the *Auctarium Biblioth. Patr.* 1624, tom. ii.; also printed Gr. and Lat. Oxford, 1671, 8vo.

Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, A.D. 381—398.

disposed to borrow from Tertullian and Origen, whom he greatly admired, rather than to tax his own genius.[1] Lactantius, the most eloquent of the Latin Christians in this century, assailed the superstition of the pagans in his elegantly composed *Divine Institutions*, and likewise wrote on other subjects; but he is more successful in confuting the errors of others than in correcting his own.[2] Ambrose, first governor and then bishop of Milan, is not rude in diction or conception, nor is he destitute of valuable thoughts, yet he is chargeable with the faults of the age—a deficiency in solidity, accuracy, and good arrangement.[3]

orthodox and pious. One of his discourses is extant, inter Opp. Chrysostomi, who was his successor.

Flavianus, a monk and bishop of Antioch A.D. 381—403. He first divided the choir, and taught them to sing the Psalms of David responsively. He was strenuous against the Arians; but fragments only of his discourses and letters remain

Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria A.D 385—412, was famous for his contention with the Nitric monks, and for his opposition to Origenism. Of his works only a few epistles and considerable extracts from his other writings are extant.

John, bishop of Jerusalem A.D. 386—416, famous for his contests with Epiphanius and with Jerome, respecting Origen's character. Numerous works, perhaps without foundation, are published as his. Brussels, 1643, 2 vols. fol.

Hieronymus of Dalmatia, a presbyter and a monk, who flourished A.D. 386. He is author of Lives of the Egyptian Monks; the original Greek, though preserved, has not been published, because the Lausiac History of Palladius is nearly a literal translation of it.

Sophronius, the friend of Jerome and translator into Greek of some of his works, particularly of his book *De Viris Illustribus*. He flourished about A.D. 390.—*Mur.*

[1] Concerning Hilary, the Benedictine monks have given an accurate account in their *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome ii. [tome i. pt. ii.] pages 139—193 [à Paris, 1733, 4to.] The best edition of his works is that of the French Benedictines [by Coutant, Paris, 1693, fol. revised and improved by Scip. Maffei, Verona, 1730, 2 vols. fol. Hilary of Poictiers in France was a native of Gaul, of respectable parentage and well educated. He was a pagan till he had attained to manhood. His consecration to the episcopal office was about the year 350. For twenty years he stood preeminent among the Gallic bishops, and did much to arrest the progress of Arianism in the West. In the council of Bessieres, A.D. 356, he handled the Arian bishops so roughly, that they applied to the emperor Constantius and had him banished to Phrygia. During the four years he was an exile in Asia he wrote most of his works, and was so active in opposing Arianism there, that the heretical clergy, to get rid of him, procured his release from banishment. He returned to his church, a more able and more successful antagonist to the Gallic Arians than he was before. He was the principal means of rolling back the Arian current which was sweeping over the West. His great work is the *De Trinitate*. He also wrote several other polemical works, with Commentaries on Matthew and on the Psalms, and a few works which are lost. See Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. c.; Fortunatus, *De Vita Hilarii* (prefixed to the *Opp. Hilarii*, ed. Bened.) Coutant, Life of Hilary, prefixed to the Benedictine edition of his works; Tillemont, *Mémoires à l'Hist. Ecclés* tome vii. p. 442, &c. 745, &c.; and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xii. pages 253—342.—*Mur.* [Some specimens of his style, with a brief life of him, may be seen in the *Book of the Fathers.*—*R.*

[2] Of Lactantius also, the Benedictines have given an account in their *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome ii. p. 65, &c. His works have gone through numerous editions; the latest and best are by the celebrated Bunemann [Lips. 1739, 8vo.], the venerable Heumann [Gotting. 1736, 8vo], and Lenglet du Fresnoy [Paris, 1748, 2 vols. 4to.]; and Bipont. 1786, 2 vols. 8vo. Lucius Cæcilius Lactantius Firmilianus was probably a native of Italy, studied under Arnobius in Africa, removed to Nicomedia in the reign of Diocletian, and opened a school for rhetoric, in which he had but few pupils. He was made private tutor or governor to Crispus, the oldest son of Constantine the Great, when an old man, and probably died a little before A.D. 330. He was learned, though not a profound theologian, and the most elegant of all the Latin fathers. Some think him the best writer of Latin after the days of Cicero. His works still extant are,—*Divinarum Institutionum, libri vii.* written about the year 320. This is his great work. It may be called a Guide to true Religion, being designed to enlighten the pagans and convert them to Christianity. *Institutionum Epitome*, or an abridgment of the preceding. It is imperfect, extending over the three last books only. *De Ira Dei*, and *De Opificio Dei*, or on the works of creation, particularly on the physical structure and powers of man. These two works are properly a continuation of the first, being written in furtherance of the same designs. *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, an account of persecutors and persecutions from Nero to Maxentius, A.D. 312. There is no good reason to doubt its genuineness. An English translation of this valuable treatise, with a long preface, was published by Gilb. Burnet, 1687, 18mo. *Symposium*, a juvenile performance, extant as the work of a fabled Symposius. The *Carmen de Phœnice* is perhaps his. Several of his works have been lost. See Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. lxxx.; Cave, *Hist. Liter.*; Lardner, *Credibility*, &c. vol. vii.; Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. v. pages 220–262.—*Mur.* [To these works should be added Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Phil.* tom. iii. p. 465, &c. and his life, by Professor Ramsay, in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog.* vol. ii. p. 701. His treatise on the deaths of the persecutors has also been translated into English by Sir D. Dalrymple, Edin. 1782, with notes and illustrations; a much better translation than Burnet's.—*R.*

[3] The Benedictine monks of France published his works in two large folio volumes [1686—1690. Ambrose was the son of a prætorian prefect of the same name, who was governor-general of Gaul, Britain, and Spain. After a good education for civil life he became an advocate, counsellor to Probus, his father's successor, and at last governor of Liguria and Aemelia, resident at Milan. In the year 374 Auxentius bishop of Milan died, and the Arians and orthodox became tumultuous in the church, when met to elect a successor. Ambrose entered the church to quell the riot, and a little child happened to say, "Ambrose bishop," the mob presently cried out, "let him be the bishop." He was constrained to submit, gave up all his property and his worldly honours, was baptized, and became a laborious and self-denying bishop. An irruption of barbarians in 377 obliged him to flee, and he went to Illyricum and thence to Rome. In the year 381 he presided in the council of Aquileia. In 383 the emperor Valentinian sent him as ambassador to Maximus the usurper in Gaul. Next came his contest with Symmachus, prefect of Rome, respecting the rebuilding the pagan altar of Victory in that city. In 386 he had much contention with the Arians of Milan. Afterwards he was sent on a second embassy to Maximus. Three years after he debarred the emperor Theodosius the Great from Christian ordinances, and required him to do penance for the slaughter of the citizens of Thessalonica by his order. In 392 civil war obliged him to leave Milan for a time. He soon returned, but died A.D. 397, aged sixty-four years. He was devout, energetic, orthodox, and a very useful bishop. His knowledge of theology was not great, but he was able to read the Greek fathers, and he knew the world. His writings were numerous. On the Scriptures he wrote much, but nothing that is valuable. He wrote various treatises and discourses, which with eulogies and about ninety epistles of his are extant, besides a great number of short sermons, scholia on the canonical epistles, and tracts of different kinds, which are falsely ascribed to him. His life written by Paulinus, his private secretary, is stuffed with accounts of miracles and wonders performed by him. See *Opp. Ambrosii*, tom. ii. Appendix, ed. Benedict; Cave, *Hist. Liter.*; Tillemont, *Mémoires à l'Hist. Ecclés.* tome x. pages 78—306, 729 &c.; G. Hermant, *Vie de S. Ambrose à Paris*, 1678, 4to,

Hieronymus, a monk of Palestine, has undoubtedly merited the esteem of the Christian world by his various productions; but at the same time his bitterness towards those who differed from him, his eagerness after fame, his choleric and ungovernable temper, his unjust aspersions on good and innocent persons, his extravagant commendation of superstition and false piety, and other defects of character, have disgraced him not a little in the view of those who are neither uncandid nor incompetent judges. Among his various writings those which interpret the Holy Scriptures and his epistles are the most valuable.[1] Augustine, bishop of Hippo in Africa, is one whose fame is spread throughout the Christian world; and he certainly possessed many and great excellencies, a superior genius, a constant love of truth, admirable patience of labour, unquestionable piety, and acuteness and discrimination by no means contemptible. But his power of judging was not equally great, and often the natural ardour of his mind carried this excellent man farther than reason and prudence justified. He has therefore afforded to many much ground for controversy respecting his real sentiments, and to others occasion to tax him with inconsistency, and with hastily writing upon subjects which he had not himself duly considered.[2] Op-

Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xiv. pages 148—332; and Milner, *Church Hist.* cent. iv. ch. xii—xvi. xviii.—*Mur.* [In the seventh volume of Cardinal Mai's *Script. Veter. Nova Collectio*, Rome, 1833, are two works of Ambrose, discovered by him in the Vatican, an *Explanatio Symboli ad Initiandos*, and an *Epistola de Fide ad Hieronymum*. See Milman's *Hist. of Christ.* for an eloquent appreciation of the character of Ambrose, and especially of his conduct towards the emperor, vol. iii. p. 241, &c. His treatise *De Officiis Ministrorum*, written after the manner of Cicero, with his conviction of Symmachus, was early translated into English. Lond. 1637, 4to.—*R.*

[1] The defects of Jerome are learnedly exposed by Le Clerc, in his *Quæstiones Hieronymianæ*, Amst. 1700, 12mo. His works have been published by the Benedictines [ed. Martianay, Paris, 1693—1706], in five vols. fol. This edition was republished, with considerable additions [and improvements in the arrangement, the preface, and the explanatory notes], by Vallarsius, Verona, [1734—43, eleven vols. fol. Hieronymus Stridonensis, or Jerome of Stridon in Dalmatia, was born of Christian parents about the year 331. His father, Eusebius, gave him the best advantages for education. He was early sent to Rome, where he studied many years, and under the best masters. About the year 363 he was baptized, and left Rome to travel for improvement in knowledge. He journeyed through Gaul, and resided a few years at Treves, where he became a monk and devoured many books. On his return he spent some time at Aquileia, where he formed a close friendship with Rufinus. In 373 he left Aquileia and embarked for Syria, in company with several friends, and carrying his own large collection of books. Landing in Thrace he passed the Bosphorus, and travelled overland to Antioch. Here his friend Innocentius died, and he himself was dangerously sick. After recovering, he was induced by a dream to renounce for ever the reading of the pagan classics. In 374 he retired into the wilderness eastward of Antioch; and supported by his friends he there spent about four years in the character of a learned hermit and author. In 378 or 379 he returned to Antioch, and was ordained a presbyter. The next year he visited Constantinople to enjoy the instructions of Gregory Nazianzen. Here he continued two or three years, formed a better acquaintance with the Greek fathers, and translated some of their works; in particular, Eusebius's *Chronicon*, which he continued down to A.D. 378, and Origen's *Homilies on Jeremiah*. In 382 he accompanied Paulinus and Epiphanius to Rome respecting the contests in the church of Antioch. Damasus, bishop of Rome, was much pleased with him, employed him occasionally as private secretary, and prompted him to write on several biblical subjects, and at length to undertake a correction of the vulgar Latin Bible. Jerome likewise did much to promote monkery in Italy; but the ardour he kindled up on this subject among the Roman ladies created him enemies among the other sex. He also gave offence to the clergy of Rome, and thought it best to leave Italy in 385 and return to the East, with Paula and Eustochium her daughter, wealthy Roman ladies, whom he had rendered enthusiastic in regard to monastic institutions. He first went to Antioch and thence to Jerusalem, where he and his ladies performed a winter's pilgrimage. In the spring of 386 they went to Alexandria, and thence to visit the Nitric monks. Returning the same year to Palestine they took up their permanent residence at Bethlehem. Here Paula erected four monasteries, three for nuns and one for monks. In this last Jerome passed the remainder of his days in reading, composing books, and contending with all who presumed to differ from him on any subject in which he took interest. He is said to have died on the 30th of September, A.D. 420, aged ninety years. Jerome was the best informed of all the Latin fathers in sacred literature. The Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages were all familiar to him, and he had a very extensive acquaintance with the best writers of both the Latin and the Greek churches. He likewise possessed genius, industry, and literary enterprise, in no ordinary degree. He was also acute and discriminating; but his vivid imagination and his choleric temper, which scorned all restraint, rendered him one of the most caustic and abusive controversial writers that ever pretended to be a Christian. When he has no antagonist and sees no enemy, he is a charming writer, yet enthusiastic and often hasty and injudicious. The greater part of his works, and particularly his translations and commentaries on the Bible, were written while he resided at Bethlehem. See Cave, *Hist. Litter.*; Tillemont, *Mémoires à l'Hist. Eccléс.* tome xii. pages 1—356; Martianay, *Vie de St. Jerome*, Paris, 1706, 4to; J. Stilling, *Acta Sanctor.* Septembris, tom. viii. pages 418—688, Antw. 1762, fol.; Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xi. pages 3—239; Milner, *Church Hist.* cent. iv. ch. x.—*Mur.* [The student should also consult Lardner's *Credibility*, vol. iv. p. 403, &c.; Jerome's Life, under his Latin name of Hieronymus, by Professor Ramsay, in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biog.* vol. ii. p. 460, which contains a careful analysis of his writings in the order adopted in Vallarsi's edition; and Milman's *Hist. of Christ.* vol. iii. p. 289, &c. the eleventh chapter of which is devoted to Jerome and the monastic system. Nor should he omit reading the striking estimate of the character of this distinguished father, with all its salient faults and excellencies, as given by Isaac Taylor in his *Fanaticism*, Lond. 1833, pages 314—320.—*R.*

[2] After the edition by the theologians of Louvain [Antwerp, 1577, 10 vols. fol.] the Benedictine monks gave a neat and accurate edition of Augustine's works [Paris, 1679—1700, 11 vols. fol.] This was reprinted with enlargements in Holland, or as the title says, at Antwerp, under the eye of Le Clerc, under the assumed name of Jo. Phereponus [1703—1703, 12 vols. fol. printed at Amsterdam. It was also reprinted at Venice, 1729—1735.] The Jesuits censure many things in the Benedictine edition. [They think the editors leaned too much towards the Jansenists, between whom and the Jesuits there was a long and violent controversy respecting the sentiments of Augustine. Aurelius Augustinus was born Nov. 13, A.D. 354, at Tagaste, an obscure village in Numidia. His father Patricius was a pagan till near the close of life. His mother Monica was eminently pious. He had a good school education in grammar and rhetoric, but he would not study Greek. At fifteen he came home, and lived idle and vicious. At seventeen he was sent to Carthage, where he shone as the first scholar in the rhetorical school. But he was

tatus of Milevi, an African, has obtained considerable reputation by his well written work on the *Schism of the Donatists*.[1]

Paulinus of Nola has left us some epistles and poems, which are neither very bad nor very good.[2] Rufinus, a presbyter of Aquileia, acquired fame by translating into Latin various works of the Greek fathers, particularly of Origen, by his bitter contests with Jerome, and by some expositions of the holy scriptures. He would have held no contemptible rank among the Latin writers of this century, had it not been his misfortune to have the powerful and abusive Jerome for his adversary.[3] For an account

dissipated, turned a Manichæan, and became a father when he was but eighteen. His son, named Adeodatus, was well educated, became pious, was baptized at the same time with his father at the age of fifteen, and died soon after. While a student at Carthage Augustine lost his father. By reading Cicero's *Hortensius* he became enamoured with philosophy, and began to read the Bible in search of it; but he could not there find that sublime system of which Cicero had given him an ideal, and he threw aside the sacred volume. At the age of twenty he had read and mastered nearly all the liberal sciences, as they were then taught. He now returned to Tagaste, and there opened a school for rhetoric. About the year 380 he again settled at Carthage, where he taught rhetoric about three years. During this period his attachment to Manichæism diminished. He was still restless, debauched, and unprincipled, yet was a fine scholar, and quite popular. In 383 he went to Rome, and the next year to Milan in the character of a teacher of rhetoric. The eloquence of Ambrose drew him to attend public worship, and under the discourses of that able and faithful preacher Augustine's mind was gradually enlightened and his conscience awakened. He had sharp and painful convictions, and became altogether a new man. He was baptized A.D. 387, set out for Africa the same year, buried his mother, stopped at Rome, and did not reach Africa till A.D. 388. He sold his estate and devoted the proceeds to charitable purposes. For three years he lived as a recluse with a few devout young men, and spent much time on scientific and metaphysical subjects. In the year 391 he went to Hippo Regius (now Bona in Algiers), where he was made a presbyter, and preached and laboured with great success. Four years after, Valerius his aged bishop, who was a native Greek and who felt the need of such an assistant as the now renowned presbyter of Hippo, caused him to be ordained his colleague bishop. From A.D. 395 to A.D. 430, Augustine, as bishop of Hippo, was indefatigable in preaching, writing, combating error and vice, and infusing life and spirituality into the churches and clergy far and near. He died on the 28th of August, A.D. 430, aged seventy-six years. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.*; Tillemont, *Mémoires à l'Hist. Eccles.* vol. xiii. ed. Paris (it is omitted in the Brussels ed.); J. Stilling, *Acta Sanctor*, Augusti, tom. vi. pages 213—460; Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xv. pages 219—530; Milner's *Church Hist.* cent. v. chaps. ii.—ix.; and especially *Augustini Confessiones*, written about A.D. 400, *Opp.* tom. i. ed. Benedict. The works of Augustine are so numerous that even their titles cannot be here enumerated. They fill ten fol. volumes of the Benedictine edition of his works, the eleventh being occupied with his life, and with indices, &c.—*Mur.* [See Lardner's *Credibility*, vol. iv. p. 488; also the life of this father, by the late Rev. J. M. Mackenzie, in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biog.*; and the estimate of his character and works, especially of his *City of God*, given by Milman in his *Hist. of the Church*, vol. iii. p. 263. Of Augustine as a controversialist, see Wiggers, *Pragmat. Darstellung der August. und Pelag.* Emerson's transl. Andover, 1840; as a philosopher, see Ritter, *Gesch. der Christ. Philos.* vol. ii. p. 153, &c.; and as a biblical expositor, see Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics*, p. 133. Augustine's *Confessions* were early translated into English, and have been frequently reprinted. A new translation of them forms the first volume of the Oxford *Library of the Fathers*; vols. xvi. and xx. of the same series contain his *Homilies on the New Test.* and vol. xxii. comprises seventeen of his short treatises, taken, with one exception, from the sixth vol. of the Benedictine edition of his works. His *City of God* was translated and published so early as 1610. Some specimens of his style are given in English in the *Book of the Fathers*. There has been lately published at Paris, by the Abbé Caillau, a volume of discourses and tracts by Augustine, which had hitherto remained in manuscript, amounting to nearly one hundred and ninety sermons and half a dozen tracts, one of them, *De Omnibus Virtutibus*, consisting of nineteen chapters. The volume is entitled *S. Aur. Augustini Hippon. Epis. Sermones Inediti*, Paris, 1842, fol. It may be considered as forming a twelfth volume, supplementary to the Benedictine edition.—*R.*

[1] After the edition of Albaspinæus [Paris, 1631, and 1679, fol.] Du Pin published the works of Optatus with judicious illustrations [Paris, 1700, fol.—Of Optatus, all that is known is stated by Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. CX.—namely, "that he was an African and bishop of Milevi, who was on the side of the Catholics; and that he wrote, during the reign of Valentinian and Valens (A.D. 364—375), against the slander of the Donatists, in which he maintains that the wrong doing of the Donatists is erroneously charged on us." His work is entitled *Contra Parmenianum Sectæ Donatistæ apud Carthaginum Episcopum, de Schismate Donatistarum*. It is a polemic work in answer to a book published by Parmenianus, and contains much of the history of that schism, as well as of the arguments by which each party maintained its own principles and defended its own conduct.—*Mur.*

[2] The best edition of Paulinus is that published by Le Brun, Paris, 1685, 4to [in two volumes, which Muratori republished, with some additions, Verona, 1736, fol.—Meropius Pontius Anicius Paulinus, a Roman of patrician rank, was born at Bourdeaux in France, A.D. 353. He first studied under the poet Decius Ausonius, then went to Rome, became a popular advocate, and was made consul about the year 375. About 379 he commenced his travels or wanderings in Italy, Gaul, and Spain, accompanied with his pious wife Theresia. During this period he formed acquaintance with Ambrose, Martin, and many other eminent saints. He was baptized at Bourdeaux A.D. 391, and gradually parting with most of his large estate, which he bestowed in charity, he retired to Barcelona in Spain, where he lived some years as a recluse or monk. In 393, he was ordained a presbyter at Barcelona. The next year he removed to Nola in Campania, where he had a small estate. Here Paulinus in the year 402 erected an additional church, which he adorned with emblems of the Trinity and other religious devices. In 409 he became bishop of Nola, and remained in that office till his death in 431. He was esteemed one of the greatest saints, and was undoubtedly very religious, though his piety was of a superstitious cast. His writings consist of about fifty letters to his friends, written with a pleasing simplicity of style, and exhibiting a true picture of his devout mind, yet containing little that is of much importance; also thirty-two poetic effusions, of a similar character with his letters. For an account of him and his works, see Gennadius, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. xlviii. with the notes of Fabricius in his *Biblioth. Eccles.*; Le Brun, *Vita Paulini*, in his *Opp. Paul.*; Cave, *Hist. Liter.*; Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. vii. pages 123—132; Milner, *Church Hist.* century v. chap. xiii.—*Mur.* [There is a French translation of his Letters. Paris, 1703.—*R.*

[3] Simon, *Critique de la Biblioth. des Aut. Eccles. par M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 124, &c. A particular and full account is given of him, and his reputation is defended, by Fontaninus, *Hist. Liter. Aquilei.* lib. v. p. 149. [See also Cacciari, *Dissert. Hist. de Vita, Fide, &c. Rufini*, subjoined to his edition of Rufinus' *Hist. Eccl.* and De Rubeis, *Dissert. de Tyrannio Rufino Presbytero*, &c. Venice, 1754, 4to.; Gennadius, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. xvii.; Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. x. pages 112—133; Cave, *Hist. Liter.*—Rufinus Toranus, or Tyrannius, was probably born at Concordia near Aquileia, about A.D. 330. After living several years in a monastery at Aquileia and forming acquaintance with Jerome, he was baptized there in 371. Soon after, the fame of the oriental monks led him to visit them. Landing at Alexandria, he became acquainted with a rich Roman lady named Melania, who was as great an admirer of monkery as himself. She became his patron, supported

of Philastrius,[1] Damasus,[2] Juvencus,[3] and other writers of less note, the reader is referred to those who professedly treat of all the Christian writers. I shall, however, just mention Sulpitius Severus, a Gaul, and a very good historian,[4] and Prudentius, a Spaniard, a poet of considerable merit.[5]

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him, and travelled with him through the remainder of his life. During his six years' residence in Egypt, he spent some time among the monks in the Nitric wilderness, and also heard lectures from the famous Didymus of Alexandria. About the year 378 he and Melania removed to Jerusalem, where they spent many years. Melania occupied a nunnery, in which she supported a considerable number of devout sisters. Rufinus resided with other monks in cells about the Mount of Olives, and lived in the greatest intimacy with Jerome, who then resided at Bethlehem. About the year 390 he was ordained a presbyter by John, bishop of Jerusalem, and soon after the quarrel between him and Jerome respecting Origen's orthodoxy commenced. In the year 397 that controversy seemed to subside, and shortly after Rufinus and Melania removed to Rome. Here his publications concerning Origen rekindled the quarrel with Jerome, and both Origen and Rufinus were pronounced in the wrong by Anastasius the Roman pontiff. In the year 399 Rufinus removed to Aquileia, where he spent several years in translating works of Origen, and writing apologies for him and for himself. At length, after Alaric and his Goths began to lay waste all Italy, Rufinus and Melania set out for Palestine, and got as far as Sicily, where he closed his life A.D. 410.—Rufinus was a man of respectable talents, of considerable learning, and a very diligent scholar. His orthodoxy and his piety ought never to have been called in question. The abusive treatment he received from Jerome will account for the irritation of his feelings at times, without supposing him destitute of grace.—His work, which is most frequently quoted in modern times, is his *Ecclesiastical History*. The first nine books are a free translation of the ten books of Eusebius, with considerable omissions in the latter part, and some additions in the first seven books. The last two books (the tenth and eleventh) are a continuation by Rufinus. This work has been very severely censured, but of late it is held to be of some value. The first good edition of it was by Cacciari, Rome, 1740, 2 vols. 4to. Besides this Rufinus wrote *Vitæ Patrum*, or a history of the eastern monks, and several other works. An imperfect collection of his works was published by De La Barre, Paris, 1580, fol. A much better edition in 2 vols. fol. was commenced at Verona, by Vallarsi, of which the first volume appeared in 1745.—*Mur.*

[1] Philastrius or Philaster, bishop of Brescia in the north of Italy, A.D. 379—387. While a presbyter, he is said to have travelled nearly all over the Roman empire, combating and endeavouring to convert errorists of every sort, and especially Arians. At Milan he was severely handled by Auxentius the Arian bishop. Ambrose, the successor of Auxentius, showed him kindness, and ordained him bishop of Brescia. He is praised by Gaudentius, his immediate successor in the see of Brescia. His only work is *De Hæresibus*. It enumerates more heresies than any of the other ancient works, but no one considers it an accurate work. Philastrius was doubtless a pious and well-meaning man, but he was incompetent to the task he undertook. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.*; Schröeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. ix. pages 362—384. The work is extant in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. iv. p. 701, and ed. Helmstadt, 1611, 4to, by Fabricius, Hamb. 1721, 8vo, and among the collected works of the early bishops of Brescia, Brescia, 1738, fol.—*Mur.*

[2] Damasus, bishop of Rome, A.D. 366—384, is said to have been of Spanish extraction, but his father was a presbyter of Rome, and he was probably born there about the year 305. On the death of Felix A.D. 366, there was great competition for the episcopal chair, and two bishops were chosen and ordained—namely, Damasus and Ursinus or Ursicinus. Much confusion and even bloodshed followed; but the party of Damasus finally triumphed. Damasus was active in putting down Arianism in the West, and being requested, he aided the eastern churches in healing their divisions. For these purposes he held several councils and wrote several letters, some of which are extant. Two synodic epistles and a confession of faith are preserved by Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. xxii.; and lib. v. cap. x. xi. An epistle to Paulinus, bishop of Antioch, and about forty epitaphs, inscriptions, epigrams, &c. are also extant. Several spurious epistles, as well as the *Liber Pontificalis*, or Brief History of the Popes, are falsely ascribed to him. The best edition of his works, is that by Merenda, Rome, 1754, fol. See Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. ciii.; Cave, *Hist. Liter.*; Bower, *Lives of the Popes*, vol. i. pages 170—233, ed. 2d, Lond. 1749; Merenda, in his edition of the works of Damasus, and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. viii. pages 107—122.—*Mur.* [See also Lardner's *Credibility*, vol. iv. p. 275.—*R.*

[3] Caius Vettius Aquilinus Juvencus. Nearly all that is known of this man is told by Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. lxxxiv. He says—"Juvencus, of noble extract, a Spaniard and a presbyter, composed four books, in which the four Gospels are put into hexameter verse almost *verbatim*; also some poems in the same measure relating to the order of the sacraments. He flourished under the emperor Constantine." The four books of Evangelical History are of the nature of an imperfect harmony of the Gospels on the basis of Matthew. Juvencus possessed considerable poetic genius, and understood versification very well. His lines are flowing and easy, but he was more solicitous to give the history truly and as nearly as possible in the language of the Bible, than to decorate the narrative by flights of fancy and poetic imagery. The best edition is that of Reusch, Francf. and Leips. 1710, 8vo. The other poems mentioned by Jerome are lost. But in the *Nova Collectio Vet. Monument.* tom. ix. p. 15, &c. by Martene, Paris, 1724—33, there is a poetic version of the book of Genesis which bears the name of Juvencus. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. v. pages 262—265.—*Mur.* [See A. R. Gebser, *Prolegomena de Juvenci Vita et Scriptis*, prefixed to his works, forming the first part of a new *Biblio. Latina Poet. Vet. Christ.* Jena, 1827; but I believe no additional part has since been published. See Professor Ramsay's life of this writer in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biogr.* vol. ii. p. 690.—*R.*

[4] Sulpitius Severus was born in Aquitain Gaul, of noble extraction, and brought up under Phæbadius, bishop of Agen in Guienne. In his youth he studied eloquence, and afterwards became an advocate, and married a lady of consular rank. Subsequently he became a monk under Martin, and a presbyter at Primulum, a village between Narbonne and Toulouse. He was intimate with Martin of Tours, Paulinus of Nola, and Jerome. In his old age, Gennadius tells us he was entangled by the metaphysics of the Pelagians; but recovering himself, he ever after kept silence. He is supposed to have died about A.D. 420, far advanced in life. His style is chaste and neat, much beyond the age in which he lived, whence he has been called the Christian Sallust. His best work is his *Historia Sacra* from the creation to A.D. 409. It is a condensed narrative in a very classic style, and composed with some ability and fidelity. Besides this he wrote the Life of St. Martin, three epistles concerning him, and three dialogues on the miracles of the oriental monks and on those of St. Martin. To him Paulinus of Nola addressed fourteen epistles still extant. His works have been often printed. The last edition is that of Hornius, Lugd. Bat. 1647, 4to, often reprinted, 8vo. See Gennadius, *De Viris. Illustr.* cap. xix.; Cave, *Hist. Liter.*—*Mur.*

[5] Aurelius Prudentius Clemens of Spain was born A.D. 348; but whether at Tarragona, Calahorra, or Saragossa, is not settled. In his youth he studied eloquence, and afterwards managed causes and filled civil offices. He was openly vicious, and he served some time in the army. At length when turned of fifty, he became thoughtful, his whole character was changed, and he devoted himself to writing moral and religious poetry, considerable portions of which are still extant. Prudentius was something of a poet, but has been greatly overrated by many. His diction is not pure nor his versification correct, and his thoughts are often flat prose, and drag along to excessive length. A good critic has observed that he was a better Christian than poet. Yet he has many agreeable passages, and some that are really fine. He also serves to illustrate the history and the religious views of the age in which he lived. His collected works were published by Welt-

zen, Hanov. 1613, 8vo; with notes by Heinsius, Amstelod. 1667, 12mo; and in usum Delphini, Paris, 1687, 4to.—See Gennadius, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. xiii.; Cave, *Hist. Liter.*; Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. vii. pages 100—123.—*Mur.* [Also Lardner's *Credibility*, vol. v. p. 1, &c. On all these eminent Latin fathers and their works, see Bähr, *Gesch. der Romisch. Liter.* vol. ii. pt. ii.—*R.*

The Latin writers of inferior note omitted by Mosheim are the following:

Anastasia, a noble Roman lady, the wife of Publius, and a martyr in the Diocletian persecution, A.D. 303. Two letters addressed from her prison to Chrysogonus, a confessor, are extant under her name. See Suidas, in voce χρυσόγονος.

Theonas, a bishop, but where is not known. An excellent letter of his addressed to Lucian, the emperor's chamberlain, is extant in D'Achery, *Addit. ad Spicileg.* tom. xi. or the new ed. tom. iii. p. 297. It is supposed to have been written about A.D. 305. But whether the present Latin is the original or only a translation, is uncertain. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* vol. i. pages 172, 173.

Rheticius, bishop of Autun in France. He was in high esteem during the reign of Constantine, and wrote on the Canticles, and against the Novatians; but both are lost. Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. lxxxii.

Donatus, an African bishop, from whom the Donatist faction took its name. According to Jerome (*De Viris Illustr.* cap. xciii.) he wrote many tracts in support of his sect, and a book on the Holy Spirit, which accorded with Arian views. None of his works are extant. He was expelled from Carthage A.D. 356.

Julius, bishop of Rome, A.D. 337—352, a strenuous opposer of the Arians, and a patron of Athanasius. Two of his epistles are extant, and are preserved in the works of Athanasius, and one by Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap xxii.; See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* and Bower, *Lives of the Popes.*

Julius Firmicus Maternus probably was first a pagan and then a Christian. He wrote a book on the falsehood of the pagan religions, addressed to the emperors Constantius and Constans, which has been often printed. There is extant likewise a work on astronomics or mathematics, which bears his name.

Fortunatianus, born in Africa, and for many years bishop of Aquileia in Italy. After contending long and strenuously against the Arians, he joined with them in 354, and became as active against the orthodox. He wrote commentaries on the Gospels, but nothing of his remains.

Vitellius, an African Donatist, who flourished about A.D. 344. See Gennadius, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. iv. Nothing of his remains.

Macrobius of Africa. As a catholic presbyter, he wrote a book addressed to confessors and virgins; afterwards, as a Donatist bishop resident at Rome, he composed the martyrdom of Maximianus and Isaac, two Donatists. A large fragment of the last is extant in Mabillon, *Analect.* tom. iv. He flourished A.D. 344.

Liberius, bishop of Rome, A.D. 352—366. He had a warm discussion with the emperor Constantius in the year 355 at Milan, respecting the persecution of the orthodox by the Arians, for his opposition to which he was banished. During his exile he relapsed, signed an Arian creed, and was restored A.D. 358. His dialogue with the emperor at Milan is extant in Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. xvi.; and sixteen of his epistles are collected in the *Concilia*, tom. ii. col. 743.

Eusebius Vercellensis was a native of Sardinia, and first a lector at Rome, then bishop of Vercelli in the north of Italy, and flourished A.D. 354. For his vigorous opposition to the Arian cause he was banished in 355, first to Scythopolis in Syria, thence to Cappadocia, and afterwards to Thebais in Egypt. Under Julian he regained his liberty, travelled extensively in the eastern provinces, was at several councils, and returning to Italy, died A.D. 371. He translated the commentary on the Psalms by Eusebius Cæsariensis into Latin, but it is lost; and wrote four letters which are still extant. A manuscript of the four Evangelists according to the old Italic version, written with his own hand, is preserved in the archives of the church of Vercelli, and was published by Irici, Milan, 1748. [See also Lardner's *Credibility*, vol. iv. p. 247. A recent notice of this celebrated MS. may be seen in Henderson's *Vaudois, or a Tour to the Valleys of Piedmont in* 1844.—*R.*

Lucifer Caralitanus, a bishop [of Cagliari] in Sardinia, contemporary with Eusebius Vercellensis and his companion in exile. He was founder of the sect called Luciferians, who held no communion with Arians, or even with such as had been Arians. Lucifer was a man of violent passions, and bold even to rashness. He addressed two indecorously written books to the emperor Constantius, which, with his other extant works, were published, Paris, 1568, 8vo, and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. iv. p. 181; but the best edition is by Dominic and Coleti, Venice, 1778, fol. [See Lardner's *Credibility*, vol. iv. p. 247.—*R.*

Hilarius, a native of Sardinia, deacon at Rome, and associated with Eusebius of Vercelli and Lucifer of Cagliari in an embassy to Constantius, and by him sent with them into exile. He became a Luciferian. To him are attributed, though without sufficient proof, the Questions on the Old and New Testaments printed among the works of Augustine, vol. iv. and the Commentaries on the Epistles of Paul, published among the works of Ambrose.

Phœbadius, bishop of Agen in the south of France, from at least 359—392. He was famous in connexion with the three preceding, in the Arian contests in the West. His book against the Arians is still extant in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. iv. p. 300, ed. Paris, 1589; and by Barth, Francf. 1623, 8vo.

Zeno, bishop of Verona, who flourished about A.D. 390. To him are ascribed ninety sermons on various texts and subjects, which were compiled from Basil, Hilary, and others. They are in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. iii. p. 359.

Fabius Marius Victorinus, of African birth, was a distinguished pagan rhetorician at Rome, who became a convert to Christianity about the middle of this century, and died about A.D. 370. After his conversion he wrote on the holy Trinity against the Arians, against the Manichæan principle of two first causes, on the commencement of the day whether it be at evening or in the morning, on the generation of the divine Word, against Candidus the Arian, three hymns, on embracing the homoousian faith, a poem on the seven Maccabees, and commentaries on some of Paul's epistles which were never published. His style is intricate, obscure, and inelegant. Most of what he wrote after his conversion is extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. iv. p. 293. See Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. ci. and the notes of Fabricius. [A portion of the commentaries mentioned above has been published by Cardinal Mai, in the 3d vol. of his *Script. Veter. Nova Collectio*, part ii. pages 1—162, comprising those on Galatians, Philippians, and Ephesians, with a small treatise of Victorinus entitled *Pro Religione Christiana contra Philosophos Physicos.*—*R.*

Candidus, an Arian, who flourished about A.D. 364. He composed a book on the divine generation addressed to Victorinus, which, with the answer of Victorinus, was published by Rivinus, Gothæ, 1656.

Paclanus, bishop of Barcelona in Spain, who flourished about the year 370, and died about A.D. 390. He wrote three epistles against the Novatians, an exhortation to penitence, and a tract on baptism addressed to catechumens, all of which are published, Paris, 1538, 4to; Rome, 1564, fol.; *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. iv.; and still better, in Aguirre, *Collectio Max. Concil. Hispan.* tom. ii. p. 79, &c.

Anicia Falconia Proba, a noble lady of Rome, distinguished for her rank, piety, and beneficence. She flourished about A.D. 373. After the death of her husband, she lost most of her property by the incursion of the Goths, and fell into the hands of Alaric, who carried her to Africa, where she died in the first part of the fifth century. Her *Cento Virgilianus de Rebus Divinis* is extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. v. p. 1218, and Cologne, 1601, 8vo; and Halle, 1719, 8vo.

Faustinus, a presbyter among the Luciferians at Rome, flourished A.D. 384. He wrote a petition to the emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius, to which is prefixed a Confession of Faith, and subjoined is the Rescript of Theodosius. He also wrote a book on the Trinity against the Arians. His works are in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. v. p. 673, and were printed Oxford, 1678, 8vo.

Siricius, bishop of Rome, A.D. 385—397, is the earliest Roman pontiff whose Decretal Epistles are allowed to be genuine. Five of his Epistles are in the *Concilia*, tom. ii.; but the fourth, which is addressed to the bishops of Africa, is demonstrably spurious. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. viii. pages 122—129; and Bower, *Lives of the Popes*, vol. i. pages 233—277.

Idacius Clarus was a Spanish bishop, perhaps of

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THEOLOGY.

1. THAT the elementary principles of the Christian religion were preserved entire and inviolate in most churches is certain, but it is equally certain that they were very often unskilfully and confusedly explained and defended. This is manifest from the discussions concerning the three persons in the Godhead among those who approved the decisions of the council of Nice. There is so little clearness and discrimination in these discussions, that they seem to rend the one God into three Gods. Moreover, those idle fictions which a regard for the Platonic philosophy and for the prevailing opinions of the day had induced most theologians to embrace, even before the times of Constantine, were now in various ways confirmed, extended, and embellished; hence it is that we see on every side evident traces of excessive veneration for departed saints, of a purifying fire for souls when separated from the body, of the celibacy of the clergy, of the worship of images and relics, and of many other opinions, which in process of time almost banished the true religion, or at least very much obscured and corrupted it.

2. Genuine piety was supplanted by a long train of superstitious observances, which were derived partly from opinions inconsiderately embraced, partly from a preposterous disposition to adopt profane rites and combine them with Christian worship, and partly from the natural predilection of mankind in general for a splendid and ostentatious religion. At first, frequent pilgrimages were undertaken to Palestine and to the tombs of the martyrs, as if thence men could bear away the radical principles of holiness and certain hopes of salvation.[1] Next, from Palestine and from places venerated for their sanctity portions of dust or earth were brought, as if they were the most powerful protection against the assaults of evil spirits, and these were bought and sold everywhere at great prices.[2] Further, the public supplications by which the pagans were accustomed to appease their gods were borrowed from them, and were celebrated in many places with great pomp. To the temples, to water consecrated in due form, and to the images of holy men, the same efficacy was ascribed and the same privileges assigned which had been attributed to the pagan temples, statues, and lustrations, before the advent of Christ. Images indeed were as yet but rare, and statues did not exist; and shameful as it may appear, it is beyond all doubt that the worship of the martyrs, with no bad intentions indeed, yet to the great injury of the Christian cause, was modelled by degrees into conformity with the worship which the pagans had in former times paid to their gods.[3] From these specimens the intelligent reader will be able to conceive how much injury resulted to Christianity from the

Merida, and flourished A.D. 385. He was conspicuous as an opposer of the Priscillianists, suffered banishment, and wrote several books and tracts against heresies, all of which are extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. v. p. 726.

Gaudentius, bishop of Brescia in northern Italy (a different person from Gaudentius, a contemporary Donatist bishop of Tamugada in Africa), was travelling in the Asiatic provinces when he was elected successor to Philastrius, bishop of Brescia, and was compelled to return and accept the office. He brought with him from the East relics of about forty saints, and served the church till A.D. 410, or as some say till 427. He wrote fifteen discourses or tracts on various subjects, and the *Life of Philastrius*, all published by Petavius, 1720.

Aurelius, bishop of Carthage A.D. 390—426, was a man of much influence, and wrote, A.D. 419, a circular epistle on the condemnation of Pelagius and Cœlestius, which, with the letter of the emperor Honorius to him on the same subject, is in Baronius, *Annales*, A.D. 419, p. 455, and in the *Concilia*, tom. ii. col. 1609.

Tichonius, or Tychonius, flourished A.D. 390. He was a learned, moderate Donatist, and wrote Seven Rules for interpreting Scripture (extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. vi. p. 49), and a few other works. Some have supposed the eighteen lectures on the Revelation printed among the works of Augustine to be this commentary of Tichonius. See Gennadius, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. xviii.; Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, lib. iii. cap. xxx.; and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xi. p. 374—382.

Petilianus, a leading Donatist bishop of Numidia, flourished A.D. 399. He wrote *De Uno Baptismo* and a circular epistle to his party, to both which Augustine wrote formal answers. His works are lost.

Faustus, a Manichæan bishop in Africa, flourished A.D. 400. He wrote a book against the orthodox faith, which Augustine quotes entire and refutes at large.—*Mur.*

[1] See Gregory Nyssen, *Oratio ad eos qui Hierosolymam adeunt*, *Opp.* tom. iii. p. 568; Hieronymus, *Ep.* xiii. *ad Paulinum, de Institut. Monachi*, *Opp.* tom. i. p. 66; Gothofredus, *Ad Codicem Theodos.* tom. vi. p. 65, &c.; Wesseling, *Diss. de Causis Peregrinat. Hierosolymit.* prefixed to the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, among the *Vetera Romanor. Itineraria*, p. 537.—[Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, seems to have been the first who gave the signal for these religious journeys. At least it is stated by Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. i. cap. xvii. and by Theodoret, *H. E.* lib. i. cap. xviii. that she was instructed by a dream to go to Jerusalem, and that she wished to find the grave of Christ; that she actually did find three crosses with a superscription; that one of them instantly cured a dying woman, and was therefore concluded to be the cross of Christ; that she gave a part of it to the city of Jerusalem, and sent the other part to the emperor, who incased it in his own statue, and regarded it as the *Palladium* of his new city; and that the people used to assemble around this statue with wax candles. See Schmidt, *Problem. de Crucis Dominicæ per Helenam Constantini Imp. Matrem Inventione*, Helmst. 1724.—*Schl.* [In support of the alleged miracles connected with the discovery (or, as the Latins more appropriately styled it, the *invention*) of the sacred cross, see Newman's *Essay on the Ecclesiastical Miracles* formerly quoted, p. 143; and against them, Isaac Taylor's *Ancient Christianity*, vol. ii. p. 277. —*R.*

[2] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, lib. xxii. cap. viii. sec. vi. and many others.

[3] This is shown at length by Beausobre, *Hist. du Manichéisme*, tome ii. p. 642, &c.

peace and repose procured by Constantine, and from an indiscreet eagerness to allure the pagans to embrace this religion. But the plan of this work will not admit of long details respecting such disgraceful proceedings.

3. This inconsiderate piety of the common people opened a wide door to the endless frauds of persons who were base enough to take advantage of the ignorance and errors of others to advance their own interests. Rumours were artfully disseminated of prodigies and wonders to be seen in certain edifices and places (a trick before this time practised by the pagan priests), whereby the infatuated populace were drawn together, and the stupidity and ignorance of those who looked upon everything new and unusual as a miracle were often wretchedly imposed upon.[1] Graves of saints and martyrs were supposed to be where they were not,[2] the list of saints was enriched with fictitious names, and even robbers were converted into martyrs.[3] Some buried blood-stained bones in retired places, and then gave out that they had been informed in a dream that the corpse of some friend of God was there interred.[4] Many, especially of the monks, travelled through the different provinces, and not only shamelessly carried on a traffic in fictitious relics, but also deceived the eyes of the multitude with ludicrous combats with evil spirits.[5] It would require a volume to detail the various impositions which were for the most part successfully practised by artful knaves, after genuine piety and true religion were compelled to resign their dominion in great measure to superstition.[6]

4. Many laboured earnestly, few successfully, on the sacred volume. Jerome, a man of great industry, and not unskilful in the languages, made a new Latin translation of all the sacred books, which was more lucid and considerably better than any of the numerous old Latin versions.[7] He also took much pains to set forth a more correct edition of the Septuagint Greek version; and the same thing we are told was undertaken by Eusebius, Athanasius, and Euthalius.[8] The expositors of scripture form a long list; among whom the most distinguished are Jerome, Hilary, Eusebius, Diodorus of Tarsus, Rufinus, Ephræm Syrus, Theodorus of Heraclea, Chrysostom, Athanasius, and Didymus. Yet few of these have correctly discharged the duty of interpreters. Rufinus, indeed, Theodorus of Heraclea, Diodorus, and a few others, followed the literal sense of scripture;[9] the rest, after the example of Origen their guide, search for recondite meanings, and accommodate, or rather constrain the half-understood language of the bible to speak of sacred mysteries and a Christian life.[10] Augustine and Tychonius wished to establish rules for interpretation, but neither of them had ability to do it.[11]

[1] Dodwell's *Dissertat.* ii. *in Irenæum*, sec. lvi. p. 196, &c.; Le Clerc, in his Appendix *Augustiniana*, pages 492, 550, 575.

[2] *Concilium Carthagin.* v. canon xiv.; Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. i. p. 988.

[3] Sulpitius Severus, *De Vita S. Martini*, cap. viii.

[4] Augustine, Sermo 318, sec. i. *Opp.* tom. v. p. 886, ed. Antwerp.

[5] See Gothofredus, *Ad Codicem Theodos.* tom. iii. p. 172; Augustine, *De Opere Monachorum*, cap. xxviii. sec. xxxvi.; *Opp.* tom. v. p. 364; Jerome, *Epistola ad Rusticum*, *Opp.* tom. i. p. 45.

[6] The student should read with attention what Isaac Taylor has written on these Nicene miracles, and his reasons for rejecting them as so many fraudulent impostures, in his *Ancient Christ.* vol. ii. p. 233, &c.—*R.*

[7] See Buddeus, *Isagoge ad Theologiam*, tom. ii. p. 1332, &c.—[That there were many Latin versions extant in the fourth century is very clearly stated by Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, lib. ii. cap. xi. Of these (as Augustine tells us, *ubi supra*), one was called (*Itala*) the *Italic*. But it has become usual to apply this designation to every ancient Latin version which was not amended by Jerome, and this has given occasion to many mistakes. See Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ. ante C. M.* pages 225—229, Jerome mentions a version which he calls (*Vulgata*) the *vulgar*, and which Michaëlis takes to be that used at Rome in the days of Jerome. These translations, in respect to their diction, were neither classical nor tolerable; yet they may be of use to those who wish to become acquainted with the Latin language in its fullest extent. They contain an immense number of Hebraisms, or rather Syriasms, which leads to the conjecture that their authors were in great measure Jews. These versions fell into great disorder, in which no two copies were alike, because different translations were in fact blended together, the words of one Evangelist were transferred into the narrative of another, and many glosses were incorporated into the text. This induced the Roman bishop Damasus to commit the improving of these ancient versions to Jerome, who undertook the business in the year 384. He erased the false and incorrect readings, and improved the translations which came into his hands very faulty, uniformly guiding himself by the original text. The improved version of Jerome is, a few alterations excepted, that Vulgate which is held in so high estimation by the Catholic church. The really *new translation* of the Bible by Jerome was published from manuscripts by the Benedictine monks Martianay and Pouget, Paris, 1693, under the title, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Divina Bibliotheca, hactenus inedita.* Their *Prolegomena* are worth reading. See Simon, *Hist. Crit. des Versions du Nouv. Test.* cap. vii.—xii. and Michaëlis, *Introd. to the New Test.*—*Schl.* [See Davidson's *Lectures on Bib. Crit.* Lect. vi. p. 56, and Horne's *Introduction*, vol. ii. chap. ii. sec. 4.—*R.*

[8] Frick, *De Canone Novi Testamenti*, p. 180.

[9] Simon. *Critique de la Biblio. des Aut. Ecclés. par M. Du Pin*, tome i. pages 51, 90, 129; and tome iv. p. 335, &c.; and *Hist. Crit. des Princip. Comment. du Nouv. Test.* cap. vi. &c. p. 88, &c.

[10] See Gregory Nazianzen, *Carmen de se ipso*, in Tollius *Insignia Itineris Italici*, pages 27, 57. He very much commends this method.

[11] Augustine, in his work *De Doctrina Christiana;* Tychonius, in his Rules of Interpretation which are extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum maxima*, tom. vi. p. 48. [See the observations of the late Rev. J. J. Conybeare on the methods of interpretation introduced by Origen and followed by the Nicene expositors, in the fourth and fifth of his Bampton Lectures, entitled, *An Attempt to trace the Hist. and to ascertain the Limits of the Secondary and Spiritual Interpretation of Scripture*, Oxf. 1824, 8vo. To this the student should by all means add Dr. Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics Developed and Applied*, Edin. 1843, 8vo; the fifth chapter of which presents a condensed but accurate and valuable

5. The doctors who were distinguished for their learning explained the sacred doctrines after the manner of Origen (on whom they all fixed their eye), in accordance with the principles of that philosophy which they learned in their youth at school, namely, the Platonic philosophy as corrected by Origen. Those who wish to get a full insight into this subject may examine Gregory Nazianzen among the Greeks, and Augustine among the Latins, who were regarded in the subsequent ages as the only patterns worthy of imitation, and may be fitly styled, next to Origen, the parents and supporters of philosophic or scholastic theology. They were both admirers of Plato, and held as certain all his decisions which were not absolutely repugnant to the truths of Christianity; and proceeding upon these as their first principles, they drew from them many and very subtle conclusions. But there was another class of theologians which daily increased in number, who supposed the knowledge of divine things was to be acquired, not by reasoning, but by contemplation, and by recalling the mind from its converse with external objects to a concentration on itself. These are commonly called mystics. That these abounded appears from several considerations, and particularly from the numerous herds of monks who were spread over nearly the entire Christian world, and from the works of Dionysius, that coryphæus of the mystics, which were produced it seems in this century, and by some one of this class.

6. Among the writings of this age in which the doctrines of Christianity are stated and explained, the first place is justly due to the catechetical discourses of Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem; for those who would persuade us that these discourses were the production of a subsequent age are so blinded by zeal for a party as not to discern the truth.[1] Many would also place here the *Divine Institutions* of Lactantius, but improperly, because this work was designed rather to confute those who still adhered to polytheism than to unfold the truths taught by inspiration. The *System of Doctrine* addressed to the clergy and laity, which is ascribed to Athanasius, appears to have been the production of a later age.[2] There are, however, in the works of Athanasius, Chrysostom, the Gregories, and others, as now extant, many passages from which we may learn how the best informed men of this age handled the leading topics of the Christian religion. On the *Trinity* in particular we have the twelve books of Hilary of Poictiers. The *Ancoratus* of Epiphanius explains the doctrine concerning Christ and the Holy Spirit. On *Baptism* we have the work of Pacianus addressed to the catechumens, and a work of Chrysostom, on the same subject, in two books. The works of Jerome, Augustine, and others, which were designed to impart correct views on religious subjects, and to confute the opposers of the truth, are here omitted.

7. From the disputes with those who were regarded as opposed to divine truth the ancient simplicity had nearly taken its flight; and in place of it dialectical subtilties and quibbles, invectives, and other disingenuous artifices had succeeded, more becoming the patrons than the opposers of error. Censures of this custom by men of eminence are still extant.[3] I pass in silence those rhetorical figures and flourishes by which many endeavoured to parry the weapons of their adversaries, and to involve in obscurity the question under discussion; likewise the inclination to excite odium against their antagonists so common to many, and the disregard of proper arrangement and of perspicuity, and other habits which were no better in their discussions. Yet so far were some writers of this century from disguising these faults, that they rather claimed praise for them. It must be owned, however, that their antagonists made use of the same weapons.

8. With the ancient form of discussion new sources of argument were in this age combined; for the truth of doctrines was proved by the number of martyrs who had believed them, by prodigies, and by the confessions of devils, that is, of persons in whose bodies some demon was supposed to reside. The discerning cannot but see that all proofs drawn from such sources are very fallacious, and very convenient for dishonest men who would practise imposition; and I greatly fear that most of those who at this time resorted to such proofs, notwithstanding they were grave and eminent men, may be justly charged with the dangerous propensity to use deception. Ambrose, in controversy with the Arians, brings forward persons possessed with devils, who are constrained, when the relics of Gervasius and Protasius are produced, to cry out that the doctrine of the Nicene council concerning three persons in the Godhead is true and

history of Biblical interpretation during the first six centuries.—*R.*

[1] See Fecht, *Comment. de Origine Missarum in Honorem Sanctorum*, p. 404, &c.

[2] It is not so much a treatise on dogmatics as one on morals, containing rules of life especially for monks. —*Schl.*

[3] Methodius, cited by Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 61, *Opp.* i. p. 563; Gregory Nazianzen in many places; and others.

divine, and the doctrine of the Arians false and pernicious. This testimony of the prince of darkness Ambrose regards as proof altogether unexceptionable. But the Arians openly ridiculed the prodigy, and maintained that Ambrose had bribed these infernals to bear testimony in his favour;[1] and many, I am aware, will be more inclined to believe the Arians than to give credit to Ambrose, notwithstanding he is enrolled among saints and they among heretics.[2]

9. Besides Apollinaris, Gregory Nazianzen, Cyril of Alexandria, and others, who confuted the emperor Julian, the adherents to idolatry were vigorously and successfully encountered by Lactantius, by Athanasius, by Julius Firmicus Maternus, by the younger Apollinaris whose books against Porphyry are unhappily lost, by Augustine in his twenty-two books on the City of God, and in his three lost books against the pagans; and above all, by Eusebius of Cæsarea in his *Evangelical Preparation*, and in his book against Hierocles. Attempts to convert the Jews were made by Eusebius of Emessa, by Diodorus of Tarsus, and by Chrysostom in his six books still extant. Against all the heresies Ephræm Syrus,[3] James of Nisibis, Didymus, and Audentius took up the pen. So did Epiphanius in his extensive work on the heresies, which he denominated *Panarium;* and Gregory Nazianzen, more concisely, in his *Oration on the Faith.* The short works of Augustine and Philastrius rather enumerate the heresies than confute them.

10. The state of moral or practical theology would have been very flourishing if the progress of any branch of knowledge could be measured by the number of the writers on it, for very many laboured to perfect and inculcate practical religion. Among the orientals, the efforts of James of Nisibis, or as some say of Saruga,[4] and Ephræm Syrus, were very considerable in this department. What we meet with respecting the life and duties of a Christian in the writings of Basil the Great, Gregory Nyssen, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine, and others, can neither be altogether approved nor wholly condemned. Many give the preference to the three books of Ambrose on the duties of ministers of the church, which are written after the manner of Cicero; and they certainly deserve commendation, so far as the intentions of the writer and the beauty of his thoughts are concerned; but they contain many things which may be justly censured. Perhaps, before all others who wrote on practical piety, the preference is due to Macarius, the Egyptian monk,[5] from whom, after deducting some superstitious notions and what savours too much of Origenism, we may collect a beautiful picture of real piety.

11. Nearly all the writers in this department are defective in the following respects: First, they pay no regard to method and a just arrangement of their thoughts on the subject they attempt to explain. They rarely define and never divide their subject, but pour out promiscuously whatever suggests itself to their pious, but not very clear and correct minds. In the next place, they either neglect to trace the duties of men back to their sources and their first principles, or they derive them from precepts and doctrines which are either manifestly false or not fully ascertained. Lastly, when they come to the proof of their positions, most of them do not resort to the law of God for arguments to enforce duty and discountenance vice, but to airy fancies, to frigid allegories, and fine-spun subtilties, better suited to amuse the imagination than to awaken and overpower the conscience.

12. But still their works are far more tolerable than that combination of the precepts of Christ with those of Plato, or rather with those of the Alexandrine philosophers the followers of Ammonius Saccas, and that twofold kind of piety—the one more perfect and complete, and the other less so—which almost all now embraced. How very much these views of religion had gained ground may appear from the fact, that those who had long cried up a sort of recondite and mysterious knowledge of divine things wholly different from the common knowledge of the vulgar, ventured in this century to carry out their views and reduce them to a regular system. It is most probable it was among the Greeks of this century

[1] Ambrose, *Epist.* xxii. p. 878, &c.; Paulinus, *De Vita Ambrosii*, p. 81.

[2] See Le Clerc, *Appendix Augustiniana*, p. 375. More examples of this kind might be mentioned. See Gregory Nyssen, *De Vita Gregorii Cæsariensis, Opp.* tom. ii. pages 977, 978; Sulpitius Severus, *Hist. Sacra*, lib. ii. cap. xxxviii. p. 261. [On the disgraceful conduct of Ambrose in connexion with the relics of these two Milanese saints and the alleged attendant miracles, see Isaac Taylor's powerful exposure in his *Ancient Christ.* vol. ii. p. 242. Let the reader contrast with it the feeble and puerile defence of these palpable impostures offered by Mr. Newman in his *Essay on the Eccles. Miracles*, p. 145.—*R.*

[3] See Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Clement. Vatic.* tom. i. pages 118, 125, &c. From his extracts it appears that Ephræm, though a pious man, was not a dexterous polemic.

[4] Asseman, in his *Biblioth. Orient.* &c. tom. i. p. 7, thinks that the writings ascribed to James of Nisibis should rather be ascribed to a person of Saruga. But in his *Addenda*, p. 558, he corrects his opinion in some measure.

[5] See the *Acta Sanctorum*, Januarii, tom. i. p. 1005.

(though some think it was earlier and some that it was later) that that fanatic lived who assumed the name and character of Dionysius the Areopagite, the disciple of St. Paul, and who under the cover of this shield gave laws to those who wished to become separated from the world, and by means of contemplation to bring back the soul—that separated particle of the divine nature—to its pristine state.[1] As soon as the writings of this man spread among the Greeks and Syrians, and especially among the solitaries and monks, it is not easy to describe how much darkness spread over the minds of many, and what an accession of numbers was made to those who maintained that converse with God is to be had by mortifying the senses, withdrawing the thoughts from all external objects, subduing the body with hunger and hardships, and fixing the attention on God and eternal things in a kind of holy indolence.

13. The truth of these remarks is evinced by that vast multitude of monks and sacred virgins who, as soon as peace was given to the Christians, spread themselves with astonishing rapidity over the whole Christian world. Many persons of this description among the Christians had long been known to live as solitaries in the deserts of Egypt. But Antony was the first who, in the year 305, collected them into an associated community in Egypt, and regulated their mode of living by fixed rules.[2] His disciple Hilarion the next year undertook the same thing in Palestine and Syria. About the same time, Aones or Eugenius, with his associates Gaddanas and Azyzus, introduced this mode of life into Mesopotamia and the neighbouring countries.[3] These were imitated by many others with so much success, that in a short time all the East swarmed with persons who, abandoning the occupations and conveniences of life and all intercourse with society, pined away amidst various hardships, hunger, and sufferings, in order to attain to a more close communion with God and the angels. The Christian church would have remained free from these numerous torturers of mind and body, had not that great and fascinating doctrine of the ancient philosophy gained credence among Christians, that to attain to happiness and communion with God, the soul must be freed from the influence of the body, and for this purpose the body must be subdued.

14. This austere discipline passed from the East into the West, and first into Italy and the adjacent islands, though it is uncertain who conveyed it thither.[4] Afterwards St. Martin, the celebrated bishop of Tours, erected some monasteries in Gaul, and by his example and discourses produced such eagerness to embrace a monastic life, that two thousand monks are said to have assembled together at his funeral.[5] From thence this way of life gradually extended over the other countries of Europe. Those studious of such matters, however, must know that there has always been a wide difference between the monks of the West and those of the East, and that the former could never be brought to bear the severe rules to which the latter submitted. For our part of the world is not so filled with

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1 Those who have written concerning this deceiver are enumerated by Buddeus, *Isagoge ad Theologiam*, lib. ii. cap. iv. sec. viii. p. 602, &c. See also Launoi, *Judicium de Scriptis Dionysii*, *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 562. De la Croze, in his *Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie*, p. 10, &c. endeavours to prove that Synesius, a celebrated philosopher and bishop in Egypt of the fifth century, was the author of the Dionysian writings, and that he designed by them to support the doctrine of only one nature in Christ. But he uses feeble arguments. Nor are those more substantial by which Baratier (in his Diss. subjoined to his book *De Successione Romanor. Episcop.* p. 286) endeavours to prove that Dionysius of Alexandria was the true author of those writings.—[The real author of these works is wholly unknown. That he was not Dionysius the Areopagite mentioned Acts xvii. 34, as he pretends to be and was generally believed to be, from the sixth century on to the fifteenth, is certain. That he was a Greek who lived some time in the fourth century is generally admitted, though some place him a century later. That he was Apollinaris senior or junior of Laodicea, several have laboured to evince, but without much success. He was orthodox, pious, and certainly not destitute of talent. His works consist of single books, on the Celestial Hierarchy or the invisible world or the church above; on the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy or the visible church of God on the earth, its order, worship, and ordinances; on the Divine names or the designations of God in the Scriptures; on Mystical Theology or on the perfections of God; and eleven epistles. These with the commentaries of some of the later Greek theologians, and notes by the moderns, were printed Gr. and Lat. Antwerp, 1634, and Paris, 1644, 2 vols. fol. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.*; Daillé, *De Scriptis Dionysii Areopagitæ*, Geneva, 1666, 4to; Bp. Pearson, *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*, pt. i. cap. x.—*Mur.* [The most recent work on this subject is by Karl Vogt, entitled, *Neo-platonismus und Christenthum, Untersuchungen iiber die Schriften Dionysius des Areopagiten*, Berlin, 1836, 1st part. See also Ritter *Geschichte der Christ. Philos.* vol. ii. p. 515, &c.—*R.*

2 Antony and his regulations are treated of in the *Acta Sanctor.* ad diem 17 Januarii, tom. ii. p. 107.

3 See Asseman, *Bibliyth. Orient. Clement. Vatic.* tom. iii. pt. ii. p 48, &c.

4 The majority follow Baronius, maintaining that it was Athanasius who, about the year 340, transplanted the monastic institution from Egypt into Italy, and erected the first monastery at Rome. See Mabillon, *Præfatio ad Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* tom. i. p. 9 &c. But Muratori opposes this opinion, and contends that the first European monastery was built at Milan. *Antiq. Italicar. Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 364. Again, Fontanmus in his *Hist. Liter. Aquileiens.* p. 155, &c. maintains that the first society of monks was collected at Aquileia. None of these writers adduces unexceptionable proof. The first convent of nuns was erected at Verona near the close of this century, and by Zeno, the bishop of Verona, if we may give credit to the brothers Ballerini, in their *Diss.* ii. *ad Zenonem Veronens.* p. 115, &c.

5 See Sulpitius Severus, *De Vita Martini*, cap. x. p. 17, ed. Verona, where the mode of life adopted by these Martinian monks is particularly described. See also the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome i. pt. ii. p. 42, and others.

persons who are by nature austere, morose, delirious, and fanatical, as those oriental regions are; nor will our bodies endure that abstemiousness in regard to nourishment which those will who were born under a dry and burning atmosphere. It was therefore rather the name and the shadow of that solitary life which Antony and others instituted in the East, than the thing itself, which was brought into the countries of Europe.[1]

15. These monks[2] were not all of the same kind; for first, they were divided into Cœnobites and Eremites. The former lived and ate together in the same house, and were associated under a leader and head whom they called Father, or, in the Egyptian tongue, Abbot.[3] The latter, the Eremites, led a cheerless, solitary life in certain parts of the country, dwelling in hovels among the wild beasts.[4] Still more austere than the Eremites were those who were called Anchorites. These lived in desert places with no kind of shelter, fed on roots and plants, and had no fixed residence, but lodged wherever night overtook them, so that visiters might not know where to find them.[5] The last class of monks were the Vagrants, called by the Egyptians Sarabitæ, who roamed about the provinces and from city to city, and got their living without labour, by pretended miracles, by trafficking in relics, and by other impositions.[6] Among the Cœnobites many were vicious and profligate, but not so many as among the Sarabites, most of whom were knaves and villains. Of the Eremites, the greater part were delirious fanatics who were not in their right mind.[7] All these monks were hitherto laymen or separate from the clerical order, and under the care and protection of the bishops; but many of them were now admitted into the rank of clergymen even by the command of the emperors, and so great was their reputation for sanctity, that bishops were often chosen from among them.[8]

16. To these defects in the moral system of the age must be added two principal errors now almost publicly adopted, and

[1] This difference between the oriental and the occidental monks, as to their mode of living and the cause of it, are pleasantly noticed by Sulpitius Severus, Dial. i. *De Vita Martini*, cap. ii. p. 65, ed. Verona. One of the interlocutors having described the dry and sparing diet of the Egyptian monks, Sulpitius turned to his Gallic friend and said, "'How would you like a bunch of herbs and half a loaf as a dinner for five men?' He, reddening a little on being so rallied, replied, 'You are at your old practice, Sulpitius, for you neglect no opportunity that occurs to tax us [Gallic monks] with voracity. But it is cruel in you to require us Gauls to live in the manner of angels. But let that Cyrenian [monk] content himself with such a dinner, since it is his necessity or nature to go hungry. We, as I have often told you, are Gauls.'" In the same dialogue, cap. iv. pages 69, 70, he taxes Jerome with accusing the monks of edacity, and goes on to say, "I perceive that he refers rather to the oriental monks than to the occidental; for edacity in the Greeks [and orientals] is gluttony, in the Gauls it is nature." Immediately therefore on the introduction of the monastic institution into Europe, the occidental monks differed widely from the oriental in their customs and mode of living, and were taxed by them with voraciousness and gluttony.

[2] The word *monk* (μοναχὸς, from μοναζειν, *to live alone*) first occurs in the fourth century, and is kindred with *ascetic* [ἀσκητὴς, from ἀσκέω, *to practise, to exercise*]. At least the monks were also called ascetics, though all ascetics were not monks; for the name ascetic denotes a Christian who devotes himself to severe religious exercises, and particularly to abstinence and fasting. Such ascetics have always existed among Christians, but these were not always monks. The word ascetic is a generic term; the word monk denotes a species under that genus. This is conceded by the Catholics, Valesius (notes on Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. xi. cap. xvii. and *De Martyr. Palæst.* cap. xi.) and by Pagi, *Critica in Baron.* ad ann. 62, sec. iv. tom. i. p. 48.—The males among the monks were called *Nonni* and the females *Nonnæ*. See Jerome, *Ep. ad Eustoch. Opp.* tom. iv. pt. ii. p. 34, ed. Martianay. Erasmus derives the term *nonnus* from the Egyptian language; Vossius derives it from the Hebrew נוּן *a son*. *De Vitiis Sermonis*, lib. i. cap. vi. p. 9; lib. ii. cap. xiii. *De Orig. Idolol.* lib. i. cap. xxiv.—*Schl.*

[3] The *Cœnobites* derived their name from [κοινόβιον] *cœnobium* (κοινὸς βίος), a habitation in which several monks lived together. The ancients discriminated between a cœnobium and a monastery. The latter was the residence of proper and solitary monks; the former, of associated monks who lived together in a society. The habitation of a single, solitary monk, might be called a monastery, but not a cœnobium. See Cassianus, *Collat.* xviii. cap. x. *Opp.* 525; and compare Jerome, *Ep.* xcv. *ad Rusticum Monachum, Opp.* tom. iv. pt. ii. p. 775; and Gregory Naz. *Orat.* xxi. *Opp.* tom. i. p. 384.—The nuns also had their presidents, who were called Mothers. See Jerome, *Ep.* xx. *Opp.* tom. iv. pt. ii. p. 51. See also Bingham, *Origines Ecclesiast.* vol. iii. p. 63.—*Schl.*

[4] From a passage in the beginning of the *Historia Lausiaca* of Palladius, it may be inferred that in the most ancient times the eremites and the anchorites were the same, for he speaks of the ἀναχωρητῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. But subsequently a distinction was made between them.—*Schl.* [The terms monks, eremites, anchorites or anachorites, were at first all used as synonymous, and were applied indiscriminately to those Egyptian ascetics who (ἀναχώρησαν) retired from the world and lived solitary (μοναχοὶ, from μόνος, alone) in the wilderness, (ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ), for the sake of practising (ἀσκεῖν) religious exercises without interruption. The words ascetic and monk continued to be generic, and were applied to all who devoted themselves to a religious life, and subjected themselves to strict rules of living. The other terms acquired more appropriate significations, when the monks became distributed into various classes or sorts.—*Mur.* [Further information on all that relates to the ascetics of the primitive church may be found in Bingham's *Orig. Eccles.* book vii. in his *Works*, vol. ii. p. 234, &c.—*R.*

[5] See Sulpitius Severus, Dial. i. *De Vita Martini*, cap. ix. p. 80, &c. ed. Verona. [When several anchorites lived in the same wilderness only a little separated from each other, they were collectively called a *Laura*. See Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. xxi., and Valesius, note on this passage. See also Walch's *Hist. Eccles.* p. 1670.—*Schl.*

[6] Concerning the Sarabites, see Cassian. *Collatio.* xviii. cap. 7. *Opp.* p. 731, &c. and the notes of Gazæus there.—*Mur.*

[7] On the vices of the monks of this century see Sulpitius Severus, Dial. i. *De Vita Martini*, cap. viii. pages 69, 70; cap. xxi. p. 88, where he chastises in particular the pride of those who coveted the honours of clergymen; Dial. ii. cap. viii. p. 112; Dial. iii. cap. xv. pages 144, 145; also the *Consultatio Apollonii et Zachæi*, published by D'Achery, in his *Spicilegium*, tom. i. lib. iii. cap. iii. p. 35, &c.

[8] See Gothofredus, on the *Codex Theodos.* tom. vi. pt. i. pages 76—106, ed. Ritter.

from which afterwards immense evils resulted. The first was, that to deceive and lie is a virtue when religion can be promoted by it. The other was, that errors in religion, when maintained and adhered to after proper admonition, ought to be visited with penalties and punishments. The first of these principles had been embraced in the preceding centuries; and it is almost incredible what a mass of the most insipid fables, and what a host of pious falsehoods, have through all the centuries grown out of it, to the great detriment of true religion. If some inquisitive person were to examine the conduct and writings of the greatest and most pious teachers of this century, I fear he would find nearly all of them infected with this leprosy. I cannot except Ambrose, nor Hilary, nor Augustine, nor Gregory Nazianzen, nor Jerome. And perhaps it was this same fault which led Sulpitius Severus, who was in other respects no incompetent historian, to ascribe so many miracles to St. Martin. The other principle, from the very time when Constantine gave peace and security to the Christians, was approved by many; and in the conflicts with the Priscillianists and Donatists it was corroborated by examples, and unequivocally sanctioned by the authority of Augustine, and transmitted to succeeding ages.

17. If we look at the lives and morals of Christians, we shall find as heretofore that good men were commingled with bad; yet the number of the bad began gradually to increase, so that the truly pious and godly appeared more rare. When there was no more to fear from enemies without; when the character of most bishops was tarnished with arrogance, luxury, effeminacy, animosity, resentments, and other defects; when the lower clergy neglected their proper duties, and were more attentive to idle controversies than to the promotion of piety and the instruction of the people; when vast numbers were induced, not by a rational conviction, but by the fear of punishment and the hope of worldly advantage, to enrol themselves as Christians, how can it surprise us that on all sides the vicious appeared a host, and the pious a little band almost overpowered by them? Against the flagitious and those guilty of heinous offences the same rules for penance were prescribed as before the reign of Constantine; but as the times continually waxed worse, the more honourable and powerful could sin with impunity, and only the poor and the unfortunate felt the severity of the laws.

18. This century was fruitful in controversies among Christians, for, as is common with mankind, external peace made room for internal discords and contentions. We shall here mention the more considerable ones which did not give rise to obstinate heresies. In Egypt, soon after the century began, or about the year 306, commenced the long-continued schism, which from the author of it was called the Meletian controversy. Peter, the bishop of Alexandria, deposed Meletius, the bishop of Lycopolis in Thebais. The cause is involved in uncertainty. The friends of Peter represent Meletius as one who had sacrificed to the gods, and had committed other crimes.[1] Others say he was guilty of no offence but that of excessive severity against the lapsed.[2] Meletius disregarded the sentence of Peter, and not only continued to exercise the functions of his office, but assumed to himself the power of consecrating presbyters, a right which, according to established usage in Egypt, belonged exclusively to the bishop of Alexandria. The partisans of this energetic and eloquent man were numerous, and at length not a few of the monks espoused his cause. The Nicene council attempted in vain to heal this breach. The Meletians on the contrary, whose chief aim was to oppose the authority claimed by the bishop of Alexandria, afterwards joined themselves to his great enemies, the Arians. Thus a contest, which at first related only to the limits of the Alexandrian bishop's powers, became through the influence of heated passions a controversy respecting an article of faith. The Meletian party was still existing in the fifth century.[3]

[1] Athanasius, *Apologia Secunda*, *Opp.* tom. i. p. 777, &c.

[2] Epiphanius, *Hæres.* lxviii. *Opp.* tom. i. p. 716, &c. See Petavius, note on *Epiphan.* tom. ii. p. 274; and Basnage, *Exercitatio de Rebus Sacris contra Baronium*, p. 305, &c.

[3] Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. vi.; Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. viii. [Two widely different accounts of the origin and cause of the Meletian schism have reached us. The one is from the pen of Athanasius, their avowed foe; the other is from Epiphanius, the historian of the early heresies. The Romish writers prefer the statement of Athanasius; but the most learned Protestant writers of late generally follow Epiphanius. See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. iv. pages 355—410; Henke, *Kirchenges.* vol. i. p. 196, &c.; Schroeckh, *Kirchenges.* vol. v. pages 265—273; Neander, *Kirchenges.* vol. ii. pt. i. pages 463—471; and Giesseler's text-book translated by Cunningham, vol. i. p. 166. The statement of Athanasius (*Apolog. ad Imp. Constantinum*, *Opera*, tom. i. p. 777, ed. Colon. 1686) is as follows:—"Peter, a bishop among us before the persecution and an acknowledged martyr in it, deposed in a common council of bishops an Egyptian bishop called Meletius, who stood convicted of many crimes, and especially of sacrificing to idols. Meletius did not appeal to another council, nor endeavour to purge himself before Peter's successors, but created a schism; and his followers, instead of being called Christians, are called Meletians to this day. He at once began to utter reproaches against the bishops; and first he calumniated Peter, then his successor Achillas, and after him Alexander; and he did this with craftiness, after the example of Absalom, that, by calumniating the innocent, he might hide the shame of his own deposition." Such is the invective of their avowed

19. Not long after Meletius, one Eustathius excited great commotions in Armenia, Pontus, and the neighbouring countries, and was therefore condemned in the council of Gangra, which was held not long after the Nicene council. Whether this man was Eustathius the bishop of Sebaste in Armenia, who was the coryphæus of the semi-Arians, or whether the ancients confounded two persons of the same name, is debated with nearly equal weight of argument on both sides.[1] The founder of the Eustathian sect is charged not so much with unsoundness in the faith as with extravagant notions of piety, for he is said to have prohibited marriage, the use of flesh and wine, love-feasts, &c. and to have recommended immediate divorce to all married persons, and to have granted to children and servants the liberty of violating the commands of their parents and masters under pretext of religion.[2]

20. Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia, a man of decision, sternness, and vigour, who was driven into exile by the emperor Constantine for defending the Nicene doctrine of three persons in one God, first separated from Eusebius of Vercelli in the year 363, because the latter was displeased that the former had consecrated Paulinus bishop of the church of Antioch. He afterwards separated himself from the communion of the whole church, because it had decreed that absolution might be granted

adversary. On the contrary, Epiphanius, who spent several years in Egypt, several of them probably in the lifetime of Meletius and certainly while the schism excited great attention, and who passed the rest of his life in the neighbourhood of Egypt and had constant communication with it, gives us a full and apparently very candid history of the schism, which is too long to be transcribed, but which is substantially as follows (*Hær.* lxviii. *Opera*, tom. i. p. 716, &c. ed. Petau, Colon.):—During the persecution under Diocletian and Maximian, Peter the archbishop of Alexandria and Meletius an eminent bishop in Thebais (who ranked next to Peter, and under him managed ecclesiastical affairs) and many others were imprisoned. While several of these had suffered martyrdom and others had yielded to their fears, and saved themselves by sacrificing to idols, those eminent bishops were kept long in prison and reserved for the last victims. Those who had lapsed became anxious for reconciliation to the church, and they besought the confessors still in prison to interpose their authority. Warm debates arose on the subject among these confessors. Meletius and others held that the lapsed ought to be excluded from the church to the end of the persecution, and then if they appeared worthy, to be admitted to penances proportionate to their offences. But Peter maintained that they should at once be admitted to suitable penances, and so be restored. At length Peter, finding his proposal defeated by the zeal of Meletius, hung out his mantle in the midst of the prison for a standard, and called on those who agreed with him to assemble round it, and those who sided with Meletius to repair to him. But the mass of the imprisoned confessors gathered round Meletius, and only a very few joined Peter. From this time the two parties worshipped separately, and the schism became complete—even in the prison! (This was in the year 306, according to Baronius, *Annal.* ann. 306, no. 44, or in the year 301, according to Pagi, *Critica. ad Baron.* ann. 306, no. 29.) Peter afterwards suffered martyrdom, but Meletius and others were transported from place to place—sometimes shut up in the mines and sometimes banished to distant regions. Everywhere Meletius ordained bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and erected separate churches, his followers having no communion with the others. Peter's successors retained the ancient churches, which were called the churches of the Catholics, while the new churches of the Meletians bore the title of the martyrs' churches. According to this account of the origin of the schism, the only crime of Meletius was that he erected separate churches and ordained bishops, &c. over them, not subject to the archbishops of Alexandria nor holding communion with the Catholics. No other crime is alleged against him by the council of Nice which censured him, nor by the four bishops and martyrs (Hesychius, Pachomius, Theodorus, and Phileas) who remonstrated with him for his conduct. (See their letter in Maffei, *Osservazioni Letterarie*, tom. iii. Verona, 1738; also Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. viii. cap. xiii.) What therefore Athanasius charges upon him as his greatest offence, that he offered sacrifices to idols, is not only inconsistent with the explicit statement of Epiphanius, but is also highly improbable, not to say impossible, since the Meletian party owed its existence to its peculiar rigour against the lapsed; for such a party cannot be supposed to have been formed and ruled over from its commencement by the most notorious of all the lapsed, and one already deposed for this very crime. The subject of this schism was brought before the council of Nice in 325, and they endeavoured to remove it by confirming the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Alexandria and limiting that of Meletius to his own diocese, and subjecting him and his clergy to certain other restrictions. See the letter of the council to the African clergy in Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. ix. The list of the Meletian clergy at that time embraced the names of twenty-eight bishops, with four presbyters and five deacons of Alexandria. See Athanasius, *Apolog. ad Imp. Constant. Opp.* tom. i. pages 788–9, who adds that there were in Egypt, &c. nearly one hundred bishops in his communion. Meletius did not long survive his censure, and after his death Alexander resorted to coercive measures in order to bring the Meletians to submission. They now applied to the emperor Constantine, and Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia promised to assist them if they would join with Arius. They consented, and he obtained from the emperor the privileges of a tolerated sect. But this alliance involved them in the Arian contests, and from this time many of the Meletians embraced the opinions of Arius. See Epiphanius, *Hæres.* lxviii. and Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. xxi.—*Mur.*

[1] See Basnage, *Annales Politico-Eccles.* tome ii. p. 840, &c.

[2] Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. ii. cap. xliii.; Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. cap. xiv. lib. ii. cap. xxiv.; Epiphanius, *Hæres.* lxvi. p. 110; Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. cap. xvi.; and Gundling, *Notæ ad Concilium Gangrense*, p. 9, &c. [Walch, in his *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. iii. pages 536—577, has treated circumstantially and solidly concerning the Eustathians. See also his *Hist. der Kirchenversammlungen*, p. 216, &c. The chief sources for a history of the Eustathians are the documents of the council of Gangra, consisting of a synodical epistle and twenty canons. From these sources both Socrates and Sozomen derived their information. The author of the *Life of St. Basil* which is prefixed to the third vol. of the works of Basil, maintains (cap. v. sec. iv. &c.) that the founder of this party was not Eustathius, but rather Aërius; and that therefore the persons with whom the council of Gangra had to do should not be called Eustathians but Aërians. But the arguments are not so powerful as to compel a reflecting reader to abandon the common opinion. Whether the bishop of Sebaste in Armenia, who is so famous in the history of the Arian heresy, and who had some connexion with Aërius, or another Eustathius, was the origin of this controversy, cannot be determined with certainty. Yet the arguments for the first supposition seem to preponderate. This Eustathius was a pupil of Aërius, and a lover of monkery. Many different councils passed their judgment on him—some putting him down, and others regarding him as a valuable man. He has been accused of instability in his belief; but he seems properly to have been a semi-Arian.—*Schl.*

to those bishops who under Constantius had deserted to the Arians;[1] at least this is certain, that the little company of his followers or the Luciferians, would have no intercourse with the bishops who joined themselves to the Arian sect, nor with those who had absolved these bishops after confessing their fault, and thus they renounced the whole church.[2] They are likewise reported to have held erroneous sentiments respecting the human soul, viewing it as generated from the bodies of the parents, or as transfused by the parents into their children.[3]

21. About the same time, or not long after, Aërius, a presbyter, monk, and semi-Arian, rent Armenia, Pontus, and Cappadocia, by opinions different from those commonly received, and thus founded a sect. First, he maintained that by divine appointment there was no difference between bishops and presbyters. Yet it is not very clear how far he carried this sentiment, though it is certain that it was very pleasing to many who were disgusted with

[1] Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. i. cap. xxx.; Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. cap. ix. See also Tillemont, *Mémoires à l'Hist. de l'Eglise*, tome vii. p. 521, ed. Paris [and, above all others, Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer*, vol. iii. pages 338—377. From him we shall enlarge the account given by Mosheim. When the orthodox party under Constantius, after the adverse result to them of the council of Arles, found themselves in great danger, and were deliberating about requesting the emperor to summon a new council, Lucifer proceeded to Rome, and being constituted envoy of the Romish bishop Liberius, he thence repaired to the imperial court in Gaul, and obtained of the emperor the council of Milan, by which however the emperor intended to further his own purposes. And as Lucifer was one of those who in that council zealously espoused the cause of the orthodox, he fell under the emperor's displeasure, and was sent among others into banishment. When the death of the emperor left him at liberty to return from exile, he became involved in the Meletian controversy at Antioch, and this occasioned his falling out with Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli; for he led on and consecrated the aged Paulinus bishop, which Eusebius greatly disapproved, because, according to the decrees of the council held at Alexandria by Athanasius, he with Lucifer was commissioned to heal the division at Antioch, which was now widened still more by the unwise step of Lucifer. The same council had also decreed that the Arian bishops, after acceding to the Nicene creed, might be received into the church and remain in their offices. But the refusal of Eusebius to approve of the proceedings of Lucifer at Antioch, and the mild regulations of the Alexandrian council respecting those he accounted apostate bishops, which he could by no means approve, induced him to break off all church communion with such as approved those regulations; and thence arose the schism which bears his name. After this separation he continued to exercise his functions at Cagliari for nine years, and at last died at an advanced age.—*Schl.* [The following more full account of the Meletian controversy at Antioch is given by Schlegel from Walch:—After the council of Nice, Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, very strenuously opposed the progress of Arian doctrines, and was therefore deprived of his office, and another was elected in his place who was more favourable to the Arians; and after him succeeded others, all holding Arian sentiments. The last of these was Eudoxius, who was removed to Constantinople on the deposition of Macedonius, bishop of that city, A. D. 360. Meletius of Syria was now chosen bishop of Antioch by a council. He had before been bishop of Sebaste, and the heads of the Arian party supposed him to hold the Arian sentiments. He at least held communion with Arians, and had by his virtuous life obtained a high reputation. At first Meletius concealed his sentiments, and in his public discourses treated only on practical subjects. But as one part of his hearers were orthodox and the other part Arians, he did not long leave them in uncertainty, but acknowledged to them his conviction of the correctness of the Nicene faith. This acknowledgment was the source of much suffering to Meletius. The Arians resented it very highly that he should disappoint their expectations; and as he would not retract, they deprived him of his office A. D. 362, by the aid of the emperor Constantius, and banished him from the country. Meletius now left Antioch and went to his native city Melitene. In his place Euzoius, one of the oldest friends of Arius, was appointed. But the orthodox, who would not acknowledge him as a bishop, now wholly ceased to worship with the Arians, which they had done up to this time. Thus there were now three parties at Antioch—the Arians who acknowledged Euzoius for their bishop; the Eustathians, who ever since the deposition of Eustathius (A. D. 327), whom they regarded as the legitimate bishop of Antioch, had ceased to worship with the Arians, and held their separate meetings without making disturbance; and the Meletians, who were the majority and who acknowledged Meletius for the legitimate bishop. The Meletians were willing to unite with the Eustathians, on condition that they would look upon Meletius as themselves did. But the Eustathians refused to do so, and would not acknowledge the Meletians for brethren, because they considered both them and their bishop as not pure enough from the Arian infection. Athanasius, Eusebius of Vercelli, and Lucifer, attempted to reconcile these divisions. Lucifer afterwards (A. D. 362) consecrated a new bishop of Antioch, whom however the Eustathians only would receive. Meletius now came back to Antioch, and thus there were two bishops of Antioch, Paulinus (the Eustathian bishop) and Meletius, and the difficulties were increased rather than settled by the procedure of Lucifer. The foreign bishops took part in this controversy. Athanasius looked on Paulinus as the most orthodox, and therefore he and the greater part of the West took the side of Paulinus. The eastern bishops were on the side of Meletius, who was exiled by the emperor Valens, but returned after that emperor's death, and suddenly died, A. D. 311. The Greek and the Latin churches enrolled him among the saints after his death. As respects the Latin church, this was a very extraordinary transaction. Meletius died entirely out of communion with the Romish see; and yet he is numbered among their saints! Either the pope then must not be infallible, or the Romish church worships as saints persons who, according to her own principles, are unworthy of worship. The death of Meletius did not restore peace at Antioch. The Meletians, instead of acknowledging Paulinus for a legitimate bishop, elected Flavianus, an orthodox and irreproachable character, for a successor to Meletius. This Flavianus was supported by the bishops of Syria, Palestine, Phœnicia, Cappadocia, Galatia, the Lesser Asia, and Thrace; on the side of Paulinus were the bishops of Rome and Italy, and of Egypt and Arabia, who wished for the deposition of Flavianus. Paulinus died in 389; but instead of giving peace to the church, influenced probably by a fanatical obstinacy, he consecrated before his death one Evagrius as his successor over his little party. Soon after A. D. 393 Evagrius died, but the disunion still continued. Finally, through the prudence and the peace-making temper of Chrysostom, peace and ecclesiastical communion between the two parties were restored. Flavianus was acknowledged by the foreign bishops as the bishop of Antioch. Yet there remained a little handful of Eustathians, who did not unite with the general church, till Flavianus was succeeded by other bishops. See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer*, vol. iv. pages 410—502.—*Schl.*

[2] See the petition addressed to Theodosius, by Marcellinus and Faustinus, two Luciferians, in the works of Sirmond, tom. ii. p. 229, &c.

[3] See Augustine, *De Hæres.* cap. lxxxi.; and on that passage see Danæus, p. 346. [This account is very doubtful, and Augustine himself does not state it as a matter of certainty. See Walch, *ubi supra*, p. 368.—*Schl.*

the arrogance of the bishops of that age. In the next place, Aërius disapproved of prayers for the dead, the stated fasts, the celebration of Easter, and other things, which most persons regarded as the very soul of religion.[1] He seems to have aimed to reduce religion to its primitive simplicity; a design which, in itself considered, was laudable, though in the motives and the mode of proceeding there were perhaps some things censurable.

22. There were various persons of this character in the fourth century who were disgusted with the progress of superstition and of errors respecting the true nature of religion, and who opposed the general current; but the only fruit of their labour was that they were branded with infamy. Eminent among them was Jovinian, an Italian monk, who taught first at Rome and then at Milan near the close of the century, and persuaded many that all persons whatsoever, if they keep the vows they make to Christ in baptism and lead godly lives, have an equal title to the rewards of heaven, and consequently that those who spent their lives in celibacy, or macerate their bodies by fasting, are no more acceptable to God than those who lived in wedlock, and nourished their bodies with moderation and sobriety. These sentiments were first condemned by the church of Rome, and then by Ambrose in a council held at Milan in the year 390.[2] The emperor Honorius enacted penal laws against those holding such sentiments, and Jovinian he banished to the island Boa.[3] Jovinian published his opinions in a book, against which Jerome in the following century wrote a most bitter and abusive treatise, which is still extant.

23. Of all the religious controversies, those concerning Origen made the greatest noise and continued the longest. Though Origen had long been accused of many errors, yet hitherto most Christians had regarded his name with veneration. But now the Arians, cunningly looking on every side for support, maintained that this great man had been of their party. Some believed them, and therefore indulged the same hatred towards Origen as towards the Arians. Yet some of the most eminent and best informed men rebutted the charge, and strove to vindicate the reputation of their master against these aspersions. Among these,

[1] Epiphanius, *Hæres.* lxxv. p. 905, &c.; Augustine, *De Hæres.* c. liii. and some others. [The last is not a witness of much weight. He had no acquaintance with the Aërians, but took one part of his statement from Epiphanius *ubi supra*, and the other from Philastrius, *De Hæres.* c. lxxii. p. 140. Epiphanius had it in his power to get, and did get, better information respecting the oriental controversies than Philastrius could. The latter speaks of Aërius as one unknown to him; the former as one whose history he well knew, and who was then alive. Epiphanius knew the Encratites very well, and he distinguishes them from the Aërians; but Philastrius confounds them. Aërius was a native of Pontus or of the Lesser Armenia, an eloquent man, and a friend of the well-known semi-Arian Eustathius, afterwards bishop of Sebaste, with whom he lived at the same time among the monks. The elevation of Eustathius to the see of Sebaste first awakened envy in Aërius, he having himself aspired after that promotion. To allay that feeling Eustathius made his friend a presbyter, and committed to his care the superintendence of a house for the reception of strangers. But the good understanding between them was of short continuance. Aërius could be restrained by nothing from his restless conduct towards his bishop, whom he accused of avarice and misappropriation of the funds for the poor. At last they came to a breach. Aërius abandoned his office and his hospital, and acquired many adherents, to whom none would show indulgence, as the disposition to persecute was then almost universal among the clergy. Aërius maintained that in the times of the apostles there was no difference between a bishop and a presbyter; and this he solidly proved from passages in Paul. He was not disposed to abolish the human rights of bishops, but only to rescue the presbyters from episcopal oppression in the exercise of their legitimate functions. He held the prayers and the alms of the living for the dead to be useless and dangerous, and discarded the regular prescribed Christian fasts on certain days. The festival of Easter he did not wholly discard, as it is commonly supposed, but only the ceremony of slaying a lamb at Easter, which according to ancient custom was practised by some Christians. This appears from the argument by which he supported his opinion. For he says, "Christians should keep no Passover, because Paul declares Christ, who was slain for us, to be our Paschal Lamb." This reasoning would be insipid, if Aërius proposed by it to put down altogether the whole festival of Easter. Aërius was therefore in the right and his opposers in the wrong. Only his obstinacy in pushing matters to a schism is blameable. See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol iii. pages 321—338.—*Schl.*

[2] See Jerome *In Jovinianum, Opp.* tom. ii; Augustine, *De Hæres.* c. lxxxii.; Ambrose, *Ep.* vi. &c. [Jovinian lived at Rome when he advanced the doctrines which were so strenuously opposed; yet it is uncertain whether Rome or Milan was his native place. He was not unlearned, and he lived a single life. To the preceding doctrines of Jovinian the following may be added:—That Mary ceased to be a virgin by bringing forth Christ, which some denied; that the degrees of future blessedness do not depend on the meritoriousness of our good works; and that a truly converted Christian, so long as he is such, cannot sin wilfully, but will so resist the temptations of the devil as not to be overcome by him. For these doctrines Jovinian was accused by some Christians at Rome, before Siricius, the Roman bishop. A council was assembled by Siricius, by which Jovinian was condemned and excommunicated. He then retired with his friends to Milan. There they were condemned by a council which Ambrose assembled. By such persecution the party was soon crushed. See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. iii. pages 635—682.—*Schl.* [The reader will find further references to this controversy between Jerome and Jovinian in the next century, pt. ii. chap. iii. sec. 14. when the kindred dispute between the same father and Vigilantius is discussed.—*R.*

[3] *Codex Theodosianus*, tom. iii. p. 218, tom. vi. p. 193. [This law is dated in the year 412; but according to the representation of Jerome, Jovinian, in the year 406, must have been dead some considerable time. The law therefore must have been aimed against altogether a different person—and there appears in it no traces of the complaints brought against Jovinian—or the date of it must be erroneous, as was conjectured by Tillemont, tome x. pages 229, 753. See Walch, *Hist. der Zetzer.* vol. iii. p. 664, &c.—*Schl.* [Jovinian was condemned at Rome and Milan about the year 338, and with him eight other persons. About the year 396, Sarmatio and Barbatianus, two monks of Milan, advanced similar doctrines at Vercelli. See Ambrose, *Epist.* lxiii. (or xxv. or lxxxii. in some editions) *ad Vercell. Eccles.*—*Mur.*

Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, stood pre-eminent in consequence of his written *Apology for Origen*. And I believe this storm, raised against the honour of a man to whom the whole Christian world paid respect, would have soon subsided if new commotions had not arisen which proceeded from another source.

24. All the monks, and especially those of Egypt, were enthusiastic admirers of Origen, and they spared no pains to disseminate everywhere the opinions which they imbibed from him. Yet they could not persuade all to believe that those opinions were sound and correct. Hence first appeared a kind of smothered disagreement respecting the character of Origen's doctrines, which gradually increased till it burst into an open flame. Among many others, John, bishop of Jerusalem, was in favour of Origen; and as Epiphanius and Jerome were from other causes hostile to John, they endeavoured to excite odium against him on this ground. He defended himself in such a way as to protect the reputation of Origen, and at the same time to have the whole swarm of monks and innumerable others on his side. From this beginning arose those vehement contests respecting the doctrines of Origen which pervaded both the East and the West. In the West they were fomented especially by Rufinus, a presbyter of Aquileia, who translated some of Origen's books into Latin, and who showed not obscurely that he was pleased with the sentiments those books contained.[1] He therefore now incurred the implacable wrath of Jerome. But at length Rufinus being dead, the men of high reputation in the West opposing the progress of Origenism both by their influence and their writings, these commotions seemed to subside in the West.

25. In the East far greater troubles came upon the church on account of Origenism. Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, who was for various reasons hostile to some of the monks of Scetys and Nitria, taxed them with their Origenism, and ordered them to throw away the books of Origen. The monks resisted his command, alleging sometimes that the objectionable passages in the writings of that holy man were interpolations of the heretics, and sometimes that it was improper to condemn the whole together on account of a few censurable passages. Theophilus therefore having assembled a council at Alexandria in the year 399, which condemned the Origenists, with an armed force drove the monks from the mountain of Nitria. They first fled to Jerusalem, and thence removed to Scythopolis; but finding themselves insecure there likewise, they set sail for Constantinople, intending to lay their cause before the imperial court.[2] The remainder of their history belongs to the next century. But it is proper to remark that those who are denominated Origenists in the writings of this age were not all of one character; for this ambiguous term sometimes denotes merely a person who was friendly to Origen, one who looked upon his books as corrupted and did not defend the errors of which he was accused; but at other times it designates persons who admitted that Origen taught all that he was charged with teaching, and who resolutely defended his opinions. Of this latter class were many of the monks.

[1] See especially Fontaninus, *Hist. Liter. Aquileiens.* lib. iv. cap. iii. p. 177, &c. where he gives an elaborate history of Rufinus.

[2] See Huet, *Origeniana*, lib. ii. cap. iv. p. 196, &c.; Doucin, *Hist. de l' Origenisme*, livr. iii. p. 95, &c.; Hieron. a Prato, Diss. vi. in Sulpitium Severum *De Monachis ob Origenis Nomen ex Nitria totaque Ægypto pulsis*, p. 273, Veron. 1741, fol. These writers cite the ancient authorities, but they make some mistakes. [The literary history of this controversy is given by Walch, *Hist. Eccles.* p. 1042, &c.—*Schl.* [The history itself, but without naming authorities, is given by Neander in his *Chrysostom u. dessen Zeitalter.* pt. ii. p. 163, &c.—*Mur.*

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF CEREMONIES AND RITES.

1. WHILE the fostering care of the emperors sought to advance the Christian religion, the indiscreet piety of the bishops obstructed its true nature and oppressed its energies by the multiplication of rites and ceremonies. The observation of Augustine is well known—That the yoke once laid upon the Jews was more supportable than that laid on many Christians in his age.[3] For the Christian bishops introduced with but slight alterations into the Christian worship, those rites and institutions by which formerly the Greeks and Romans and other nations had manifested their reverence towards their imaginary deities, supposing that the people would more readily embrace Christianity if they perceived the rites, handed down to them from their fathers, still existing unchanged among the Christians, and perceived that Christ and the martyrs were worshipped in the same manner as formerly their gods were. There was of course little difference in these times between the public worship of the Christians and that of the Greeks and Romans. In both alike there were splendid robes, mitres, tiaras, wax-tapers, croziers,[4] processions,

[3] Augustine, *Ad Januarium, Epist.* cxix. according to the ancient division.

[4] The crosier or bishop's staff was exactly of the

lustrations, images, golden and silver vases, and innumerable other things.[1]

2. No sooner had Constantine renounced the religion of his ancestors than magnificent temples were everywhere erected, which were adorned with pictures and images, and which both in their external and their internal form were very similar to the fanes and temples of the gods.[2] These temples were of two kinds. Some were erected at the graves of the martyrs, and were called Martyria. The people assembled in these only at stated times. Others were intended for the ordinary and common meetings for religious worship, and were afterwards called by the Latins Tituli.[3] Both were consecrated with imposing pomp, and with rites borrowed in great measure from the ancient pontifical code of the Romans; and what is more strange, a great part of religion was supposed to consist in a multitude of churches, and the right of patronage, as it is called, was introduced among Christians for no other reason than to induce opulent persons to build churches.[4] Thus in this particular the true religion evidently copied after superstition; for the ancient nations supposed that a country or province would be the more prosperous and secure, the more temples, fanes, and chapels were there erected to the gods and heroes, because those gods would be ashamed not to show themselves patrons and defenders of the people who worshipped and honoured them with so much zeal. The same sentiment prevailed among the Christians. They supposed the more temples there were dedicated to Christ, to his servants and friends, the more certain they might be of assistance from Christ and his friends; for they supposed God, Christ, and the inhabitants of heaven equally with us wretched mortals to be delighted and captivated with external signs and expressions of respect.

3. The Christian worship consisted in hymns, prayers, reading the holy scriptures, a discourse to the people, and then closed with the celebration of the Lord's supper; but these exercises were accompanied with various ceremonies, better calculated to please the eye than to excite true devotion.[5] But all congregations did not by any means follow one and the same rule or form. Each individual bishop according to his own views, and as the circumstances of times, places, and persons suggested, prescribed to his own flock such a form of public worship as he judged best. Hence the variety of liturgies which were in use before the Roman pontiff arrogated to himself supreme power in religious matters, and persuaded people that they ought to copy after the principal church, the common mother of them all, as well in doctrine as in their modes of worship.

4. It would be tedious to go over all the parts of public worship; I will therefore content myself with a few observations. The prayers had declined very much from their primitive simplicity and solemnity, and became turgid and bombastic. Among the public hymns the Psalms of David were now received.[6] The public discourses among the Greeks especially were formed according to the rules for civil eloquence,

form of the lituus, the chief ensign of the ancient *Augurs*. See Cicero, *De Divinatione*, lib. i. cap. xvii. —*Mur.*

[1] Those who wish to inquire farther into this resemblance between Christian and Pagan rites should read Middleton's *Letter from Rome, showing the exact Conformity between Popery and Paganism*; Lond. 1740. This discussion had been opened in the beginning of the previous century by a French divine, De Croy, in his *Les Trois Conformitéz*, 1605, afterwards translated into English, entitled, *Harmony of the Romish Church with Gentilism, Judaism, and Ancient Heresies*; Lond. 1626. Various other works on this question have been published on the continent, the names of which may be seen in Walch's *Biblio. Theol. Selecta*, vol. ii. p. 371, &c.—*R.*

[2] See Spanheim, *Preuves sur les Césars de Julien*, p. 47; but especially Le Brun, *Explication Littérale et Histor. des Cerémonies de la Messe*, tome ii. p. 101, &c. For a description of such a temple see Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini*, lib. iii. cap. xxxv. &c. Plates representing the interior form are given by Beveridge, *Adnotat. ad Pandectas Canonum*, tom. ii. p. 70, and by Spanheim, *Institut. Hist. Eccles.* in his *Opp.* tom. i. p. 860. Some parts of the Christian temples were after the pattern of the Jewish temple. See Vitringa, *De Synagoga Vetere*, lib. iii. p. 466. [Some of these temples were new buildings erected by the emperors, others were pagan temples transmuted to Christian churches. See *Codex. Theodos.* lib. ix. tit. xvii. legem. ii.; and Jerome, *Chronicon*, ann. 332. From the Jews was borrowed the division into the holy of holies, the holy place and the court; from which came the chancel, the nave, and the porch, βῆμα, ναὸς, and νάρθηξ.—*Schl.*

[3] Mabillon, *Museum Italic.* tom. ii. in *Comment. ad Ordin. Roman.* p. 16, &c. [The *Tituli* of the middle ages were properly the parish churches under the care of presbyters, who derived their titles from the respective churches. See Du Cange, *Glossarium Med. et Inf. Latin.* voce *Titulus.*—*Mur.*

[4] Boehmer, *Jus Eccles. Protestant.* tom. iii. p. 466, &c. *Bibliothèque Italique*, tome v. p. 166, &c. [Whoever erected to any god either a larger or a smaller temple had the right of designating the priests and attendants on the altar who should officiate there. And whoever erected a Christian temple possessed the same right in regard to those who should minister there. This induced many persons to build churches. —*Schl.*

[5] The form of public worship or the liturgy of this age, may be very well learned in general from Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechesis* xxii.; and from the *Apostolic Constitutions*, which are falsely ascribed to Clemens Romanus. These writers are carefully explained and interpreted by Le Brun, *Explication Littér. et Histor. de la Messe*, tome ii. p. 53, &c. which is a very learned work. [See also Ernesti's *Antimurator.* p. 13, &c.—*Schl.*

[6] Beausobre, *Hist. du Manichéisme*, tome ii. p. 614, &c. [They were sung in course or in their order. Cassian, *Institution.* lib. ii. cap. ii. iv. lib. iii. cap. iii. Yet for the public worship on certain occasions particular psalms were appointed (Augustine on Ps. xxi.), and it lay with the bishop to designate what psalms he would have sung. Athanasius, *Apolog.* ii. Augustine on Ps. cxxxviii.—*Schl.*

and were better adapted to call forth the admiration of the rude multitude who love display than to amend the heart. And that no foolish and senseless custom might be omitted in their public assemblies, the people were allowed to applaud their orators as had been practised in the forum and in the theatres; nay, they were instructed both to applaud and to clap the preachers.[1] Who could suppose that men professing to despise vain glory, and who were appointed to show to others the emptiness of all human things, would become so senseless?

5. The first day of the week, on which Christians were accustomed to meet for the worship of God, Constantine required by a special law to be observed more sacredly than before.[2] In most congregations of Christians five annual festivals were observed, in remembrance namely of the Saviour's birth, of his sufferings and death for the sins of men, of his resurrection, of his ascension to heaven, and of the descent of the Holy Ghost upon his ministers. Of these festivals that of the fourteen days sacred to the memory of Christ's return to life was observed with much more ceremony than the rest.[3] The oriental Christians kept the memorial of the Saviour's birth and of his baptism on one and the same day, namely, the sixth day of January, and this day they called Epiphany;[4] but the western Christians seem always to have consecrated the twenty-fifth day of December to the memory of the Saviour's birth; for what is reported of the Roman bishop, Julian I. that he transferred the memorial of Christ's birth from the sixth of January to the twenty-fifth of December,[5] appears to me very questionable. The untoward success of the age in finding the dead bodies of certain holy men increased immensely the commemorations of the martyrs. Devout

1 Ferrarius, *De Veterum Acclamationibus et Plausu*, p. 66.

2 Gothofredus, Notes to the *Codex Theodos.* tom. i. p. 135. [See Eusebius, *De Vita Constan.* lib. iv. cap. xviii. xix. xx. xxiii.; Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. i. cap. viii. The principal laws of Constantine and his successors in regard to the Lord's day and the other festivals, are collected in the *Codex Justinianus*, lib. iii. tit. xii. leg. 1—11. The Lord's day and the other festivals were placed on the same level. On them all the courts of justice and the public offices were to be closed, except in certain urgent cases. Constantine in the year 321 required the inhabitants of cities and all mechanics to suspend their business on the Lord's day; but he allowed such as resided in the country full liberty to pursue their agriculture, because it was supposed necessary for them to sow their fields and prop their vines when the weather and the season best suited. The emperor Leo however in the year 469, thought agriculture required no exception, and therefore he included farmers under the same prohibition with mechanics. See Imp. Leonis *Novellæ*, constitut. 54.—*Mur.*

3 Gothofredus, Notes on the *Codex Theodos.* tom. i. 143.

4 See Beausobre, *Hist. du Manichéisme*, tome ii. p. 693, &c.

5 See Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Clement Vatic.* tom. ii. p. 164; Alph. Du Vignoles, *Dissert.* in the *Biblio. German.* tom. ii. p. 29. [Additional remarks on the origin of the festivals:—The first Christians being chiefly Jews, who were accustomed to assemble at Jerusalem on the great festivals, found it advantageous after their conversion to continue to meet in that city on the two great feasts of the Passover and Pentecost. While thus assembled at Jerusalem, they would naturally recognise with thrilling emotions the recurring anniversaries of their Lord's crucifixion, resurrection from the dead, ascension to heaven, and sending down the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. All these days—*Good Friday, Easter Sunday, Ascension Day*, and *Whitsuntide*—occurred during the Jewish feasts of the Passover and Pentecost, or in the interval between them, and having been observed with peculiar interest were at length considered as Christian festivals which apostolic usage had introduced, and were sanctioned by general councils. Augustine (*Epist.* liv. or cxviii. cap. i.) mentions them as the only festivals which were then regarded as having such an origin and sanction. He admits indeed that the Christians of his age observed also *Christmas*, or the day of Christ's nativity, as a festival; but he considered it of later origin and less sacred than the four above mentioned (*Epist.* lv. or cxix. cap. i.) As Augustine represents *Christmas* as neither derived from apostolic usage nor sanctioned by any general council, Baillet very candidly says (*Vies des Saints*, tom. iii. p. 290), "There can be no reasonable doubt that it had its rise after the council of Nice." Such a conclusion is the more probable from the ante-Nicene fathers omitting to speak of any such festival in the church, and from their great indifference about ascertaining the day of the Saviour's birth. The following passage from Clemens Alex. (*Stromata*, lib. i. p. 340 or 249) is almost the only genuine passage of an ante-Nicene writer which can be supposed to allude to such festivals, and as it states the different conjectures in that age respecting the day of Christ's birth, and manifests the indifference with which even the learned treated the subject, the passage is worth giving entire. Clemens had just given a list of all the Roman emperors till the death of Commodus, A.D. 192, and had stated in what years of certain emperors the Saviour was either born, or baptized, or crucified. He then says:—"There are some who *over curiously* (περιεργότερον) assign not only the *year*, but also the *day* of our Saviour's nativity, which they say was in the twenty-eighth year of Augustus, on the (25th of Pachon) 20th of May. And the followers of Basilides observe also the day of his baptism as a festival, spending the whole previous night in reading; and they say it was in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, on the (15th of Tybi) 10th of January; but some say it was on the (11th) 7th of that month. Among those who nicely calculated the time of his passion, some say it was in the sixteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, the (35th of Phamenoth) 22d of March; others say the (25th of Pharmuthi) 21st of April; and others that it was on the (19th of Pharmuthi) 15th of April that the Saviour suffered. Nay, some of them say that he was born in (Pharmuthi) April, the (25th or 26th) 20th or 21st day." After the establishment of Christianity by Constantine, and among the new institutions which were intended for the benefit of the church, we seem authorised to place the commemoration of Christ's *advent*. This the oriental Christians generally assigned to the 6th of January, on which day they supposed both the birth and baptism of Christ occurred, and in reference to both they called it *Epiphany*. But the Western Christians observed the 25th of December as their festival of the nativity. According to an epistle of John, archbishop of Nice (in the *Auctar. Biblio. Patr.* ed. Combefis, tom. ii. p. 207) and an anonymous writer cited by Cotelerius (ad *Constit. Apostol.* v. xiii.), it was Julian I. bishop of Rome, A.D. 337—352, who first ascertained this to be the right day; and though this authority is not the best, yet it is generally admitted that the designation of the 25th of December for the festival was first made about the middle of the fourth century. Afterwards the oriental churches gradually came into the Roman custom, most of them before the end of the century. On the other hand the Western churches adopted the oriental Epiphany on the 6th o

men would have readily consented to the multiplication of festivals, if the time that Christians consumed in them had been employed to advance them in true holiness; but the majority spent the time rather in idleness and dissipation and other vices than in the worship of God. It is well known among other things what opportunities of sinning were offered to the licentious by the Vigils, as they were called, of Easter and Whitsuntide.

6. It was believed that nothing was more effectual to repel the assaults of evil spirits and to propitiate the Deity than fasting. Hence it is easy to discover why the rulers of the church ordained fasts by express laws, and commanded as a necessary duty what was before left at discretion. The Quadragesimal or Lent fast, as it was called, was considered more sacred than all the rest, though it was not as yet fixed to a determinate number of days.[1] But it should be remembered that the fasts of this age differed much from those observed by Christians in preceding ages. Anciently those who undertook to observe a fast abstained altogether from food and drink; in this age many deemed it sufficient merely to omit the use of flesh and wine,[2] and this sentiment afterwards became universal among the Latins.

7. For the more convenient administration of baptism sacred fonts or baptisteria[3] were erected in the porches of the temples. This sacred rite was always administered, except in cases of necessity, on the vigils of Easter and Whitsuntide, with lighted wax candles and by the bishop, or by the presbyters whom he commissioned for that purpose. In some places salt, a symbol of purity and wisdom, was put into the mouth of the baptized; and everywhere a double anointing was used, the first before and the other after the baptism. After being baptized the persons appeared clad in white gowns during seven days. The other rites, which were either of temporary duration or confined to certain countries, are here omitted.

8. The instruction and discipline of the catechumens were the same in this century as the preceding. That the Lord's supper was administered twice or three times a week (though in some places only on Sundays) to all who assembled for the worship of God, appears from innumerable testimonies. It was also administered at the sepulchres of the martyrs and at funerals; whence arose afterwards the masses in honour of the saints and for the dead. The bread and wine were now everywhere elevated before distribution, so that they might be seen by the people and be viewed with reverence; and hence arose, not long after, the adoration of the symbols. Neither catechumens nor penitents, nor those who were supposed to be under the power of evil spirits, were allowed to be present at this holy ordinance, nor did the sacred orators in their public discourses venture to speak

January, as the proper festival of Christ's baptism. The motives which led the Western churches to place the festival of the nativity on the 25th of December are not clearly ascertained. Some among the Catholics (as Harduin), and many among the Protestants (as Hospinian, Jablonski, Eisinschmid, Gieseler, &c.), think that day was chosen—first, because it was the day on which the Romans celebrated their festival of *natalis solis invicti*, or of the sun's passing the southern solstice and beginning to return northward—a fit emblem of the approach of the Sun of Righteousness to mortals (see the orations of Augustine and Chrysostom on the nativity of Christ); and, secondly, because the establishment of a Christian festival of several days, at that season of the year, might supplant the Saturnalia and other corrupting festivals of the pagans. But other reasons may be stated. Some no doubt believed that the 25th of December was the most probable day; and all might have felt it desirable to have a Christian festival at some other season of the year than the fifty or sixty days next after the vernal equinox, into which all the older festivals were clustered. From the first institution of this festival the Western nations seem to have transferred to it many of the follies and censurable practices which prevailed in the pagan festivals of the same season, such as adorning the churches fantastically, mingling puppet shows and dramas with worship, universal feasting and merry-making, visits and salutations, presents and jocularity, revelry and drunkenness. For, from the days of Augustine and Chrysostom down to our present times, we find many devout persons deprecating the heathenish manner in which the festival was kept, and labouring to give it a more Christian character. The Christmas holidays—which by a law of Theodosius the Great (A.D. 383—395) were to comprise fourteen days, or the seven days before and after Christmas (*Codex Justinian.* lib. iii. tit. xii. leg. ii.)—have borne so close a resemblance to the Roman Saturnalia, Sigillaria, &c. and to the Juel [Yule] feast of the ancient Goths, as to afford strong presumption of an unhappy alliance between them from the first See Baillet, *Vies des Saints*, Dec. 25, tome iii. p. 295, &c.; Eisenschmid, *Geschichte der Sonn-und-Festtage*, Leip. 1793, p. 99, &c.; Hospinian, *De Orig. Festor. Christ.* ed. 1684, p. 168, &c.; Neander, *Kirchenges.* vol i. pt. ii. p. 527, &c.; and his *Chrysostom u. dessen Zeitalter*, vol. i. p. 236, &c. 259, &c. 288, &c.; Schroeckh, *Kirchenges.* vol. x. p. 349, &c.; and Bingham, *Orig. Eccles.* book xx chap. iv.—*Mur.*

[1] Daillé, *De Jejuniis et Quadragesima*, lib. iv [The Quadragesimal fast was at first of only forty hours, afterwards it was extended to several days and even weeks, and at last settled at thirty-six. In the oriental churches Lent commenced with the seventh week before Easter, because two days in each week they suspended the fast; but in the Western churches it commenced with the sixth week, because they fasted on the Sundays. Finally, Gregory the Great in the sixth century, or as others say Gregory II. in the eighth century, added four days more to this fast, so as to make it full forty days. In the fourth century however the Lent fast was in a degree optional, and the people were exhorted with entreaties to its observance. See Baumgarten's *Erläuterung der Christ. Alterth.* p. 329, &c.—*Schl.*

[2] See Barbeyrac, *De la Morale des Pères*, p. 250, &c.

[3] The Baptisteries were properly buildings adjacent to the churches, in which the catechumens were instructed and where were a sort of cisterns into which water was let at the time of baptism, and in which the candidates were baptized by immersion. See Baumgarten's *Erläuterung der Christ. Alterth.* p. 388.—*Schl.* (See also Rob. Robertson's *History of Baptism*, chap. xii. pages 67—73, 1817.—*Mur.*

openly and plainly concerning its true nature. The origin of this custom was not very creditable, as has been stated before, yet many offer an honourable excuse for it by saying that this concealment might awaken eagerness in the catechumens to penetrate early into these mysteries.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF THE HERESIES.

1. THE seeds and remains of those sects which were conspicuous in the preceding centuries continued in this, especially in the East; nor did they cease to make some proselytes, notwithstanding the absurdity of their opinions. The Manichæan sect beyond others, and by its very turpitude, ensnared many, and often persons of good talents also, as appears by the example of Augustine. This wide spreading pestilence the most respectable doctors of the age, and among them Augustine, when recovered from his infatuation, made efforts to arrest; some indeed with more learning and discrimination, and others with less, but none of them without some success. But the disease could not be wholly extirpated either by books or by severe laws,[1] but after remaining latent for a time, and when most people supposed it extinct, it would break out again with greater violence; for the Manichæans, to avoid the severity of the laws, assumed successively various names, as Encratites, Apotactics, Saccophori, Hydroparastites, Solitaries, &c. and under these names they often lay concealed for a time, but not long, for the vigilance of their enemies would find them out.[2]

2. But the state had little to fear from these people, whose energies were gradually impaired and oppressed in the Roman empire by penal laws and persecutions. A much more threatening storm arose in Africa which, though small in its commencement, kept both the church and the state in commotion for more than a century. Mensurius, the bishop of Carthage in Africa, dying in the year 311, the majority of the people and of the clergy elected Cæcilian, the archdeacon, to the vacant chair, and he was consecrated immediately without waiting for the bishops of Numidia by the bishops of Africa [Proper, or the province of which Carthage was the capital]. The Numidian bishops who, according to custom, should have been present at the consecration, were highly offended at being excluded from the ceremony, and therefore having assembled at Carthage they summoned Cæcilian to appear before them. The feelings of these excited bishops were still more inflamed by the efforts of certain presbyters of Carthage, especially Botrus and Celesius, the competitors of Cæcilian, and by an opulent lady named Lucilla, who was unfriendly to Cæcilian (by whom she had been reproved for her superstition), and who distributed large sums of money among those Numidians, that they might vigorously oppose the new bishop. When therefore Cæcilian refused to appear before the tribunal of these bishops, they, seventy in number, and headed by Secundus, bishop of Tigisis, with the approbation of a considerable part of the clergy and people of Carthage, pronounced Cæcilian unworthy of his office, and created Majorinus, his deacon, bishop of Carthage. Hence the Carthaginian church was divided into two factions, headed by the two bishops Cæcilian and Majorinus.

3. The Numidians stated two grounds for their sentence against Cæcilian. 1st, That the principal bishop concerned in his consecration, Felix of Aptunga, was a traditor; that is, that during the persecution of Diocletian he had delivered up the sacred books to the magistrates to be burned, and therefore that he was an apostate from Christ, and of course could not impart the Holy Ghost to the new made bishop. 2d, That Cæcilian himself when a deacon had been hard-hearted and cruel to the witnesses for Christ or the martyrs during the Diocletian persecution, and had forbidden food to be carried to them in prison. To these two causes they added the contumacy of Cæcilian, who being summoned to a trial before them refused to appear. Among these Numidian bishops no one was more ardent and violent than Donatus, the bishop of Casæ Nigræ; whence, as most writers suppose, the whole party opposed to Cæcilian were from him called Donatists, though there are those who think the name was derived from the other Donatus, whom the

[1] See in the *Codex Theodos.* tom. vi. pt. i. ed. Ritter. various and peculiarly severe laws of the emperors against the Manichæans. In the year 372 Valentinian senior forbade their holding meetings, and laid their preachers under heavy penalties, p. 126. In the year 381 Theodosius the Great pronounced them infamous, and deprived them of all the rights of citizens, p. 133. See other laws even more severe than these, pages 137, 138, 170, &c. [The writers who confuted the Manichæans are very fully enumerated by Walch, in his *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. i. p. 808, &c.—*Schl.*

[2] See the law of Theodosius, in the *Codex Theodos.* tom. vi. pages 134, 136, 138. [The popular names assumed by the Manichæans were, ἐγκρατῖται, continents, from their condemning marriage; ἀποταχτικοί, set apart or consecrated to God; σακκοφόροι, wearers of sackcloth; ὑδροπαραστάται, presenters of water, from their using water only in the eucharist; and *solitarii*, solitaries or monks.—*Mur.*

Donatists called the Great.[1] In a very short time this controversy was diffused over the whole, not only of Numidia but even of Africa; and most of the cities had two bishops, one taking side with Cæcilian and the other with Majorinus.

4. The Donatists having brought this controversy before Constantine the Great in the year 313, the emperor committed the examination of it to Melchiades, the Roman bishop, with whom he joined three bishops from Gaul as assessors. In this court Cæcilian was acquitted of the charges alleged against him, but the allegations against Felix of Aptunga, who had consecrated him, were not examined. The emperor therefore in the year 314 committed the cause of Felix to the separate examination of Ælian, his proconsul for Africa, by whom Felix was pronounced innocent; but the Donatists raised many exceptions against the decisions of Melchiades and Ælian, and especially they objected to the small number of bishops who were joined with Melchiades as judges. They said a formal decision of seventy venerable bishops of Numidia ought undoubtedly to have far more weight than a decree of only nineteen bishops (the number present at Rome),[2] and those but partially acquainted with the transactions in Africa. To quiet these murmurs the emperor, in the year 314, appointed a much larger tribunal to meet at Arles, composed of bishops from the provinces of Italy, Gaul, Germany, and Spain. Here again the Donatists lost their cause, and appealed to a trial before the emperor himself. He did not reject the appeal, but in the year 316 examined the cause at Milan, the parties being present before him. His decision also was against the Donatists,[3] and this contumacious party now cast reproaches on the emperor himself, and complained that Hosius, the bishop of Corduba, who was the friend both of the emperor and Cæcilius, had corrupted the mind of the former to give an unrighteous decision. This moved the emperor's indignation, and he now, in the year 316, ordered their temples to be taken from them in Africa, and the seditious bishops to be banished, and some of them also—perhaps for the licentiousness of their tongues and pens—he put to death. Hence arose violent commotions and tumults in Africa, for the Donatist party was very numerous and powerful, and the emperor in vain strove to allay these tumults by his envoys.

5. It was unquestionably amid these terrible commotions that those called Circumcelliones[4] first originated; a furious, headlong, sanguinary set, composed of the peasantry and rustic populace, who espousing the cause of the Donatists defended it by the force of arms, and roaming through the province of Africa filled it with slaughter, rapine, and burnings, and committed the most atrocious crimes against the adverse party. This mad throng who disregarded death and every evil, nay, faced death when there was occasion with the greatest alacrity, brought extreme odium upon the Donatists; and yet it does not appear from any competent evidence that the Donatist bishops, and especially those possessed of any measure of

[1] In the Donatist contests, two persons of the name of Donatus distinguished themselves; the one was a Numidian, and bishop of Casæ Nigræ, the other was the second leader of the Donatists, succeeded Majorinus as bishop of Carthage, and on account of his learning and virtues was honoured by his partisans with the title of the Great. The learned have raised the question—"From which of these men did the Donatists derive their name?" Arguments of nearly equal strength may be adduced on both sides of this unimportant question. I should think the name was derived from both. [The Donatists received several names. In the commencement of the schism they were called the party of Majorinus. Afterwards they were called Donatians and Donatists, though they would not allow of this name which was given them by the orthodox. Finally, they were called (Montenses) Mountaineers (a name which they bore only at Rome, and either because they held their meetings in a mountain, or because they resembled the Montanists), also Campitæ and Rupitæ [or Rupitani, because they assembled on the plains and among the clefts of the rocks.]—*Schl.*

[2] The Emperor, in his letters to Melchiades, named no more than three prelates—viz. Maternus, Rhetic us, and Marinus, bishops of Cologne, Autun, and Arles, to sit with him as judges of this controversy; but afterwards he ordered seven more to be added to the number, and as many as could soon and conveniently assemble, so that they were at last nineteen in all.—*Mack.*

[3] No proofs could be more clear than those afforded by this whole controversy, of the supremacy of the emperor's power in matters of religion. It is obvious that no person in that age conceived of a single supreme judge over the whole church appointed by Christ himself. The conventions at Rome and Arles are commonly called councils; but whoever views them impartially will perceive that they were not properly councils, but rather courts held by special judges appointed by the emperor, or to speak in the language of modern times, High Commission Courts. [To this opinion Walch subscribes in his *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. iv. p. 343, &c. where he says:—"The whole history speaks out loudly that in settling this controversy and restoring peace, the bishop of Rome did nothing and the emperor everything. In the numerous transactions the bishop Melchiades appears only once, and then not as supreme head of the church but merely as the emperor's commissioner, charged with the execution of his commands. No papal ordinance, no appeal to the court of Rome, no dernier decision, was here once thought of. So the ecclesiastical law of Africa in that age had no article respecting the authority of the pope. On the contrary, from the commencement to the final subjugation of the Donatists, we everywhere meet with the emperor, imperial trials, imperial commissioners, imperial laws, imperial punishments, imperial executive officers, all in full operation."—*Schl.*

[4] They were called Circumcelliones (vagrants), or by contraction Circelliones, from the (*cellæ*) cottages of the peasants around which they hovered, having no fixed residence. They styled themselves Agonistici (combatants), pretending that they were combating and vanquishing the devil. Walch, *ubi supra*, p. 157, thinks it cannot be proved that the Circumcelliones appeared before the time of Constans.—*Schl.*

good sense and religion, approved or instigated their proceedings. The storm continuing to increase and seeming to threaten a civil war, Constantine after attempting a reconciliation without effect, at the suggestion of the prefects of Africa, repealed the laws against the Donatists [A.D. 321]. and gave the African people full liberty to follow either of the contending parties at their own option.[1]

6. After the death of Constantine the Great, his son Constans, on whom the African province devolved, in the year 348 sent thither Macarius and Paulus as his lieutenants, to heal this deplorable schism and to persuade the Donatists to reconciliation with the orthodox. But the chief Donatist bishop, Donatus, whom his sect denominated the Great, strenuously opposed a reconciliation, and the other bishops followed his example. The Circumcelliones still contended furiously with slaughter and war in support of the party whose interest they espoused. After Macarius had vanquished these in battle at Bagnia [or Bagaja], he no longer recommended but enjoined peace and reconciliation. A few Donatists obeyed, the majority either fled or were sent into banishment, among whom was Donatus the Great, and many suffered the severest punishments. In this persecution of the Donatists, which lasted thirteen years, many things were done, as the Catholics themselves concede,[2] which no upright, impartial, and humane person can well say were righteous and just; and hence the numerous complaints made by the Donatists of the cruelty of their adversaries.[3]

7. Julian on his accession to the government of the empire in the year 362, permitted the Donatists to return to their country and enjoy their former liberty. After their return they drew the greater part of Africa in a short time into their communion.[4] Gratian enacted indeed some laws against them, and especially in 387 commanded all their temples to be taken from them, and all their assemblies, even in the fields and private houses, to be broken up.[5] But the fury of the Circumcelliones, who were the soldiery of the Donatists, and the fear of producing intestine war, undoubtedly prevented the vigorous execution of these laws, for it appears that in the conclusion of this century the Donatist community in Africa was so extensive as to have more than four hundred bishops. As the century drew to a close, however, two things impaired not a little the energies of this very flourishing community. The one was a great schism which arose in it, occasioned by one Maximinus,[6] which afforded the Catholics great advantage in opposing the Donatists; the other was the zeal of Augustine, first a presbyter and then bishop of Hippo; for he assailed them most vigorously in books, sermons, conferences, by his advice, admonitions, and activity in assemblies, and being very ardent and energetic, he roused against them not only Africa but all christendom, as well as the imperial court.[7]

8. That the Donatists were sound in doctrine their adversaries admit, nor were their lives censurable, if we except the enormities of the Circumcelliones, which were detested by the greatest part of the Donatists. Their fault was that they regarded the African church as having fallen from the rank and privilege of a true church, and as destitute of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, in consequence of its adherence to Cæcilian, not-

[1] The Donatists soon became very numerous throughout Africa. In some places they were more numerous than the Catholics. In the year 330 one of their councils consisted of no less than two hundred and seventy bishops. See Augustine, *Ep.* 93.—*Mur.*

[2] I will here give a quotation from Optatus of Melevi, whom none will refuse as a witness, *De Schismate Donatistor.* lib. iii. sec. i. p. 51, ed. Du Pin: "Ab Operariis unitatis (the imperial legates Macarius and Paulus) multa quidam aspere gesta sunt.—Fugerunt omnes Episcopi cum clericis suis, aliqui sunt mortui: qui fortiores fuerunt, capti et longe relegati sunt." Through this whole book Optatus is at much pains to apologise for this severity, the blame of which he casts upon the Donatists. Yet he does not dissemble that all of it cannot by any means be approved or justified.

[3] See the *Collatio Carthagin. diei tertiæ*, sec. cclviii. at the end of Optatus, p. 315.

[4] When the Donatists returned under the permission of Julian, they demanded of the orthodox the restoration of their churches. But as they were not willing to give them up, and as little could be expected from the civil authorities, the Donatists felt justified in depending upon their own strength. Most unhappy proceedings ensued, which have brought lasting disgrace upon the Donatists. Bloodshed, merciless denial of the necessaries of life, violation of females, in a word, the worst excesses of an oppressed party, which after long continued sufferings felt itself authorised to take unsparing revenge, attended the restoration of the Donatists. The orthodox made resistance and would not tamely suffer. And hence arose those tumultuous scenes which the magistrates reported to the court: and very probably had Julian lived a little longer, persecuting laws would have been issued by the government. See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. iv. p. 175.—*Schl.*

[5] *Codex Theodos.* lib. ii. ne sanct. Bapt. iteretur.—*Schl.*

[6] On this schism among the Donatists and others of less magnitude, see Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. iv. pages 258—267.—*Schl.*

[7] A full catalogue of the writings of Augustine against the Donatists is given by Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. iv. p. 254, &c. and of his other efforts against them an account is given, ibid. p. 181, &c. We will make here a single remark, that it was during these contests Augustine first exhibited in his writings that horrid principle—Heretics are to be punished with temporal punishments and death—a principle wholly inconsistent with Christianity, and one which in after ages served as an excuse for inhuman cruelties. Only read Augustine's 48th Epistle, *Ad Vincent.* and his 50th, *Ad Bonifac.* and several others, and you will there meet with all the plausible arguments which the spirit of persecution in after ages so dressed up—to the disgrace of Christianity—as to blind the eyes of kings.—*Schl.*

withstanding his offences and those of his consecrator, Felix of Aptunga; and all other churches which united and communed with that of Africa they looked upon as defiled and polluted, and believed that themselves alone, on account of the sanctity of their bishops, merited the name of the true, pure, and holy church, and in consequence of these opinions they avoided all communion with other churches in order to escape defilement. This error led them to maintain that the sacred rites and administrations of the Christians who disagreed with them were destitute of all efficacy, and not only to rebaptize those who came over to them from other societies, but either to exclude from the sacred office or to re-ordain those ministers of religion who joined their community. This schismatic pestilence scarcely extended beyond Africa, for the few small congregations which the Donatists formed in Spain and Italy had no permanence, but were soon broken up.[1]

9. Not long after the commencement of the Donatist controversy, or in the year 317, another storm of greater consequence and more pernicious arose in Egypt, which spread its ravages over the whole Christian world. The ground of this contest was the doctrine of three persons in the Godhead, a doctrine which during the three preceding centuries had not been in all respects defined. It had indeed often been decided, in opposition to the Sabellians and others, that there is a real difference between the Father and the Son, and also between them and the Holy Spirit, or as we commonly express it, that there are three distinct persons in the Godhead. But the mutual relations of these persons and the nature of the difference between them had not been a subject of dispute, and therefore nothing had been decreed by the church on these points, much less was there any prescribed phraseology which it was necessary to use when speaking of this mystery. The doctors therefore explained this subject in different ways, or gave various representations of the difference between the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, without offence being taken. The majority in Egypt and the neighbouring countries had, on this subject as well as others, followed the opinions of Origen, who taught that the Son is in God what reason is in man, and that the Holy Spirit is nothing else than the divine energy or power of acting and working; which opinion, if it be not cautiously stated, may lead, among other difficulties, to the subversion of any real distinction between the divine persons, or in other words to Sabellianism.

10. Alexander, the bishop of Alexandria —it is uncertain on what occasion—expressed himself very freely on this subject in a meeting of his presbyters, and maintained, among other things, that the Son possesses not only the same dignity as the Father, but also the same essence.[2] But Arius, one of the presbyters, a man of acuteness and fluency, influenced perhaps by ill-will towards his bishop,[3] at first denied the truth of Alexander's positions, on the ground that they were allied to the Sabellian errors which were condemned by the church, and then going to the opposite extreme, he maintained that the Son is totally and essentially distinct from the Father; that he was only the first and noblest of those created beings whom God the Father formed out of nothing, and the instrument which the Father used in creating this material universe; and therefore that he was inferior to the Father both in nature and in dignity.[4]

[1] A more full account of the Donatists is given by Valesius, *Diss. de Schismate Donatistarum*, subjoined to his edition of Eusebius's *Hist. Eccles.*; by Ittig, *Hist. Donatismi*, in an appendix to his book *De Hæres. Ævi Apost.* p 241; by Witsius, *Miscel. Sacra.* tom. i. lib. iv. p. 742; by Noris, *Hist. Donatiana*, a posthumous work which the brothers Ballerini enlarged and published, *Opp.* tom. iv. 45, &c.; and by Long, *History of the Donatists*, London, 1677, 8vo. The narrative we have given above is derived from the original sources; and if our life is spared it will in due time be corroborated by a statement of the requisite testimonies. [What Mosheim was prevented from fulfilling by his death, his successor in the professorial chair of church history, Dr. Walch, has accomplished to the satisfaction of all the friends of this branch of knowledge, in the fourth volume of his *Hist. der Ketzer*. pages 1—354.—*Schl.*

[2] See Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. v.; Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. ii.

[3] A historian should be cautious of judging of the motives of human actions, for there are cases in which a man's motives are discernible only to the eye of Omniscience. The present is such a case. Here we can express only a dubious "perhaps," when we impartially survey the sources of the history of Arius. We commonly read, it is true, that ambition of distinction led Arius to contradict his bishop. But this cannot be proved by credible testimony, and his opposers, Alexander and Athanasius, who would surely have used this fact to his disadvantage if it had been known to them, observe a profound silence on the subject. On the contrary, Philostorgius relates (*Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. iii.) that Arius, when the votes of the electors were very favourable to himself, modestly directed the choice on Alexander. Philostorgius, it must be owned, was an Arian, and his testimony is of no great weight. But the direct contrary to what he states is not capable of proof. The motives therefore which actuated Arius in opposing his bishop must be regarded as dubious. Probably something of human infirmity was found on both sides. The conduct of Arius in the contest itself betrays pride, conceit of learning, and a contentious disposition. On the other hand, the Arians complain that Alexander was actuated by envy and personal hatred of Arius, because the great popularity of Arius had excited his jealousy. See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer* vol. ii. p. 395, &c.—*Schl.*

[4] Both Alexander and Arius have left us statements, each of his own doctrinal views, and also what he understood to be the sentiments of his antagonist. The statements are in their private letters, written after long and public discussions at Alexandria, and when Arius and his friends were cast out of the Church. The letter of Alexander is addressed to his namesake, Alex

What were his views of the Holy Spirit is not equally manifest. That his views of the Son of God were combined with some other opinions differing from the common sentiments of Christians cannot be doubted,[1] but no one of the ancients has left us a connected and systematic account of the religion professed by Arius and his associates.[2]

11. The opinions of Arius were no sooner divulged than they found very many abettors, and among them men of distinguished talents and rank both in Egypt and the neighbouring provinces. Alexander on the other hand accused Arius of blasphemy before two councils assembled at Alexandria, and cast him out of the church.[3] He was not discouraged by this disgrace, but retiring to Palestine he wrote several letters to men of distinction, in which he laboured to demonstrate the truth of his doctrines, and with so much success, that he drew over immense numbers to his side, and in particular Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, who was a man of vast influence.[4] The emperor Constantine, who considered the discussion as relating to a matter of little importance and remote from the fundamentals of religion, at first addressed the disputants by letter, admonishing them to desist from contention.[5] But when he found that nothing was effected by this measure, and that greater commotion was daily rising throughout the empire, in the year 325 he summoned that famous council of the whole church which met at Nice in Bithynia, to put an end to this controversy. In this council, after various altercations and conflicts of the bishops, the doctrine of Arius was condemned, Christ was pronounced to be (ὁμοούσιος) of the same essence with the Father, Arius was sent into exile in Illyricum, and his followers were compelled

ander of Byzantium, since of Constantinople, and that of Arius to his friend Eusebius of Nicomedia. Both are preserved by Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* lib i. cap. iv. v. [They are both given in the translation of Theodoret, in Bagster's *Greek Eccles. Historians*, Lond. 1844, p. 6, &c. and 23, &c.] According to these statements, both the Arians and the orthodox considered the Son of God and Saviour of the world as a derived existence, and as generated by the Father. But they differed on two points. 1st, The orthodox believed his generation was from eternity, so that he was coeval with the Father. But the Arians believed there was a time when the Son was not. 2d, The orthodox believed the Son to be derived of and from the Father, so that he was ὁμοούσιος, of the same essence with the Father. But the Arians believed that he was formed out of nothing, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων εἶναι by the creative power of God. Both however agreed in calling him God and in ascribing to him divine perfections. As to his offices or his being the Saviour of sinful men, it does not appear that they differed materially in their views. Indeed, so imperfect and fluctuating were the views of that age respecting the offices of Christ and the way in which sinners are saved, that he was for aught they could see an equally competent Saviour, whether he were a finite creature or the infinite and all-perfect God. Hence both the Arians and the orthodox then embraced the same system of theology in substance; and the chief importance in a theological view of their controversy respecting the Sonship of Christ, related to the assigning him that rank in the universe which properly belonged to him.—*Mur.*

[1] This conjecture of Mosheim (which his former translator has swelled into a strong affirmation) appears to be gratuitous. See the preceding note.—*Mur.*

[2] The history of the Arian contests is to be drawn from Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini*, from various tracts of Athanasius, *Opp.* tom i.; from the Ecclesiastical Histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret; from Epiphanius, *Hæres.* lxix. and from other writers of this and the following century. But among all these, there is not one whom we may justly pronounce free from partiality. And the Arian history still needs a writer of integrity and void alike of hatred and love. There were faults on both sides, but those who hitherto have described this controversy could discover the faults of only one of the parties. [This has now ceased to be absolutely true, since Walch, in the second volume of his *Hist. der Ketzer.* pages 385—700, has so treated the history of Arius and his followers, that a man must himself be in the highest degree partial if he can deny the honour of impartiality to this writer.—*Schl.*] It is a common opinion that Arius was too much attached to the sentiments of Plato and Origen. See Petavius, *Dogmat. Theol.* tom. ii. llb. i. cap. viii. p. 38. But those who think so are certainly in an error. For Origen and Plato differ widely from Arius; on the contrary it cannot well be doubted that Alexander, the opposer of Arius, in his explanation of the doctrine of three Persons in one God, closely followed the footsteps of Origen. See Cudworth's *Intellectual System*, vol i. p. 676, &c. [The student should consult on the Arian doctrines and the whole of this controversy, Hagenbach, *Lehrbuch d. Dogmenges.* sec. lxxxvii—xcviii.; Buch's transl. in Clark's *Foreign Theo. Library*, vol. i. p. 240, &c.; Gieseler, *Lehrbuch*, &c. sections 81—84; Davidson's transl. vol. i. p. 330, &c.; and Ritter, *Gesch. der Christ. Philos.* vol. ii. pages 1—152.—*R.*

[3] Alexander first employed milder measures; for he sent a letter which was subscribed by the clergy of Alexandria to Arius and the other clergymen united with him, warning them to abandon their error. (Athanasius, *Opp.* tom. i. pt. i. p. 396.) When this measure failed he brought the subject before the bishops of his party. He first held a council at Alexandria (A.D. 321), composed of Egyptian and Libyan bishops; and then another assembly composed only of the presbyters and deacons of the city of Alexandria and the province of Marcotis. The first was properly a council, the other was not. And hence it is that some historians speak of but one council of Alexandria. See Walch's *Hist. der Kirchenversamm.* p. 140; and his *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ii. p. 424, &c.—*Schl.*

[4] These bishops held a council in Bithynia, probably at Nicomedia, in which two hundred and fifty bishops are reported to have been present. Of their acts and decisions we know nothing more than that they sent letters to all the bishops of Christendom, intreating them not to exclude the friends of Arius from their communion, and requesting them to intercede with Alexander that he would not do so. "This first Arian council is either wholly overlooked by modern writers or is confounded with that of Antioch in the year 330. Sozomen gives account of it, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. xv. See Nicetas, in *Biblioth. Max. Patr.* tom. xxv. p. 151; and Ceiller's *Hist. des Auteurs*, tome iii. p. 566;" Walch, *Hist. der Kirchenversamm.* p. 142. But he mistakes in saying that this council is "overlooked by modern writers." It is mentioned by Maimbourg, Le Clerc, Du Pin, Fleury, Cave, Whitby, and Tillemont. —*Mur.*

[5] Constantine not only wrote a letter in the year 324, but he sent with it as his envoy the famous Hosius, bishop of Corduba. What part the envoy acted is unknown, but the letter is extant at large in Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini*, lib. ii. cap. lxiv—lxxii. and with some curtailment, in Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. vii. This singular document shows the feelings of one more solicitous for the great cause of our common Christianity, than for absolute perfection in speculative theology.—*Mur.* [The English reader may see it in Eusebius's *Life of Constantine*, in Bagster's *Greek Ecc Historians*, Lond. 1845, p. 103.—*R.*

to assent to a creed or confession of faith composed by the council.[1]

12. No part of church history perhaps has acquired more celebrity than this assembly of bishops at Nice to settle the affairs of the church; and yet, strange as it may appear, scarcely any part of ecclesiastical history has been investigated and explained more negligently.[2] The ancient writers are not agreed as to the time, the year, the place, the number of the judges, the president of this council, and many other particulars.[3] No written journal of the proceedings of this venerable tribunal was kept, at least none has reached us.[4] How

[1] This creed is illustrated from ancient records in a learned work on the subject, by Suicer, Utrecht, 1718, 4to. [The creed used in the Catholic, Lutheran, and English churches, and called the Nicene creed, is in reality the creed set forth by the council of Constantinople in the year 381. It is considerably more full than the original Nicene creed, which is here subjoined together with a translation. Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν. καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κυρίον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τουτέστιν, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τά τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ· τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα· παθόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. Καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ὅτι ἦν ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσιας ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντες εἶναι, ἢ κτιστὸν τρεπτὸν ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. See Walch, *Biblioth. Symbol. Vetus*, pages 75, 76. Translation:—We believe in one God, the Father, almighty, the maker of all things visible and invisible: and in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only-begotten (that is), of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God; begotten, not made; of the same substance with the Father; by whom all things were made that are in heaven and that are in earth; who for us men, and for our salvation, descended, and was incarnate, and became man; suffered, and rose again the third day, ascended into the heavens; and will come to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit. But those who say that there was a time when he was not, and that he was not before he was begotten, and that he was made out of nothing, or affirm that he is of any other substance or essence, or that the Son of God is created, and mutable or changeable, the catholic church doth pronounce accursed.—*Mur.*

[2] See Ittig, *Hist. Concilii Nicæni*, published after his death [Llps. 1712, 4to]; Le Clerc, *Biblioth. Hist. et Univer.* tom. x. p. 421, and tom. xxii. p. 291; Beausobre, *Hist. du Manichéisme*, tom. i. p. 520, &c. The accounts left us by the orientals of this council are contained in Renaudot, *Hist. Patriar. Alexandrinor.* p. 69, &c. [To the preceding works may be added Walch's *Hist. der Kirchenversamm.* pages 144—158.—*Schl.*

[3] There is no great disagreement on most of these points. There is scarcely a dissenting voice as to the year, which was A.D. 325, though there is a disagreement as to the month when the council first met—namely, whether it was the 13th of the Kalends of June or July—that is, the 20th of May or the 19th of June. All agree that the council closed on the emperor's Vicennalia in July of that year. As to the place, there is overwhelming proof that it was the central hall or building in the imperial palace at Nice in Bithynia, which the emperor caused to be fitted up especially for the purpose. Some moderns however maintain that this hall must have been a church, because they cannot believe so holy a body would assemble anywhere except in a church duly consecrated. As to the number of members of which the council was composed, Eusebius indeed (*De Vita Constantini*, iii cap. viii.) says, "they exceeded two hundred and fifty bishops." But the MS. here is believed to be corrupted, for Socrates (*Hist. Eccles.* i. cap. viii.) expressly quoting this passage of Eusebius, says "they exceeded three hundred bishops." There is satisfactory proof that there were three hundred and eighteen members of the council, besides a vast number of clergymen and others who attended from curiosity or for their own improvement in knowledge. The ancient writers make no mention whatever of any president or scribe of the council. They represent the council as assembling and the emperor as entering, advancing to the upper end of the hall, and upon a signal from the bishops taking his seat, which was a golden chair, after which the whole council was seated; several of the principal bishops on the right and left of the emperor, and the main body of them arranged on the two sides of the hall. Before this formal opening of the council, there were several rencounters of the bishops of different parties and also of members of the council, with the philosophers and others who were assembled in the city. Of these private meetings, pompous accounts are left us by Gelasius and others. But when the council assembled in form, they did no business but remained silent till the emperor came in. He was then addressed either by Eustathius of Antioch, or Eusebius of Cæsarea, or by both, in short complimentary speeches; after which he himself harangued the council, and having thrown into the fire, unread, all the private petitions and complaints which had been previously handed him, he bade them proceed to business. A free discussion now ensued, but it would seem without the formalities observed in modern deliberative assemblies. Individuals of different sentiments offered their opinions; and the emperor heard, remarked, commended, or disapproved, and so influenced the whole proceedings as to bring about a good degree of unanimity. Yet he did not act the dictator or judge, but left the bishops to decide all the questions respecting faith and discipline uncontrolled, for he regarded them as the divinely constituted judges of such matters. He only wished them to come to some agreement, which as soon as they had done, he regarded their decision as final and as obligatory on himself as well as all others. How many sessions were held we are not told. But after all the business was finished, on the 24th of July, when the emperor entered on the twentieth year of his reign, he celebrated his Vicennalia with the council in a splendid banquet in his own palace. On that occasion, Eusebius of Cæsarea delivered an oration in praise of Constantine, which is lost. After the feast, the bishops were dismissed with presents and exhortations to peace and love. They returned as they came by the public conveyances, having been supported by the emperor from the time they left their homes. See Eusebius, *De Vita Constant.* lib. iii. c. vi.—xxii.; Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* i. viii.—xi.; Sozomen, *H. E.* i. xvii.—xxv.; Theodoret, *H. E.* i. vii. ix. x. xii.; Rufinus, *H. E.* lib. i.; Gelasius Cyzicenus, *Comment. de Synodo Nicæno*, lib. iii. in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. i. p. 345, &c.; *Acta Concilii Nicæni*, in Combefis' *Auctarium Biblioth. Patr.* tom. ii. p. 573; Renaudot, *Hist. Patriar. Alexandrin.* p. 69, &c.; various treatises in the first volume of the works of Athanasius, especially his *Epistola de Nicænis Decretis*, and several detached passages in Epiphanius, *contra Hæreses*, lib. iii. These are the only authentic sources for the history of this council.—*Mur.*

[4] See Valesius, Note on Euseb. *De Vita Constant.* lib. iii. cap. xiv. Maruthas, a Syrian, wrote a history of this council, but it is lost. See Asseman, *Biblioth. Oriental Clement. Vatic.* tom. i. p. 195, &c. [Eusebius in the passage just referred to, says: "What met the general approbation of the council was committed to writing, and confirmed by the subscription of each member." Whence Valesius infers that nothing was committed to writing by the council except the results to which they came, and which they individually subscribed, namely, the creed, the canons, and the synodic epistle which was addressed to the church of Alexandria and the brethren in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis. He therefore supposes the council kept no Journal, or had no written *Acta Concilii*, in the technical sense of the phrase. And indeed we have no intimation that they kept any journal of their proceedings, or had any proper scribe of council. What are called the *Acta*

many and what canons were enacted, is not agreed by the oriental and the occidental Christians. The latter tell us they were only twenty in number, but the orientals make them far more numerous.[1] From the canons universally received, and from the other monuments of the council, it appears not only that Arius was condemned by this council, but that other things were decreed with a view to settle the affairs of the church. In particular, the controversy respecting the time of celebrating Easter, which had long perplexed Christians, was terminated; the Novatian disturbance respecting the re-admission of the lapsed to communion was composed; the Meletian schism with its causes was censured; the jurisdiction of the greater bishops was defined; and several other matters of a like nature determined.[2] But while the prelates were eager to correct the faults of others, they narrowly escaped falling into a great one themselves, for they were on the point of imposing celibacy on the clergy by an express law; but the act was prevented by Paphnutius, who had himself lived all his days in celibacy.[3]

13. But the passions of men were of more avail than either the decrees of the Nicene council or the authority of the emperor; for there were those who, though they did not fall in with the doctrine of Arius, yet were dissatisfied with some things in the decrees and the creed of the council,[4]

Concilii, as given us by Gelatius and others, are an account of various discussions between individual members of the council and certain philosophers or sophists, together with the creed, the canons, the synodic letter, several epistles of the emperor, one of Eusebius to his church of Cæsarea, and various extracts from ancient authors.—*Mur.*

[1] Ittig, *Supplem. Opp. Clementis Alex.* p. 191; Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Clement. Vatic.* tom. i. pages 22—195, &c.; Renaudot, *Hist. Patriar. Alexandrin.* p. 71; and many others. [The twenty Nicene canons, and those only, were received by the ancient church. Some attempts indeed were made by the bishops of Rome in the fifth century to make certain canons of the council of Sardica pass for canons of the council of Nice. On that occasion the African bishops resisted, and sent to the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople, for complete copies of all the Nicene canons which they knew of. The returns showed that these twenty canons, and these only, were then recognised in the Greek church. See the acts of the sixth council of Carthage, A.D. 419. Theodoret also (*H. E.* i. 8), and Gelasius Cyzicenus (lib. ii. cap. xxxi.), expressly affirm that the number of the Nicene canons was twenty. But in the sixteenth century an Arabic copy of eighty canons, including these twenty, was brought from Alexandria to Rome, and soon afterwards translated and published. At first there was some doubt, but in a short time all the learned were fully satisfied that the additional sixty canons were not of Nicene origin, though now regarded as such by most of the eastern sects. See Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles.* cent. iv. dissert. xviii. vol. vii. pages 501—511, ed. Paris, 1742, 4to. These twenty canons (or twenty-two as some divide them) are extant in Beveridge's *Pandect. Canon.* tom. i. p. 58, &c. and in all the larger collections of councils. The substance of them is as follows: The first canon forbids the admission of self-made eunuchs to the sacred ministry; the second forbids the hasty ordination of new converts to Christianity, agreeably to 1 Tim. iii. 6. The third forbids clergymen of all ranks from having subinduced females or housekeepers, except only their nearest blood relations. The fourth directs that ordinations be generally performed by all the bishops of a province, and never by less than three bishops, and requires the confirmation of the metropolitan in all cases. The fifth requires that an excommunication, either of a clergyman or a layman, by the sentence of a single bishop, shall be valid everywhere till it is examined and judged of by a provincial council; and requires such a council to be held for this and other objects of general interest twice a year, once in the autumn and once a little before Easter. The sixth secures to the patriarch of Alexandria all the rights which he claimed by ancient usage over the bishops and churches of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis; also to the patriarchs of Rome and Antioch their prerogatives; and gives to metropolitans generally a negative on all elections to the episcopal office within their respective provinces. The seventh gives to the bishop of Ælia (or Jerusalem) the rank of a metropolitan, but without depriving Cæsarea, the ancient metropolis, of its dignity. The eighth permits Novatian bishops and clergymen to return to the church and retain their rank and offices, on their assenting to the rules of the church respecting second marriages and communion with the lapsed. The ninth and tenth require that presbyters who before their ordination had lapsed, or had committed any other offence which was a canonical disqualification for the sacred office, be deprived of their office as soon as the disqualification is ascertained. The eleventh requires the lapsed, during the late persecution under Licinius, first, to do penance three years without the doors of the church; secondly, six years in the porch among the catechumens; and thirdly, to be allowed to witness but not join in the celebration of the eucharist for two years more. The twelfth requires flagrant apostates to go through the same course, but they must spend ten years in the second stage. Yet the bishops are to exercise discretionary power in regard to the length of time. The thirteenth allows the sacrament to be given to any penitent who seems to be dying, but if he recovers he is to rank only with the penitents in the third stage. By the fourteenth, lapsed catechumens are to spend three years in the first stage, or among those who worship without the doors of the church. By the fifteenth, the translation of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, from one church to another is forbidden. By the sixteenth, presbyters or deacons forsaking their own church and going over to others are to be denied communion and be sent back; bishops also are forbidden to ordain the subjects of other bishops without their consent. The seventeenth requires the deposition of all clergymen who lend money or goods on interest. By the eighteenth, deacons are forbidden to present the bread and wine to the presbyters, or to taste them before the bishop, or to sit among the presbyters. By the nineteenth, the followers of Paul of Samosata, on returning to the church, are to be rebaptized and to be reordained before they can officiate as clergymen. The twentieth disapproves of kneeling at prayers on the Lord's day, and from Easter to Pentecost.—*Mur.*

[2] The synodic epistle which is preserved by Socrates, *H. E.* i. ix. and by Theodoret, *H. E.* i. ix. acquaints us with the principal transactions of the council, and also shows the spirit of that venerable body.—*Mur.* [It may be seen in the English translation of either of these works in Bagster's *Greek Ecc. Historians;* in *Socrates*, p. 35, and in *Theodoret*, p. 37.—*R.*

[3] Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. xi. compare Baldwin's *Constantinus Magnus*, p. 76, and Calixtus, *De Conjugio Cleric.* p. 170, &c.

[4] The word ὁμοούσιος (of the same essence) in particular was not agreeable to all. At first, seventeen bishops hesitated to subscribe the creed and the condemnation of Arius, because they wished to shun the appearance of favouring the Sabellian error; and they objected that the word ὁμοούσιος had been disapproved of in the time of Paul of Samosata. (Socrates, *H. E.* lib. i. cap. viii. xxiii. &c. Basil, *Ep.* ccc.) And in fact Paul of Samosata had abused the word ὁμοούσιος, to controvert any other distinction between the Son or Word and the Father, except the difference of names and of external relations in reference to the divine manifestation. And though it be not fully proved that this term, in the Samosatian sense of it, was rejected

and the Arians left no means untried to free themselves from the evils inflicted on them by these. The issue was agreeable to their wishes; for in a few years after the Nicene council, an Arian presbyter whom Constantia, the emperor's sister, at her death had recommended to the care of her brother, succeeded in persuading Constantine the Great that Arius had been unjustly oppressed by his enemies. Accordingly in the year 330 the emperor recalled Arius from exile, rescinded the decrees passed against his associates and friends, and permitted Eusebius of Nicomedia, the principal supporter of Arius, and his powerful faction now thirsting for revenge, to persecute the defenders of the Nicene council.[1] They assailed no one more fiercely than Athanasius, the bishop of Alexandria. When he could in no way be brought to restore Arius to his former honours and ecclesiastical standing, Athanasius was first deprived of his office in a council held at Tyre A.D. 335, and then banished to Gaul, while in the same year, by a numerous council held at Jerusalem, Arius and his friends were solemnly admitted to the communion of the church. But by none of these proceedings could the Alexandrians be induced to receive Arius among their presbyters. Accordingly the emperor called him to Constantinople in the year 336, and ordered Alexander, the bishop of that city, to open the doors of his church to him; but before that could take place Arius died at Constantinople in a tragical manner,[2] and the emperor himself departed this life shortly after.

14. After the death of Constantine the Great, one of his sons, Constantius, the emperor of the East, with his wife and his court, was very partial to the Arian cause; but Constantine and Constans, in the western parts where they governed, supported

by a council at Antioch in the year 269 (which decision at Antioch is pronounced fabulous by Feuerlein, in his Dissertation on the question: *Dei filium patri esse ὁμοούσιος antiqui ecclesiæ doctores in concilio Antiocheno utrum negaverint?* Gotting. 1755), yet it is certain that the Arians had before alleged this Antiochian decree, and no one had charged them with mistake in so doing. Nevertheless, those who were not pleased with the creed were generally brought to acquiesce in it, partly by the threats of the emperor to banish all who would not subscribe, and partly by the advice of the princess Constantia. Only Arius, with the bishops Theonas and Secundus, persevered in a refusal. Yet some [namely, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Theognis of Nice] subscribed the creed but not the anathema.—*Schl.* [See Wordsworth's *Letters to Gondon*, 1847, p. 181.—*R.*

[1] So sudden a change was not to be expected. The council of Nice had taken every precaution to prevent the further spread of Arianism; and its decrees had been approved by other councils in distant provinces, and thus had obtained the authority of decrees by the whole church. The emperor had superadded to the sentence of the bishops civil penalties, ordering the recusants into exile; and had condemned the writings of Arius to the flames, and commanded them to be delivered up on pain of death. [See the emperor's letter to the bishops and people in Socrates, *H. E.* i. ix.] Thus the Arian party seemed to be wholly suppressed. But it only seemed to be so. Four years after the atmosphere about the court of Constantine at once became clear and serene to the Arians, and the causes of so great a change are not well known, for the history of Constantine here has a chasm of three years. The princess Constantia seems to have had a hand in this great revolution. The bishops who were favourably disposed towards Arius had recommended themselves to her by yielding in the Nicene council and subscribing the creed, very much in compliance with her recommendation. (Philostorgius, *H. E.* i. cap. ix.) This attention shown her would naturally pave the way for them to the confidence of the princess. And therefore the statement of Socrates (lib. i. cap. xxv.) and Sozomen (lib. iii. cap. xix.) is not improbable—namely, that it was by her and by an Arian priest whom she at her death recommended to him, that Constantine was brought to entertain more favourable views of the Arians. At the instigation of this priest the emperor despatched a gracious letter to Arius, bidding him come to the court. Arius hastened to Constantinople with his friend Euzoius, and was graciously listened to by the emperor, whom he satisfied as to his orthodoxy. At the requisition of the emperor, they both presented a confession of their faith, which was so artfully drawn up as to conceal their real sentiments under orthodox phraseology. In this way Arius obtained permission to return to Alexandria. Antecedently to this Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, and Theognis, bishop of Nice, had obtained complete reinstatement in their offices, and the former now commenced persecuting the orthodox party and especially Athanasius. The deposition of Athanasius was decreed by the council of Tyre, but his banishment was by order of the emperor, before whom he was accused of threatening to prevent the exportation of grain from Egypt to Constantinople. As Arius met with more opposition at Alexandria than he expected, and as his presence there caused commotions which seemed almost to amount to an insurrection, he was called back to Constantinople. Here he had another hearing before the emperor, and swore to a formula of faith presented by himself, which sounded very orthodox. The emperor was so well satisfied with this exhibition of Arius, that he sent for Alexander the bishop of Constantinople, and earnestly enjoined upon him to admit Arius the next Sunday to his communion. The terrified bishop retired to the church of St. Irene, and there prayed that the calamity might be averted. On the day appointed, Arius, accompanied by Eusebius of Nicomedia and others of his adherents, proceeded through the principal streets of the city in order to enter the church in triumph, and entertained his friends with playful discourse. But as he passed along, the calls of nature obliged him to step aside. He entered one of the public offices erected for such purposes, and left his servants waiting at the door; and here he died with a violent colic. See Walch's *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ii. p. 486, &c.—*Schl.*

[2] Some of the moderns are disposed to call in question this account of Arius's death, but without good reason, since it is attested by such unexceptionable witnesses as Socrates, Sozomen, Athanasius, and others. Yet the cause of his sudden and extraordinary death—for the unfortunate man is said to have discharged his own bowels—is a subject of much controversy. The ancients who tell us that God, being moved by the prayers of holy men, miraculously avenged the wickedness of the man, will hardly find credit at this day among candid persons well acquainted with Arian affairs. When I consider all the circumstances of the case, I confess that to me it appears most probable the unhappy man lost his life by the machinations of his enemies, being destroyed by poison. An indiscreet and blind zeal in religion has in every age led on to many crimes worse than this. [The preceding account of Arius's death and of the circumstances attending it, is given by Athanasius (*Ep. ad Serapion. de morte Arii*, p. 522, &c. *Opp.* tom. ii. ed. Commelin), by Socrates (*Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. xxxvii. xxxviii.), Sozomen (*Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. xxix. xxx.), by Theodoret (*Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. xv.) and by several other writers of the fourth century. See Schroeckh, *Kirchenge chichte*, vol. v. pages 386, 387.—*Mur.*

the decisions of the Nicene council. Hence there were no bounds and no end to the broils, the tumults, the conspiracies, and the wrongs; and councils were arrayed against councils by both the contending parties. Constans died in the year 350, and two years after a great part of the West, particularly Italy and Rome, came under the dominion of his brother Constantius, and this change was most disastrous to the friends of the Nicene council; for this emperor being devoted to the Arians involved them in numerous evils and calamities, and by threats and punishments compelled many of them, and among others as is well attested, the Roman pontiff, Liberius, A.D. 357, to apostatize to that sect to which he was himself attached.[1] The Nicene party made no hesitation to return the same treatment as soon as time, place, and opportunity were afforded them. And the history of Christianity under Constantius presents the picture of a most stormy period, and of a war among brethren which was carried on without religion, justice, or humanity.[2]

15. On the death of Constantius in the year 362, the prosperous days of the Arians were at an end. Julian had no partiality for either, and therefore patronized neither the Arians nor the orthodox. Jovian [A.D. 363—364] espoused the orthodox sentiments, and therefore all the West, with no small part of the East, rejected Arian views and reverted to the doctrines of the Nicene council. But the scene was changed under the two brothers, Valentinian [in the West], and Valens [in the East], who were advanced to the government of the empire in the year 364. Valentinian adhered to the decisions at Nice, and therefore in the West the Arian sect, a few churches excepted, was wholly extirpated. Valens on the contrary joined the Arians; and hence in the eastern provinces many calamities befel the orthodox.[3] But when this emperor had fallen in a war with the Goths, A.D. 378, Gratian [who succeeded Valentinian in the West in the year 376, and became master of the whole empire in 378], restored peace to the orthodox.[4] After him Theodosius the Great [A.D. 383—395], by depriving the Arians of all their churches and enacting severe laws against them,[5] caused the decisions of the Nicene council to triumph everywhere, and none could any longer publicly profess Arian doctrines except among the barbarous nations, the Goths,[6] the Vandals,[7] and the Burgun-

1 It appears from the letters of Liberius which are still extant, and from the testimony of Hilary of Poictiers, Jerome, and others, that Liberius boldly resisted the Arians, and was therefore banished to Berœa in Thrace; that at the end of two years his eagerness to return to his bishopric led him to consent to the condemnation of Athanasius, and to subscribe the Arian creed set forth by the third council of Sirmium. This weakness in a Roman bishop has furnished the Protestants with an argument against the Catholic doctrine of papal infallibility, which they have not failed to urge successfully and to the great annoyance of the Catholics. See, among others, Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. i. p. 136, &c.—*Mur.* [Some Roman historians, however, have suggested that this "fall of Liberius ought to be considered as no more than a fiction of the Arians, and have maintained that these heretics corrupted those parts of the works of St. Athanasius and the fragments of St. Hilary in which the account of it is contained." See Dollinger's *Hist. of the Church*, translated by Cox, Lond. 1840, vol. ii. p. 112.—*R.*

2 The Orthodox and the Arians were constantly in the field, and they often came to bloodshed. The victorious party oppressed the vanquished with false accusations, banishments, deprivations of office, anathemas of councils, artifice, and violence. For proof the reader is referred to Athanasius, *Apolog. ad Constant.* p. 307, &c.; *Hist. Arianor. ad Monach.* p. 373, &c. 393, &c.; Sozomen, *H. E.* lib. iv. cap. ix. xix.; Socrates, *H. E.* lib. ii. cap. xxxvii.; and the dark picture of the state of the church, by Vincentius Lerinensis, in his *Commonit.* cap. vi.—*Schl.*

3 The persecution of Valens extended not only to the orthodox but also to the semi-Arians and other minor parties, and the semi-Arians, after much negociation, resorted to the unexpected measure of sending messengers to Rome, and by subscribing to the Nicene creed attempted to form a coalition with the occidental Christians. But this coalition was frustrated partly by the repugnance of some of the semi-Arians to the word ὁμοούσιος and partly by the exertions of the powerful Arians at court, and a new persecution ensued. The orthodox ventured to make a representation to the emperor Valens, and for this purpose sent a delegation composed of eighty clergymen to the court of Nicomedia. The emperor cruelly ordered Modestus the prætorian prefect to put them all to death, but without noise, which he accomplished by putting them *on* board of a vessel, and when at sea causing the vessel and all the unhappy men to be burnt. Such cruelty perhaps is without a parallel among the persecutions by the pagans. See Socrates, *H. E.* iv. cap. xv.; Sozomen, *H. E.* vi. cap. xiii.; Theodoret, *H. E.* iv. cap. xxi.; and Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ii. p. 543, &c.—*Schl.*

4 Gratian granted religious freedom to all his subjects at the commencement of his reign, and excluded only the Manichæans, the Photinians, and the Eunomians from the liberty of holding assemblies for worship. He also recalled all the bishops whom Valens had banished. Some of the semi-Arians now again held their own synods, and renewed their confession of faith, that the Son is of like essence [ὁμοιούσιος] with the Father, in a council held at Antioch in Caria. On the other hand, the orthodox again set up public worship in Constantinople, and obtained the zealous Gregory Nazianzen for their bishop. Gratian at length forbade the assemblies of the heretics without distinction. *Codex Theodos.* lib. v. *De Hæret.* and the Notes of Gothofredus, tom. vi. p. 128; Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ii. p. 547, &c.—*Schl.*

5 See *Codex Theodos.* tom. vi. pages 5, 10, 130, 146, and Gothofredus, *Note* on these laws. [See also Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ii. p. 549, &c.—*Schl.*

6 The Goths were entangled in the Arian heresy on the following occasion. Being driven by the Huns from their former residence on the Tanais, they sent an embassy to the emperor Valens, and obtained liberty to plant themselves [*within* the empire] on the banks of the Danube, promising not only to serve the Romans in their wars, but to embrace the Christian religion as soon as teachers should be sent among them. Ulphilas was one of their ambassadors, who was himself an Arian, and Valens also gave him only Arian teachers for his assistants. It was not strange therefore that the Arian doctrine obtained so great currency among this people. The subsequent history of Arianism among them is related by Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ii. p. 553.—*Schl.*

7 Neither the time nor the circumstances in which

dians.[1] That there were great faults on both sides in this long and violent contest no candid person can deny, but which party was guilty of the greatest wrong it is difficult to say.

16. The Arians would have done much more harm to the church if they had not become divided among themselves after the Nicene council, and split into sects which could not endure each other. The ancients enumerate as Arian sects, the semi-Arians, the Eusebians,[2] the Aëtians, the Eunomians, the Acacians,[3] the Psathyrians,[4] and others. But they may all be reduced to three classes. The first class embraces the old and genuine Arians who, rejecting all new terms and modes of expression, taught explicitly that the Son was not begotten by the Father, but was created or formed out of nothing.[5] From these on the one side deviated the semi-Arians, and on the other the Eunomians or Anomæans, that is, the disciples of the acute Eunomius and of Aëtius. The former class maintained that the Son of God was ὁμοιούσιος, *i. e.* of like essence with the father, yet not by nature but only by grace. The leaders of this party were George of Laodicea and Basil of Ancyra.[6] The latter, who were also called pure Arians, Aëtians,[7] and Exucontians,[8] contended that Christ was ἑτεροούσιος or ἀνόμοιος, *i. e.* dissimilar, both in essence and in other respects, to the Father.[9] Under each of these classes there were other subordinate sects, whose subtleties and refinements have been but obscurely deve-

this people embraced Christianity can be ascertained. Only it is certain that they were, in great measure, believers in Christianity before they came into France (Salvianus, *De Ira Dei*, lib. vii. pages 845 and 228); and from a passage in Jornandes, *De Rebus Geticis*, cap. xxv. it is probable that they got their first knowledge of Christianity from their neighbours the Goths, and according to the Arian principles. The Vandals were persecutors of the orthodox, which cannot be said of the Goths. See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ii. p. 559, &c.—*Schl.*

[1] These settled permanently in Gaul during the next century, and there first embraced the Christian religion and according to the orthodox faith. Orosius, lib. viii. cap. xxxii. and the history of the fifth century, below, pt. i. chap. i. sec. 4. But their intercourse with the neighbouring Arians, the West Goths [and perhaps also their hatred of the Roman power identified by them with the orthodox system.—*K.*], infected them with the leaven of Arianism. Yet under the successors of their king Gundebold the orthodox doctrine again got the upper hand, and under the domination of the Franks, the adherents to Arian principles were wholly rooted out. See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ii. p. 564, &c.—*Schl.*

[2] These derived their name from two bishops named Eusebius, the one of Cæsarea, and the father of church history, the other of Nicomedia, and afterwards of Constantinople, who was intimate with Constantine the Great. They belonged to the class of semi-Arians, called at this day Subordinationists, because they maintained a subordination among the persons of the Godhead.—*Schl.*

[3] These bore the name of Acacius, a bishop of Cæsarea, and successor of Eusebius Pamphili. He allowed that the Son was like the Father, but only in respect to his will.—*Schl.*

[4] This word imports pastry-cooks, because a person of this occupation, a Syrian named Theoktistus, was particularly zealous in defending one of the minor parties of Arians in Constantinople.—*Schl.*

[5] Arius maintained that there were three substances in God—namely, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. The first is the only eternal God. There is absolutely none like him, and his essence is incomprehensible. He is called the Father, in a sense corresponding with that in which the Son is called the Son; and as the latter was not always the Son, so the former was not always the Father. The second substance is the person who is denominated in the Scriptures the Son, the Word, and the Wisdom of God. He is absolutely a creature of God, and one whom God created as he did the other creatures immediately from nothing. This creation of the Son the Scriptures denominate a generation; and this creature is called the Son of God in a figurative sense of the word, because God has adopted him. God, of his voluntary choice, produced this person to be an instrument in his hand in the creation of the world. The Son therefore is, in his essence, totally different from the Father. As a rational creature he possesses free will, is changeable, and so might become either vicious or virtuous; though by his diligence and his long practise he has acquired permanent habits of virtue. And God has chosen for his Son the most virtuous of all created spirits. Thus the Son, according to Arius's views, is not truly God, not eternal, not omniscient. There are to his understanding some mysteries, and he does not comprehend clearly the essence of the Father nor his own nature. Yet God has graciously imparted to him pre-eminent gifts. Thereby he is become the Son of God, nay, obtained for himself the name of God, though not in the proper sense of the word. Such is Walch's representation of the doctrine of Arius, in his *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ii. p. 559, &c.—*Schl.*

[6] See Maran, *Dissert. sur les semi-Arians*, which has been reprinted by Voigt, in *Biblioth. Haresiolog.* tom. ii. p. 119, &c. [The semi-Arians were also called Homœousians, from the word ὁμοιούσιος, which was as it were their symbol. George of Laodicea was a native of Alexandria, and a very learned man. He had personal difficulties with bishop Alexander, and obtained the bishopric of Laodicea through the Eusebian party, to which he devoted himself. Basil, bishop of Ancyra, had the reputation of an upright and learned man, and was in great favour with the emperor Constantius. He can be taxed with no other fault than that of not tolerating the word ὁμοούσιος. He drew on himself much persecution by his zealous opposition to Photinus and to the genuine Arians, and was deprived of his office by the Acacians.—*Schl.*

[7] They had this name from their chief person, Aëtius of Antioch. This man applied himself to the sciences at Alexandria, and as all his instructors were of Arian sentiments, he applied his talents and his dexterity in debate to the vindication of the Arian doctrines. He was made a deacon at Antioch, but the semi-Arians and the orthodox hated him, and he was deposed and banished in the reign of Constantius. Julian recalled him and gave him a bishopric. He had the surname of the Atheist. Socrates, *H. E.* i. cap. xxxv.; Sozomen, *H. E.* iii. cap. xv. &c.; and iv. cap. xxiii.—*Schl.*

[8] This name is derived from the Greek words ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων. They said that the Son of God might indeed be called God and the Word of God, but only in a sense consistent with his having been brought forth ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων [from non-existences], that is, that he was one of those things which once had no existence, and of course that he was properly a creature; and was once a nonentity.—*Schl.*

[9] See Basnage, *Diss. de Eunomio*, in Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. i. p. 172, &c. where are extant the creed and apology of Eunomius. See also Fabricius, *Biblio. Gr.* vol. viii. pages 100–148; and *Codex Theodos.* tom. vi. pages 147, 155, 157, 167, 200, &c. [Eunomius, a Cappadocian, was a scholar of Aëtius, and was made bishop of Cyzicum by his partisans. But he was soon displaced and his whole life was full of unpleasant occurrences. He was peculiarly lucid in his style, and his writings are on that account the most valuable documents for the history of Arianism.—*Schl.* [See note, p. 137.—*Mur.*

loped by the ancient writers. This discord among the Arians was as injurious to their cause as the confutations and the zeal of the orthodox.

17. Unhappily the Arian contests, as was very natural, produced some new sects. Some persons, eager to avoid and to confute the opinions of the Arians, fell into opinions equally dangerous. Others, after treading in the footsteps of Arius, ventured on far beyond him and became still greater errorists. The human mind, weak, powerless, and subject to the control of the senses and the imagination, seldom exerts all its energies to comprehend divine subjects in such a manner as to be duly guarded against extremes. Among the former class I would reckon Apollinaris the younger, bishop of Laodicea, though otherwise a man of great merit, and one who in various ways rendered important service to the church.[1] He manfully asserted the divinity of Christ against the Arians, but by philosophizing too freely and too eagerly he almost set aside the human nature of the Saviour. He maintained that Christ assumed only a human body, endowed with a sentient soul, but not possessed of intellect, and that the divine nature in Christ did the office of a rational soul or mind;[2] whence it seemed to follow that the divine nature became mingled with the human,[3] and with it suffered pain and death. This great man was led astray, not merely by the ardour of debate but by his immoderate attachment to the Platonic doctrine concerning a twofold soul; from which if the divines of that age had been free, they would have formed more wise and more correct judgments on many points. Some among the ancients attribute other errors besides this to Apollinaris, but how much credit is due to them is doubtful.[4] The doctrine of Apollinaris met the approbation of many in nearly all the eastern provinces, and being explained in different ways it became the source of new sects. But as it was assailed by the laws of the emperors, the decrees of councils, and the writings of learned men, it gradually sunk under these united assaults.

18. In the same class must be reckoned Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia,[5] if confidence may be placed in Eusebius of Cæsarea and in his other adversaries, who tell us that he so explained the mystery of the holy Trinity as to fall into the Sabellian and Samosatenian errors. Yet there are many who think that both Eusebius of Nicomedia and Eusebius of Cæsarea unfairly represent his sentiments, because he gave offence by the severity of his attacks upon the Arians and upon the bishops who favoured them. But admitting that his accusers were influenced in some respects by their hatred of the man, it is certain that their accusations were not altogether groundless; for it appears from a careful examination of the whole subject, that Marcellus considered the Son and the Holy Spirit as two emanations from the divine

[1] See a sketch of his life and writings above, p. 136, note 5.—*Mur.*

[2] Apollinaris believed that Christ had no need of a rational soul, because the divine nature was competent to all the rational and free acts which the Saviour performed; and he could see no reason why Christ must have had two intelligent natures and two free wills. He supposed further that a rational human soul, as it was the seat of sinful acts, was liable to moral changes; and therefore Christ, if he had possessed a rational human soul, could not have had an unchangeable, that is, a sinless, human nature. And he supported his opinion by the many passages of Scripture which speak of Christ's becoming man, in which only the word σὰρξ, flesh, is used for the human nature; *e.g.* John i. 14. See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. iii. p. 186, &c. —*Schl.*

[3] This consequence however Apollinaris did not admit. He was indeed accused of denying the actual distinction of the two natures, and of inculcating such a confusion of them as Eutyches afterwards maintained. But he rejected the term mixture, and expressly taught that he did not subvert the doctrine of two distinct natures in Christ, but that the divinity remained divine and the flesh remained flesh. See Walch's *Hist. der Ketzer*, vol. iii. p. 193, &c.—*Schl.*

[4] See Basnage, *Hist. Hæresis Apollinaris*, which is republished with some learned additions by Voigt, *Bibliotheca Hæresiologica*, tom. i. fascic. i. pages 1—96. See also *Ibid.* tom. i. fascic. iii. p. 607. The laws against the Apollinarians are extant in the *Codex Theodos.* tom. vi. p. 144, &c. See likewise (Chauffepié) *Nouveau Dictionn. Hist. et Crit.* tome i. p. 304, &c. [See an account of Apollinaris and his heresy in the English edition of Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article *Apollinaris*. —*Macl.* [Concerning this sect, Walch has treated most solidly and with the application of impartial criticism, in his *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. iii. pages 119—229. —*Schl.*

[5] This Marcellus was a person of weight in the Nicene council, and there opposed the Arians with a zeal and energy which procured him praise from his own party, and hatred and obloquy from the opposite side. (See Epiphanius, *Hæres.* lxxii. cap. ii.; Athanas. *Apolog. contra Arian.* tom. i. pt. ii. pages 135—150; and Constantine, *Epist. Pontif.* pages 379—383). Asterius, a defender of the Arian doctrine, attacked him in writing and accused him of Sabellianism. Marcellus in reply wrote a book to defend the true doctrine respecting the subordination of Jesus Christ to the Father. In the year 336 the Arian bishops assembled at Constantinople deposed him, as one convicted of the Sabellian or Samosatenian heresy, and elected Basil in his place. After the death of Constantius he recovered his see, but lost it again almost immediately, as the Arians again got the ascendancy. He now fled to Rome, and exhibited a confession of his faith to the bishop Julius, by whom with the other bishops of the Athanasian party assembled at Rome he was recognised as orthodox, and as a sufferer for the truth. But when Photinus, a pupil of Marcellus, commenced his disturbance, Athanasius now first threw out some suspicions that his doctrine was not pure, but he soon dropped them. Basil the Great was more decided in his opposition to Marcellus, and held him to be actually a heretic. Yet he afterwards acknowledged himself in the wrong. Marcellus was in reality not without considerable learning, but his judgment was weak, and he had the habit of talking at random, and was at the same time very bitter against his antagonists. It is therefore not only possible but very probable that he often let drop faulty expressions, which in the view of his enemies contained dangerous errors. See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. iii. p. 232, &c.—*Schl.*

nature, which, after performing their respective offices, were to return back into the substance of the Father, and whoever believed so could not, without self-contradiction, hold the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, to differ from each other in the manner of distinct persons.[1] Marcellus increased the odium and suspicions against him by refusing in the last years of his life to condemn Photinus his disciple.[2]

19. At the head of those whom the contests with Arius led into still greater errors, may undoubtedly be placed Photinus, bishop of Sirmium,[3] who in the year 343 advanced opinions concerning God, equally remote from those of the orthodox and those of the Arians. On attentively considering what the ancients have stated without much perspicuity or uniformity, it appears that he supposed Jesus Christ was born of the virgin Mary by the Holy Spirit; that with this extraordinary man a certain divine emanation, which he called the Word, became united; that on account of this union of the Word with the man Jesus, he was called the Son of God and also God; and that the Holy Spirit was a virtue or energy proceeding from God and not a person.[4] The temerity of the man was chastised not only by the orthodox in their councils of Antioch A.D. 345, of Milan A.D. 347, and of Sirmium,[5] but also by the Arians in a council held at Sirmium A.D. 351. He was deprived of his office, and died in exile in the year 372.[6]

20. After him, Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, a distinguished semi-Arian teacher, being deprived of his office through the influence of the Eunomians, by the council of Constantinople in the year 360,[7]

1 It is nevertheless uncertain whether Marcellus really denied the personal distinctions in the Trinity. The accusations of his opposers are not credible evidence in this case. Marcellus and his friends constantly denied that they were Sabellians. He denied indeed that there were three ὑποστάσεις, affirming that there was one ὑπόστασις. But this word had then so indeterminate a meaning, that nothing certain can be inferred from it; for it denoted sometimes what we should call substance, and at other times was equivalent to person. Walch, *ubi supra*, p. 290, thinks it probable, as Marcellus always strenuously contended, and with justice, that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are ἀδιαιρέτως and ἀχωρίστως (inseparably) united, he must have regarded the word ὑπόστασις as equivalent to the phrase ὑπόστασις διεστῶσα a different substance. Yet clearly he often used unsuitable descriptions and comparisons respecting the eternal generation of the Son, and the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, and such as seem to show that he understood by these persons only certain attributes and acts of God. But perhaps these were only unfortunate expressions or errors of the moment, which he could repudiate when the heat of contest subsided.—*Schl.*

2 See Montfaucon, *Diatribe de Causa Marcelli*, in the *Nova Collectio Patrum Græcor.* tom. ii. p. 51, &c. [Republished with some notes by Volgt, *Biblioth. Hæreziolog.* vol. i. fascic. ii. p. 297.—*Schl.*] and Gervaise, *Vie de S. Epiphane*, p. 42, &c. [Add also Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. iii. pages 229—299; and-Vogel's Disputation at Gottingen, 1757, *De Marcello Ancyræ Episcopo.* —*Schl.*

3 Yet Photinus was not a native of Sirmium as some have supposed, being misled by a faulty Latin version of a passage in Epiphanius, *De Hæres.* lxxi. sec. 1. He was rather a Galatian (Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* cap. cvii.; and Socrates, *H. E.* ii. cap. xviii.) and most probably of Ancyra. He was an author, but his writings are lost. See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. iii. p. 9, &c.—*Schl.*

4 To give a more distinct view of the opinions of Photinus, we will here state them as they are arranged by Walch, *ubi supra*, p. 34. Photinus had (1) erroneous views of the Trinity. On this subject he taught thus:—The holy Scriptures speak indeed of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit: but we are to understand by them only one person, who in Scripture is called the Father. What the Scriptures call the Word of God is by no means a substance or a person, still less is it a person begotten by the Father and therefore called the Son. For with God there can be no generation, and of course he can have no Son. Neither is the Word that person who made the World, but the Word is properly the understanding of God, which comprehends the designs of God in all his external operations and is therefore called God. The Holy Spirit also is not a person but an attribute of God. Hence followed (2) erroneous ideas of the person of Christ. He maintained that Jesus Christ was a mere man, that before his birth he had no existence except in the divine foreknowledge, and that he began to be when he was born of Mary by the Holy Spirit. Yet he received the special influences of divine power whereby he wrought miracles. This is the indwelling of the word. On account of these excellent gifts and his perfect virtue, God took this man into the place of a son, and therefore he is called the Son of God and also God. Therefore it must be said that the Son of God had a beginning.—*Schl.*

5 Concerning the time and succession of these councils there has been much debate between Petavius, Sirmond, La Roque, and others, of which an account is given by Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. iii. p. 5, &c. We will only add in correction of Mosheim's statements—1st, that the earliest of these councils was held in the year 343, as appears from three documents first brought to light by Maffei; and 2dly, that it was held by the semi-Arians. So that the first orthodox council against Photinus was that of Milan. In that of Sirmium the eastern bishops were assembled, and they pronounced Photinus a heretic. Photinus when adjudged to be deprived of his office and sent into exile made application to the emperor, and obtained leave publicly to defend his doctrine. Basil bishop of Ancyra was appointed to dispute with him, and a formal discussion took place. Both parties became angry, but the victory was adjudged to Basil, and the former decision was affirmed. See Walch, *ubi supra*, p. 51, &c.—*Schl.*

6 De la Roque, *De Photino quisque multiplici damnatione*, Geneva, 1670, 8vo; Ittig, *Hist. Photini*, in his *Heptas Dissertat.* subjoined to his *Diss. de Hæresiarchis Ævi Apost.* [We may add Petavius, *Diss. de Photino hæretico ejusque damnatione*, in his *Rationarium Temporum*, 3d edition, and among the *Opuscula* of Peter de Marca [vol. v. p. 183, &c. ed. Bamberg, 1789, where it is accompanied with the two *Diatribæ* of Sirmond respecting the councils of Sirmium] and Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. iii. pages 1—70.—*Schl.*

7 There were several persons of the name of Macedonius who should not be confounded with this man. The most noted of them were Macedonius of Mopsuestia, a contemporary with our Macedonius, and also involved in the Arian contests (Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. xix.) and Macedonius bishop of Constantinople in the reign of the emperor Anastasius [A.D. 491—518], by whom he was banished for his zeal against the Eutychians. The election of our Macedonius was attended with disorders which merit notice. This metropolis had one Paul for its bishop, who was deposed by the emperor Constantius, and Eusebius of Nicomedia chosen in his place. After the death of Eusebius the orthodox replaced Paul in his office, but the Eusebian bishops appointed Macedonius. The emperor Constantius was displeased with the movement of the orthodox, and ordered his general Hermogenes to drive Paul from the city. And as his adherents made opposition and the general had to use

in his exile founded the sect of the Pneumatomachi. For he now openly professed what he had before concealed, that the Holy Spirit is a divine energy diffused throughout the universe, and not a person distinct from the Father and the Son.[1] This doctrine was embraced by many in the Asiatic provinces But the council of Constantinople assembled by Theodosius the Great in the year 381, and which is commonly considered as the second œcumenical council, early dissipated by its authority this young and immature sect. One hundred and fifty bishops present in this council defined fully and perfectly the doctrine of three persons in one God, as it is still professed by the great body of Christians, which the Nicene council had only in part performed. They also anathematized all the heresies then known, assigned to the bishop of Constantinople, on account of the grandeur of the city over which he presided, a rank next after the bishop of Rome, and made such other regulations as the general interests of the church seemed to require.[2]

21. The frenzy of the ancient Gnostics, which had been so often confuted, revived again in Spain. In the beginning of this century, one Mark, a native of Memphis, introduced it from Egypt, and at first communicated it to a few individuals. It had proceeded considerable lengths, and had infected some persons in reputation for their learning and piety, when Priscillian,

force, there was a popular insurrection which cost both sides much blood. The orthodox populace set fire to the general's house and dragged him about the streets with a rope around his neck, and finally killed him. The emperor now came himself to Constantinople, drove Paul from the city, and punished the people He also refused to establish Macedonius in the office because he had given occasion to the bloodshed; but he allowed him to remain in the city and to hold worship in one of the churches which was assigned him (Socrates, *H. E.* ii. cap. xiii. and Sozomen, *H. E.* iii cap. viii.) Paul returned again to Constantinople and was again chased away by the soldiery; and on the other hand Macedonius was in the year 342 reinstated by an imperial general, which occasioned another massacre, in which more than three thousand persons lost their lives. But as Constantius was compelled by his brother Constans to reinstate the orthodox bishops, Paul shared in this good fortune, and Macedonius with his adherents had to content themselves with a single church to worship in. After the death of Constans Paul was again displaced, and Macedonius once more seated in the episcopal chair. Here, confiding in the protection of the emperor, he stirred up a general persecution against the adherents to the Nicene creed, which extended to the provinces adjacent to Constantinople (Socrates, *H. E.* ii. cap. xxvi. xxvii. xxxviii. and Sozomen, *H. E.* iv. cap. xx. xxvi.) In the year 356 that church at Constantinople in which was placed the coffin of Constantine the Great seemed ready to fall down, and Macedonius therefore would remove the coffin. Some, including the orthodox party, maintained that this removal was improper and irregular, being influenced partly by respect for the deceased emperor, and partly by hatred against Macedonius. But as Macedonius notwithstanding had proceeded to the removal and had brought the coffin into another church, the two parties came to blows in the latter church, and such a slaughter was there made that the porch was filled with dead bodies. This unfortunate step drew upon Macedonius the emperor's displeasure (Socrates, *H. E.* ii. cap. xxxviii.; Sozomen, *H. E.* iv. cap. xxi.) About this time the disagreement among the opposers of the Nicene faith came to an open rupture, and Basil of Ancyra, the leader of the semi-Arians, drew Macedonius over to his party (Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccles.* iv. cap. ix.) From this time onward Macedonius held a high rank among the semi-Arians, and supported their cause in the council of Seleucia. But he thus drew on himself such hatred from the whole Arian party, that in the year 360, with Acacius and Eudoxius at their head, they deprived him of his office at Constantinople. Macedonius was very restless under this, and laboured to establish the semi-Arians by defending their opinions; and this gave occasion to the semi-Arians to be sometimes called Macedonians. He died soon afterwards. See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. iii. p. 74, &c.—*Schl.*

[1] Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. iv. [For a more full exhibition of the Macedonian doctrines we will subjoin the statement of Walch, *ubi supra*, p 96. As to their doctrine concerning the *Son of God*, some Macedonians agreed with the adherents of the Nicene fathers, but others, and among them Macedonius himself, coincided with the mildest form of the semi-Arian creed. In regard to the *Holy Spirit* they departed wholly from the opinions of the orthodox. Some indeed did not declare themselves in regard to the divinity of the Holy Spirit. They did not expressly deny that he was God, and yet they hesitated to affirm it. And this was no unusual thing. Even Basil the Great would not recommend to have the name of God applied in public to the Holy Spirit, nor condemn those who refused thus to use it. Nor would Gregory disapprove this. See Petavius, *Dogm. Theolog.* lib. i. *De Trinitate*, cap. x. tom. ii. pages 45—64; and Semler. *Einleitung zum 3ten Theil der Baumgarten's Polemik.* pages 173—183. Others who did declare themselves affirmed that the Holy Spirit was not a person in the Godhead, that he was not what the Father and the Son are, and therefore no divine honours were due to him. Some held the Holy Spirit to be a creature, and therefore did not deny his personality. Others denied his personality, and regarded him as a mere attribute of God.—*Schl.*

[2] Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. cap. viii.; Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. cap. vii. [The Macedonians led an externally good and strict life, and by promoting monkery obtained such reputation for piety, agreeably to the taste of that age, as contributed much to their popularity in Constantinople and its vicinity. After their separation from the Arians, and after their attempt to unite themselves with the orthodox had failed, they spread themselves considerably, especially in Thrace, along the Hellespont, and in Phrygia. In the western provinces they were not found. At Constantinople they had their own churches and bishops. Among the attempts to reclaim the Macedonians from their errors, the most remarkable was that of the second general council at Constantinople. The emperor Theodosius hoped they might be won over more readily than the Arians, because they differed less from the orthodox. He therefore called Macedonian bishops to the council. There were thirty-six of them present, and much pains was taken to persuade them to embrace the Nicene decisions. But all efforts were vain; they declared that they would sooner embrace the Arian than the Nicene faith. And hence their doctrine was opposed in this synod by an addition made to the Nicene creed, and by express forms of condemnation. With these spiritual weapons against the Macedonians secular ones were combined. In the statutes of the the elder Theodosius (lib. xi. xii. xiii. *Codex Theodos. de Hæreticis*), they are mentioned by name; and in those of the younger Theodosius, which are inserted in the *Codex Theodos.* (lib. lix. lx. lxv.), it will be seen that they still existed, but could hold worship only in the principal cities. These civil regulations gave ill-disposed bishops too much liberty to manifest their persecuting spirit towards the Macedonians, and enabled them wholly to exterminate them it would seem under these emperors. See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. iii. pages 70—118; and, respecting the council of Constantinople, his *Hist. der Kirchenversamm.* p. 224, &c. The decrees of this council are given in Beveridge's *Pandectæ Canonum*, tom. i. p. 85.—*Schl.*

a man of birth, fortune, and eloquence, and afterwards bishop of Avila, imbibed it. Being accused by some bishops before the emperor Gratian, Priscillian and his followers were banished from Spain, but he returned soon after. Accused again in the year 384, before Maximus (the usurper in Gaul after the assassination of Gratian), he was condemned with several of his associates, and executed at Treves in the year 385.[1] The instigators of this capital execution for heresy were however regarded with abhorrence by the bishops of Gaul and Italy; for it was not yet considered among Christians as a pious and religious act to deliver heretics over to the civil power to be punished.[2] Priscillian being slain, his opinions were not at once suppressed, but spread far and wide in Spain and Gaul, and even in the sixth century the Priscillianists caused much trouble to the bishops of those provinces.

22. No one of the ancients has accurately described the doctrines of the Priscillianists; on the contrary, some of them have perplexed and obscured the subject. It appears however from authentic records, that the Priscillianists came very near in their views to the Manichæans. For they denied the reality of Christ's birth and incarnation; maintained that the visible universe was not the production of God, but of some demon or evil principle; preached the existence of Æons or emanations from God; declared human bodies to be prisons for celestial minds fabricated by the author of evil; condemned marriages; denied the resurrection of the body, &c. Their rules of life were very severe, for what many state concerning their flagitious and libidinous practices rests on no credible testimony. That the Priscillianists used dissimulation, and eluded their enemies by deceiving them, is true; but that they regarded all kinds of lying and perjury as lawful, as is commonly reported of them, has not even the appearance of truth.[3]

[1] This was the first instance of a heretic being punished with death. The first law authorizing capital punishment for holding heretical opinions, is that of Theodosius against the Manichæans in 382.—*R.*

[2] See Sulpitius Severus, *Hist. Sacra*. lib. ii. cap. xlvi. li. and Dialog. iii. *De Vita Martini*, cap. xv. Among the adherents of Priscillian there were some bishops, particularly Instantius and Salvianus, and many ladies of respectability. Hyginus, bishop of Corduba, who afterwards went over to the Priscillianists, was the first to oppose his doctrine, and for this purpose made a representation of it to Idacius, the bishop of Merida, who by his rash violence against bishop Instantius, blew the fire of the Priscillianist war into a great flame. After many and long contests a council was held at Saragossa in 380, at which the Priscillianist doctrine was condemned, and the bishop Instantius and Salvianus, with the laymen Elpidius and Priscillian, were excommunicated. This measure rendered the sect more resolute and determined; and Priscillian, that he might be more safe, was raised by the party from a layman to a bishop of Avila. The civil power was put in motion against the sect, and Idacius obtained from the emperor Gratian a decree, by which this sect as well as others was banished the country. This decree depressed them for a time. The leaders of the party took their course towards Rome; and while passing through France they seduced many, especially in Aquitain Gaul. Although they got no hearing at Rome, yet they found means to obtain a rescript from Gratian, by which the former decree was repealed, and these bishops were restored again to their offices. When Maximus had seized the government, he issued, at the instigation of Idacius, a command to the Priscillianist teachers to appear before the ecclesiastical council of Bourdeaux. Here Instantius, who readily and frankly answered the interrogatories of the council, was deposed, but Priscillian appealed to the emperor. Martin of Tours saw with concern a civil judge about to pass sentence in an ecclesiastical affair, and made representation on the subject to the emperor, who assured him that no blood should be shed. Yet the emperor was finally persuaded by some bishops to commit the investigation of the subject to his minister of state, Evodius, a stern judge. He at Treves in the year 385 put Priscillian to the rack, and extorted from him a confession that he had uttered impure principles, had held nocturnal meetings with base females, and prayed naked; and after the facts had been reported to the emperor, Priscillian and some of his adherents were put to death, and others were punished with banishment. The emperor had it in contemplation to send military officers into Spain, with full power to search out the heretics and deprive them of life and property. But here again Martin of Tours showed himself in an amiable light. He repaired to Treves and there made such representations as prevented the execution of the emperor's designs. Yet the people shed the blood of heretics in many places, and some bishops had such unchristian minds as to approve of it. Yet others on the contrary disapproved of it, and had great dissension with the former in regard to it The Priscillianists however still continued to be numerous in Spain, especially in Galicia; and in the fifth century, when the irruption of the barbarians into Spain threw the ecclesiastical affairs into great disorder, it afforded this sect opportunity again to spread itself very much. And in the sixth century Aguirre has inserted in the *Concil. Hispan.* tom. ii. p. 269, &c. a letter of Montanus, bishop of Toledo, in the year 527, from which it appears that many persons of this sect then lived in Valencia, and in the year 561 a council was held against them at Braga. From this time onwards no more is heard of them, and they must either have gradually wasted away or have fallen at once on the irruption of the Saracens. See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer*. vol. iii. pages 387—430.—*Schl.*

[3] See Simon de Vries, *Diss. Critica de Priscillianistis*, Utrecht, 1745, 4to, in which the principal fault is that he follows too closely Beausobre's *Hist. du Manich.* taking everything there asserted to be true. Girvesius, *Hist. Priscillianistarum Chronologica*, Roma, 1750, 8vo. In Angelus Calogera, *Opuscoli Scientifici*, tom. xxvii. p. 61, occurs: *Bachiarius illustratus seu de Priscilliana haeresi*, which however is less occupied in illustrating the affairs of the Priscillianists than [the work of] Bachiarius [a learned Spaniard], who composed a short treatise *De Fide* first published by Muratori (*Anecdota Latinorum*, tom. ii.) and which some consider as a polemic tract against the Priscillianists. To these must be added Walch, *ubi supra*, pages 378—481. To ascertain the real doctrines of the Priscillianists is very difficult, and perhaps impossible. The quotation from an epistle of Priscillian which Orosius has preserved (in his *Commonitorium, inter Opp. Augustini*, tom. viii. p. 431), is so obscure that it would be very natural to suppose his contemporaries did not correctly understand him. Hence we cannot rely entirely on the testimony of the ancients, even if they appear to have been impartial writers. Still it appears unquestionable that Priscillian embraced Gnostic and Manichæan errors, that he misconstrued the Scriptures and perverted them by allegorical interpretations, that he relied on apocryphal books as of divine authority, that he believed in the eternity of matter and held that the evil angels were not creatures of God, that he also believed the world was not the work of God, and that all changes in the material universe originated from the evil spirit.

23. To these larger sects certain minor ones may be added. One Audæus, an honest man and ejected from the church in Syria for too freely reproving the corrupt lives of the clergy, collected a congregation and became its bishop. Being banished by the emperor into Scythia he went among the Goths, and there propagated his sect with good success. As to the time when this sect arose the ancients are not agreed. In some of their practices they deviated from other Christians, among which this is especially noticed by the ancients, that contrary to the decree of the Nicene council they celebrated the feast of Easter on the same day with the Jewish Passover. It is also said that they attributed to the Deity a human form, and held some other opinions which were erroneous.[1]

24. To this century also the Greeks and orientals refer the origin of the sect called Messalians and Euchites, and indeed clear traces of them first appear in the latter part of this century, though their principles were much more ancient, and were known before the Christian era in Syria, Egypt, and other countries of the East. These persons, who lived secluded from intercourse with the world in the manner of monks, derived their name from their incessant prayers; for they believed that an evil demon naturally dwells in the mind of every man, which can be expelled no otherwise than by continual praying and singing, and that this demon being once expelled, the soul will return to God pure, and be again united to the divine essence of which it is a portion. To this leading principle they added, as may readily be supposed, many other strange notions closely allied to the sentiments of the Manichæans, and drawn from the same source from which the Manichæans derived their doctrines, namely, the oriental philosophy.[2] In short, the Euchites were a sort

Concerning the soul, he taught that it is a particle of the divine nature, separated from the substance of God. The human body, as all other flesh according to the Priscillian doctrine, came from the devil. And even the production of man, by the union of a soul with a body, was the work of evil spirits. They believed in an uncondi ional necessity for the changes a man undergoes, and which they ascribed to the influence of the stars. They denied the personal distinction of the three persons in the Godhead. It is very probable that they controverted the human nature of Christ; and it is still more probable that they denied him a real body, than that they denied him a human soul. From these principles it would follow that they did not believe in a resurrection of the body. The same principles led them to disapprove of marriage and of the procreation of children. and to forbid the eating of flesh. Their moral principles were in general strict, and tended to produce an ascetic life. And on this account the accusation of shameless debauchery, brought against them by their adversaries, is very improbable. Whether they all held prevarication, lying, and perjury, to be allowable even in cases where one's religion is to be avowed, is uncertain. Yet it is very certain that some of them held this dangerous principle; as for instance Dictinnius, from whose book Augustine quotes the arguments used to justify lying, which he also confutes in his book *De Mendacio, ad Consent.* Yet that Priscillian and his first set of followers did not think so, appears from their suffering martyrdom.—*Schl.* [See an ample notice of this sect and their leader in Lardner's *Credibility*, vol. iv. p. 337, and a brief one in Matter, *Hist. du Gnos.* tome iii. p. 95. Gieseler refers to a recent publication on this subject by Lübkert, *De Hæresi Priscillian.* Copen. 1840, 8vo.— *R.*

[1] Epiphanius, *Hæres.* lxx. p. 811; Augustine, *De Hæres.* cap. i.; Theodoret, *Fabul. Hæret.* lib. iv. cap. ix.; Schröder, *Diss. de Audæanis*, which is in Volgt, *Biblioth. Hæresiol.* tom. i. pt. iii. p 578 [and Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. iii. pages 300—321. The founder of this sect is called both Audius and Audæus, and his followers are likewise called both Audiani and Audæani, and not unfrequently Anthropomorphites, because they were taxed with attributing to God a human form. Audius was of Mesopotamia, and stood in high estimation among the Syrians, on account of his holy life and his great zeal for the honour of God. The last was so great that he publicly punished his own brother, and would not flatter the avaricious and luxurious bishops; and for this he endured persecution, hatred, and reproach. But he was undismayed and bore it all with patience. Yet when at last the hatred of his enemies went so far as often to beat him and his friends, he separated himself from the church (though previously some had refused him communion) formed a party. and got himself ordained its bishop. This step made the separation complete. for it was contrary to all ecclesiastical rules, which required at least three bishops to solemnize an ordination, and also forbade the ordination of any schismatical bishop. The orthodox bishops entered a complaint against him before the emperor, who banished him at an advanced age into Scythia. This occasioned his going among the Goths, and converting many of that nation to Christianity. He erected monasteries among them, recommended the monastic life, ordained bishops, and died before the general persecution by Athanaric. Audæus held a few errors. He believed that God possessed not a perfect human body, but a human shape, and of course the form of human limbs; and that the fashion of the human body was copied from the divine shape, to which the Scriptural term, image of God, is to be referred. In regard to their worship his followers were strict separatists, and would not worship at all with those Christians who were of an irreligious life, or who held church communion with the irreligious. Nay, they discarded the name of Christians for that of Audians, because many of them had abused the name of Christians in order to secure their safety. In regard to the feast of Easter, they were Quartodecimarians—that is, they kept this festival at the time the Jews did, and defended the practice by appealing to the Apostolical Constitutions. They held apocryphal books, and had their own system of church discipline. In general it may be said they were rather fanatics than proper heretics.— *Schl.*

[2] Epiphanius, *Hæres.* lxxx. p 1067; Theodoret, *Hæret. Fabul.* lib. iv. cap. x.; Timotheus Presbyter, *De Receptione Hæreticor* in Cotelier's *Monumenta Eccles. Græcæ*, tom. iii. p. 403, &c.; Tollius, *Insignia Itineris Italici*, p. 110, &c.; Asseman, *Biblioth. Orientat. Vatic.* tom. i. p. 128, tom. iii. pt ii. p. 172, &c. and others [in particular Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. iii. pages 481—536. The names Messalians and Euchites signify prayers or praying brethren. The first is Syriac [or Aramaic, **Ezra, vi.10.**—*Mur.*] and the latter is Greek [Εὐχῖται or Εὐχῆται, from εὐχή, oratio. See Suicer, *Thesaur. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 1285, &c. and Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.* iv. cap. ii.—*Mur.*] They were also called Enthusiasts, because they pretended to be inspired and to hold converse with the Holy Spirit; Choreutæ (χορευταί, dancers) from the motion of their bodies which they commonly used; the Spiritual (πνευματικοὶ) which was the name they gave to themselves; also Lampetians, Adelphians, and Marcianists, from certain of their leaders. There were both pagan and Christian Messalians. The former acknowledged indeed a plurality of gods, though they worshipped but one whom they called ὁ παντοκράτωρ, the Almighty. These were more ancient than the Christians, built houses for worship similar to the Christian churches, and assembled morning and evening with torches and

of mystics, who, according to the oriental notion, imagined that two souls resided in man, the one good and the other evil, and who laboured to expedite the return of the former to God by contemplation and prayer. This sect drew over many to its ranks by its outward show of piety, and the Greeks waged war with it through all the subsequent centuries; yet it should be remembered that the names Messalians and Euchites were used with great latitude among the Greeks and the orientals, and were applied to all who endeavoured to raise the soul to God, by recalling it from all influence of the senses, though those persons often differed very materially in their religious opinions.

25. Towards the close of this century Arabia and the adjacent countries were disturbed by two opposite sects, the Antidico-Marianites and the Collyridians. The former contended that the Virgin Mary did not remain always a virgin, but that she had intercourse with her husband, Joseph, after the birth of our Saviour. The latter, whom the ladies especially favoured, went to the opposite extreme; they worshipped St. Mary as a goddess, and thought she ought to be honoured and appeased with libations, sacrifices, and offerings of cakes [κολλυρίδες, in Latin *collyridæ*.][1] The more obscure and unimportant sects I pass without notice.

candles, and employed their time in praising God; whence they were called Euphemites. The Christian Messalians were so named from the coincidence of their practice with that of the pagans; they seem to be the offspring of monkish enthusiasm, and to have first appeared in Mesopotamia, and thence to have spread into Syria, but their origin cannot be traced with more particularity. Their religious theory was founded on an impure mysticism, like to what is common to nearly all fanatical persons and communities, and which originated, like the system of Manes, from the principles of the oriental philosophy. Yet the Messalians, like all enthusiasts, appear to have relied more upon spirits, apparitions, and revelations, than upon the oriental system of metaphysics. Their principles did not necessarily lead to vicious conduct, yet they might afford occasion for it. And in fact there were among them many improper persons, whom idleness and spiritual pride led into gross offences. And there were not wanting among them real villains, who abused the mystical stupidity of others to subserve their own wicked purposes.—*Schl.*

[1] See Epiphanius, *Hæres.* lxxviii. lxxix. pages 1033 and 1057. [Among the moderns, Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. iii. p. 577. &c. Walch makes mention (*ubi supra*, p. 598) of one Bonosus, concerning whom he also published a dissertation at Gottingen, 1754, *De Bonoso hæretico.* This Bonosus was probably bishop of Sardica in Illyricum near the end of this century. He was accused of maintaining that Mary did not always remain a virgin, but bore several children. And this charge seems not to have been a false one. But whether Bonosus denied also the divinity of Christ, and taught that he was the Son of God only by adoption, is very dubious. Yet so much is certain, that in the fifth and sixth centuries there were opposers of the doctrine of the Trinity and of the divinity of Christ, who in France and Spain were known by the name of Bonosians. Still it is uncertain whether they derived the name from this or from some other Bonosus. The reader may consult Ittig's *Supplementum Operum Clementis Alexand.* where in the annexed Fasciculus, *Observ. Miscellan. ad Hist. Eccles.* p. 242, there is an Essay, *De Hæresi Bonosi.* The Collyridianæ (for Epiphanius makes them all females) were women who carried their respect for the mother of Jesus so high that they were justly charged by the orthodox fathers with superstition and idolatry. They came from Thrace and the yet more distant regions of Scythia into Arabia. It was their practice to dress out a car or a square throne (κεριτκὸν), spread over it a linen cloth, and on a clear day once a year place on it during the day a loaf of bread or a cake(κολλυρὶς), which they offered to the virgin Mary. Mosheim (in his Lectures) considered them as a set of simple persons who had considerable heathenism about them, and supposed this offering of a cake was derived from paganism. While they were mere pagans they were accustomed to bake and present to the goddess Venus or Astarte (the moon) certain cakes which were called collyrides; and when they became Christians they thought this honour might now be best shown to Mary. The historian had in his eye perhaps a passage in Jeremiah (viii. 18), where the prophet speaks of such a sort of worship; and in general it is well known that the offering of cakes in the pagan worship was a customary thing. See Walch, *ubi supra*, p. 625, &c.; and Tillemont, *Mémoires à l'Hist. Eccles.* tome xii. p. 83.— *Schl.*

CENTURY FIFTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS OF THE CHURCH.

1. To understand the causes of events affecting the condition of Christians in this century, it is necessary to keep in view a portion of the civil history of the period. We shall therefore first observe concisely that the Roman empire at the commencement of this century was divided into two parts, one of which embraced the eastern and the other the western provinces. Arcadius, the emperor of the East, resided at Constantinople. Honorius, who governed the West, lived at Ravenna in Italy. The latter, distinguished by nothing but the mildness of his disposition, neglected the affairs of the empire. Hence first the Goths laid waste Italy several times, and plundered Rome in a distressing manner; and this first defeat of the Romans in the West was followed by others still more grievous under the succeeding emperors, for the ferocious and warlike people of Germany overran those fairest provinces of Europe, Italy, Gaul, and Spain, and set up new kingdoms in them. At last the Heruli, in the year 476, under Odoacer their chief, having vanquished Romulus Augustus, who is commonly called Augustulus, overturned the empire of the West, and brought Italy under their subjection. Sixteen years after, Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths inhabiting Illyricum, invaded these unwelcome intruders by the authority of the Greek emperor, and vanquished them; in consequence of which, the kingdom of the Ostrogoths was established in Italy in the year 493, and continued with various fortune till the year 552.[1] The new kings of the West professed to respect the authority of the emperors resident at Constantinople, whom they acknowledged as sovereigns over them; but in reality they were quite independent, especially Theodoric in Italy, a man of distinguished abilities, and they left nothing to the emperors but the shadow of supremacy.[2]

2. Amidst these wars and the dreadful calamities they produced, the cause of Christianity suffered much. Yet the Christian emperors, especially those of the East, continued their efforts to extirpate what remained of the ancient idolatry. In particular, Theodosius the younger [A.D. 408—450] has left us striking proofs of his zeal in this matter; for we have still extant various laws of his requiring the idolatrous temples to be utterly destroyed, or to be dedicated to Christ and the saints, abrogating the pagan ceremonies and rites, and excluding the adherents of paganism from all public offices.[3] In the western parts alone the efforts of this kind were somewhat less, and we therefore find the Saturnalia, the Lupercalia, the gladiatorial shows, and other idolatrous customs observed with impunity both at Rome and in the provinces, and men of the highest rank and authority publicly professing the religion of their ancestors.[4] But by degrees this liberty was

[1] For a fuller account, see the Abbé de Bos, *Hist. Critique de la Monarchie Franç.* tome i. p. 558, &c.; and Mascov's *History of the Germans*, written in German. [Also Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. xxix.—xxxi. xxxiii.—xxxvi. Mur[illegible] Sael

[2] Du Fresne, *Diss.* xxiii. *ad Hist. Ludovici Sanct.* p. 280; Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* tom. ii. pag. 578, 832; and *Annal. Italiæ*; Giannone, *Hist. de Naples*, tome i. p. 207; Cochlæus, *Vita Theod. Ostrog. regis*, with the observations of Peringskiöld Stockholm, 1699, 4to.

[3] See *Codex Theodos.* tom. vi. pages 327, 331, &c.

[4] See Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, in particular, lib. ii. p. 190, ed. Gronovii; Maffei, *Dell'i Amfiteatri*, lib. i. pages 56, 57; Pierre le Brun, *Hist. Crit. des Pratiques Superstitieuses*, tome i. p. 237, and others; but especially Montfaucon, *Diss. de Moribus tempore Theodosii M. et Arcadii ex Chrysostomo*, which is found in Latin in the *Opp. Chrysostomi*, tom. xi. and in French, in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscript.* tome xx. p. 197, &c. [The pagans traced the calamities of the empire to the prevalence of Christianity. Therefore in the year 408, at the instigation of the Tuscan soothsayers, idolatrous sacrifices were again established at Rome, in order to procure success against Alaric; and the existing bishop Innocentius, who was apprised of the measure, allowed it to take place, if we may believe Zosimus, on condition that the sacrifices should be offered without noise. See Zosimus, lib. v. cap. xli. To confute this accusation of the populace against Christianity, was the design of Augustine's work, *De Civitate Dei*, addressed to Mar-

confined to narrower limits, and those spectacles which were most inconsistent with the sanctity of the Christian religion were everywhere suppressed.[1]

3. The limits of the Christian church were extended both in the East and in the West among the people addicted to idolatry. In the East the inhabitants of the two mountains, Libanus and Antilibanus, being extremely annoyed by wild beasts sought aid against them from the famous Symeon Stylites, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Symeon told them that their only remedy was to forsake their ancient superstitions and embrace Christianity. These mountaineers obeyed the counsel of the holy man, and having become Christians they saw the wild beasts flee from their country, if writers tell us the truth. The same Symeon by his influence (for I doubt the existence of any miracle) caused a part of the Arabians to adopt the Christian worship.[2] In the island of Crete a considerable number of Jews, finding that they had been basely imposed upon by one Moses of Crete, who pretended to be the Messiah, voluntarily embraced Christianity.[3]

4. The German nations who rent in pieces the western Roman empire were either Christians before that event, as the Goths and others, or they embraced Christianity after establishing their kingdoms, in order to reign more securely among the Christians. But at what time and by whose instrumentality the Vandals, the Suevi, the Alans, and others became Christians, is still uncertain and is likely to remain so. As to the Burgundians who dwelt along the Rhine, and thence passed into Gaul, it appears from Socrates[4] that they voluntarily became Christians near the commencement of the century. Their motive to this step was the hope that Christ, or the God of the Romans, who they were informed was immensely powerful, would protect them from the incursions and the ravages of the Huns. They afterwards [about A.D. 450] joined the Arian party, to which also the Vandals, Suevi, and Goths, were addicted. All these warlike nations measured the excellence of a religion by the military successes of its adherents, and esteemed that as the best religion, the professors of which were most victorious over their enemies. While therefore they saw the Romans possessing a greater empire than other nations, they viewed Christ, the God of the Romans, as the most worthy of their homage.

5. It was this motive which produced the conversion of Clovis [Chlodovæus, Hludovicus, Ludovicus][5] or Lewis, king of the Salii, a tribe of the Franks, who conquered a large part of Gaul and there founded the kingdom of the Franks, which he endeavoured to extend over all the Gallic provinces; a valiant prince, but cruel, barbarous, selfish, and haughty. For in the year 496, in a battle with the Alemanni at Tolbiacum,[6] when his situation was almost desperate, he implored the aid of Christ, whom his wife Clotildis [or Clotilla], a Christian, and daughter of the king of the Burgundians, had long recommended to him in vain; and he made a vow that he would worship Christ as his God, provided he obtained the victory. Having been victorious he fulfilled his promise, and in the close of that year was baptized at Rheims.[7] Some

[1] Near the close of the century, Anastasius in the East prohibited the combats with wild beasts and the other shows. See Asseman, *Biblioth. Orientat. Clement. Vatic.* tom. i. pages 268, 272. [See also Beugnot, *Hist. de la destruction du Paganisme en Occident*, vol. ii. the whole of the 12th book.—*R.*

[2] Asseman, *Biblioth. Orientat. Clement. Vatic.* tom. i. p. 246, &c.

[3] Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. cap. xxxviii. [where the account briefly is, that in the time of Theodosius the younger an impostor arose called Moses Cretensis. He pretended to be a second Moses sent to deliver the Jews who dwelt in Crete, and promised to divide the sea and give them a safe passage through it. They assembled together with their wives and children, and followed him to a promontory. He there commanded them to cast themselves into the sea. Many of them obeyed and perished in the waters, and many were taken up and saved by fishermen. Upon this the deluded Jews would have torn the impostor to pieces, but he escaped and was seen no more. In the island of Minorca also many persons abandoned Judaism. Yet their conversion does no great honour to the Christians: for it was in consequence of great violence done to the Jews, of levelling their synagogue with the ground, and taking away their sacred books. See the account of their conversion by the bishop of the Balearean islands, Severus, *Epist. Encycl. de Judæorum in hac insula Conversione et de Miraculis ibidem factis*, published from a MS. in the Vatican library by Baronius, in his *Annales* A.D. 418, and abridged by Fleury, *Hist. de l' Eglise*, liv. xxiv. Yet it is certain that the Jews even in that age often imposed on the Christians, by pretending to have favourable views of Christianity. This appears from the *Codex Theodos.* lib. xvi. tit. viii. leg. xxiii.; and Socrates (*Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. cap. xvii) mentions a Jew who with baptism received a considerable sum of money successively from the orthodox, from the Arians, and from the Macedonians, and finally applying to the Novatians for baptism, was detected by the miracle of the disappearance of the water from the font. Although this miracle may be doubted and the impostor may have been detected by an artifice of the Novatian bishop, yet it appears from the story that what is practised by many Jews at the present day is no new thing.—*Schl.*

[4] *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. cap. xxx. [They applied to a bishop in Gaul, who directed them to fast seven days, and baptised them on the eighth. Semler (in his *Hist. Eccles. Selecta Capita*, tom. i. p. 203) supposes this event took place about the year 415. And according to the *Chronicon* of Prosper, it was in this year that the Burgundians took possession of a part of Gaul on the Rhine, with the consent of the Romans and their confederates, having promised to embrace Christianity.—*Schl.*

[5] See Milman's *Gibbon*, vol. vi. page 293.—*R.*

[6] Tolbiacum is thought to be the present Zulpick, which is about twelve miles from Cologne.—*Mack.*

[7] See Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Francor.* lib. ii. cap. xxx. xxxi. Henry Count de Bunau, *Hist. Imperii Romano-Germanici*, tom. i. p. 588, &c. Abbé de Bos, *Hist. Crit. de la Monarchie Franç.* tome ii. p. 340, &c.

thousands of Franks followed the example of their king. It has been supposed that besides the exhortations of his wife the expectation of an extension of his dominions contributed to induce him to renounce idolatry for Christianity; and it is certain that his professing Christianity was very subservient to the establishment and enlargement of his kingdom. The miracles reported on this occasion are unworthy of credit; in particular, that which is the most astounding of them all, the descent of a dove from heaven with a phial full of oil at the baptism of Clovis, is either a fiction or as I think more probable, a deception craftily contrived for the occasion;[1] for such pious frauds were much resorted to in that age both in Gaul and Spain, in order to captivate more readily the minds of the barbarous nations. It is said that the conversion of Clovis gave rise to the custom of addressing the French monarchs with the titles of Most Christian Majesty, and Eldest Son of the Church;[2] for the kings of the other barbarous nations which occupied the Roman provinces were still addicted to idolatry, or involved in the errors of Arianism.

6. Cœlestine, bishop of Rome, first sent into Ireland to spread Christianity among the barbarians of that island Palladius, whose labours were not crowned with much success. After his death Cœlestine sent to Ireland, in the year 432, Succathus, a Scotchman, whose name he changed to Patricius [Patrick], a man of vigour, and as appears from the event not unfit for such an undertaking. He was far more successful in his attacks upon idolatry, and having converted many of the Irish to Christianity, in the year 472 he established at Armagh the see of an archbishop of Ireland.[3] Hence St. Patrick, although there were some Christians in Ireland before his arrival, has been justly called the Apostle of Ireland and the father of the Irish church, and he is held in high veneration to this day.

7. The causes which induced all these pagan nations to abandon the religion of their ancestors and profess Christianity may be gathered from what has been already said. He must lack discernment who can deny that the labours, the perils, and the zeal of great and excellent men dispelled

[and Walch, *Diss. de Clodoveo M. ex rationibus politicis Christiano*, Jena, 1751.—*Schl.* [Clovis once hearing a pathetic discourse on the sufferings of Christ exclaimed, "Si ego ibidem cum Francis meis fuissem, injurias jus vindicassem;" Had I been there with my Franks, I would have avenged his wrongs. See Fredegarius, *Epitom.* cap. xxi.; Almoin, lib. i. cap. xvi.; and *Chronicon S. Dionysii*, lib. i. cap. xx.—*Mur.*

[1] Against this miracle of the phial, Chiflet co nposed his book *De Ampulla Rhemensi*, Antw. 1651, fol. The reality of the miracle is defended, among many others, by the Abbé Vertot, *Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscript.* tome iv. p. 350, &c. After considering all the circumstances, I dare not call the fact in question But I suppose St. Remigius, in order to confirm the wavering mind of the barbarous and savage king, artfully contrived to have a dove let down from the roof of the church bearing a phial of oil at the time of the king's baptism. Similar miracles occur in the monuments of this age. [The possibility of the event is made conceivable in this way. Yet there still remain weighty historical objections to the reality of the fact. The story rests solely on the authority of Hincmar, a writer who lived three hundred years after the time. Avitus, Anastasius, and even Gregory of Tours, and Fredegarius, are wholly silent on the subject. Besides, Hincmar's narrative contains the improbable circumstance, that the clergy who should have brought the oil that was wanting, could not get near the font on account of the pressure of the crowd; but as anointing with oil was then practised at every person's baptism, it is improbable that on so solemn an occasion as this, due preparation for this part of the service would have been neglected.—*Schl.*

[2] See Daniel's and the Abbé de Camp's *Diss. de Titulo Regis Christianissimi*, in the *Journal des Scavans* for the year 1720, pages 243, 404—448, 536. *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, tome xx. p. 466. &c

[3] See the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. ii. Martii, 517, tom. iii. Februar. pag. 131, 179, &c.; James Ware's, *Hibernia Sacra*, p. 1, &c.; Dublin, 1717, fol. The same Ware published the *Opuscula Sti Patricii* with notes, London, 1656, 8vo. The synods held by St. Patrick are given by Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Brit. et Hiberniæ*, tom. i. p. 2, &c. [and thence republished in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. i. p. 1790, &c.] Concerning the famous cave called the purgatory of St. Patrick, see Peter le Brun, *Hist. Crit. des Pratiques Superstit.* tome iv. p. 34, &c. [A full account of St. Patrick and his labours in Ireland is given by archbishop Ussher, *Eccles. Britannicar. Primordia*, cap. xvii. p. 815, &c.—*Mur.* [Rapin, in his *History of England* (vol. i. book ii.) remarks, that there were three Patricii or Patricks. 1. The elder, who died in the year 449 mentioned in the Chronicle of Glastonbury. 2. The great, who died in 493, after governing the Irish church for sixty years; he is the one mentioned by Mosheim. 3. The younger, who was a nephew of Patrick the Great and survived his uncle some years.—*Schl* [Mosheim, following Ussher, asserts that Patrick was a Scotchman. More recent and trustworthy authorities incline to the belief that he was from ancient Britany in Gaul, and a native of Boulogne. He was first carried as a captive to Ireland, where he was sold as a slave; and after a residence of from four to six years, he succeeded in effecting his escape to Gaul. He then became acquainted with the bishop of Auxerre and the celebrated Martin of Tours, and is said to have spent some time in the famous monastery of Lerins in the south of France. Romanist historians assure us that he went thence to Rome, where he was ordained a bishop by Pope Cœlestine; but it has been satisfactorily shown by Mr. Petrie (*Trans. Royal Irish Acad.* vol. xviii. p. 108, &c.) that these statements are incorrect, and that Patrick never was at Rome. In 432 he returned to Ireland and had great success in planting the Gospel there, where he died about the year 492. It must be added, however, that great uncertainty rests upon the chronology of his life; even his very existence has been plausibly denied; and judicious critics are disposed to believe that what is related of the *one* Patrick really belongs to *two*, if not to the *three*, of the same name mentioned by Schlegel in the previous part of this note. Some of his writings are still extant; they were for the first time collected and published by Sir James Ware, as stated above by Mosheim, in 1656. They are all to be found in the 10th volume of Gallandius, *Bibliotheca Vet. Pat.* Ven. 1764-81, and they have been recently re-edited by S. L. Villanueva, *S. Patricii Hibernorum Apostoli Opuscula et Fragmenta, Scholiis illustrata*, Dub. 1835, 8vo. A full account of the famous purgatory of St. Patrick in the County of Donegal, and of the superstitious observances of the pilgrims who resorted thither, may be seen in Richardson's *Folly of Pilgrimages in Ireland, especially of that to St. Patrick's Purgatory*, Dub. 1727, 12mo, and Wright's *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, &c. Lond. 1844.—*R.*

the clouds of darkness from the minds of many; and on the other hand he must be shortsighted, and not well versed in the history of this century, who is unable to see that the fear of the vengeance of man, the hope of temporal advantage and honours, and the desire of obtaining aid from Christians against their enemies, were prevalent motives with many to abandon their gods. How much influence miracles may have had it is difficult to say; for I can easily believe that God was sometimes present with those pious and good men who endeavoured to instil the principles of true religion into the minds of barbarous nations;[1] and yet it is certain that the greater part of the prodigies of this age are very suspicious. The greater the simplicity and credulity of the multitude the more audacious would be the crafty in playing off their impostures;[2] nor could the more discerning expose their cunning artifices with safety to their own lives and worldly comfort.[3] It is commonly the case, that when great danger attends the avowal of the truth then the prudent keep silence, the multitude believe without reason, and the fabricators of imposition triumph.

CHAPTER II.

THE CALAMITIES OF THE CHURCH.

1. It has been already observed that the Goths, the Heruli, the Franks, the Huns, the Vandals, and other fierce and warlike nations, who were for the most part pagans, had invaded and miserably rent asunder the Roman empire. During these commotions the Christians at first suffered extremely. These nations were, it is true, more anxious for plunder and dominion than for the propagation of the false religions of their ancestors, and therefore did not form any set purpose to exterminate Christianity; yet the worshippers of idols, who still existed everywhere scattered over the empire, neglected no means to inflame the barbarians with hatred against the Christians, hoping by their means to regain their former liberty. Their expectations were disappointed, for the greatest part of the barbarians soon became Christians themselves; yet the followers of Christ had everywhere first to undergo great calamities.

2. The friends of the old religion, in order to excite in the people greater hatred against the Christians while the public calamities were daily increasing, renewed the obsolete complaint of their ancestors—that all things went well before Christ came, that since he had been everywhere embraced, the neglected and despised gods had sent forth evils of every kind upon the world. This weak attack was repulsed by Augustine in his book, *On the City of God*, a copious and erudite work. He also prompted Orosius to write his *History*, in order to show that the same and even greater calamities and plagues afflicted mankind before the Christian religion was published to the world. In Gaul the calamities of the times drove many to such madness that they wholly excluded God from the government of the world, and denied his providence over human affairs. These were vigorously assailed by Salvian in his book, *On the government of God.*

3. But the persecutions of the Christians deserve to be more particularly noticed. In Gaul and the neighbouring provinces the Goths and Vandals, who at first trampled under foot all rights, human and divine, are reported to have laid violent hands on innumerable Christians. In Britain, after the fall of the Roman power in that country, the inhabitants were miserably harassed by the neighbouring Picts and Scots, who were barbarians. Having therefore suffered various calamities, in the year 445, they chose Vortigern for their king, and finding his forces inadequate to repel the assaults of the enemy, in the year 449 he called the Anglo-Saxons from Germany to his aid. But they, landing with their troops in Britain, produced far greater evils to the inhabitants than they endured before; for these Saxons endeavoured to subdue the people whom they came to assist, and to bring the whole country into subjection to their own power. This produced an obstinate and bloody war between the Britons and the Saxons, which continued with various fortune during one hundred and thirty years, till the Britons were compelled to yield to the Anglo-Saxons and take refuge in Batavia and Cambria [the modern Holland and Wales]. During these conflicts the condition of the British church was deplorable; for the Anglo-Saxons, who worshipped exclusively the gods of their ancestors, almost wholly prostrated it, and put a multitude of Christians to a cruel death.[4]

[1] There is a remarkable passage concerning the miracles of this century in the *Theophrastus seu de Immortalitate Animæ*, of the acute Æneas Gazæus, p. 78, ed. Barthii. Some of these miracles, he tells us, he himself had witnessed, pages 80, 81.

[2] The Benedictine monks speak out freely on this subject, in the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome ii. page 33. It is a fine saying of Livy, *Histor.* lib. xxiv. cap. x. sec. vi.; "Prodigia multa nuntiata sunt quæ quo magis credebant simplices ac religiosi homines, eo plura nuntiabantur."

[3] Sulpitius Severus, *Dial.* i. p. 438; *Ep.* i. p. 457; *Dial.* iii. cap ii. p. 487.

[4] See Bede and Gildas among the ancients, and

4. In Persia the Christians suffered grievously in consequence of the rash zeal of Abdas, bishop of Suza, who demolished the Pyræum, a temple dedicated to fire; for being commanded by the king, Isdegerdes, to rebuild it, he refused to comply, for which he was put to death in the year 414, and the churches of the Christians were levelled to the ground. Yet this conflict seems to have been of short duration. Afterwards, Vararanes, the son of Isdegerdes, in the year 421, attacked the Christians with greater cruelty, being urged to it partly by the instigation of the Magi and partly by his hatred of the Romans, with whom he was engaged in war. For as often as the Persians and Romans waged war with each other the Christians resident in Persia were exposed to the rage of their monarchs, because they were suspected, and perhaps not without reason, of being favourably disposed towards the Romans, and disposed to betray their country to them.[1] A vast number of Christians perished under various exquisite tortures during this persecution;[2] but their tranquillity was restored when peace returned between Vararanes and the Romans, in the year 427.[3] The Jews also who were opulent and in good credit in various parts of the East, harassed and oppressed the Christians in every way possible.[4] None of them was more troublesome and overbearing than Gamaliel, their patriarch, who possessed vast power among the Jews, and whom therefore Theodosius Junior restrained by a special edict in the year 415.[5]

5. So far as can be learned at this day, no one ventured to write books against Christianity and its adherents during the fifth century, unless perhaps the Histories of Olympiodorus[6] and of Zosimus[7] are to be considered of this character, the latter of whom is uniformly sarcastic and unjustly severe in his attacks on the Christians. Yet no one can entertain a doubt that the philosophers and rhetoricians who still kept up their schools in Greece, Syria, and Egypt, secretly endeavoured to corrupt the minds of the youth, and laboured to instil into them at least some of the principles of the proscribed superstition.[8] The history of those times and the writings of several of the fathers, exhibit many traces of such clandestine machinations.

among the moderns, Ussher, *Britann. Ecclesiar. Primor.* cap. xii. p. 415, &c.; and Rapin, *History of England*, vol. i. b. ii. [The Saxons were not directly persecutors of the Christians, but only involved them in the common calamities of their slaughtered and oppressed countrymen.—*Mur.*

1 Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. cap. xxxix. [where there is a full account of the conduct of Abdas, and of the sufferings of the Christians during the persecution.—*Mur.*] Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, article *Abdas*, Barbeyrac, *De la Morale des Pères*, page 320. [An account of the manner in which Christianity obtained free toleration and an extensive spread in Persia at the commencement of this century, through the influence of Maruthus, a bishop of Mesopotamia, who was twice an ambassador to the court of Persia, is given by Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. cap. viii.—*Mur.*

2 Asseman, *Biblioth. Orientat. Vatic.* tom. ii. pages 182, 248. [See also Theodoret, *ubi supra.* The most distinguished sufferers in this persecution were Abdas, the bishop of Suza, Hormisdas, a Persian nobleman and son of a provincial governor, Benjamin a deacon, James who apostatized but repented, and Sevenes who possessed a thousand slaves.—*Mur.*

3 Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. cap. xx.

4 Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. cap. xxiii. and xvi.; and *Codex Theodos.* tom. vi. p. 265, &c.

5 In the *Codex Theodos.* tom. vi. p. 262, &c.

6 Photius, *Biblioth. Cod.* lxxx. p. 178. [Olympiodorus was a native of Thebes in Egypt, a poet, a historian, and an ambassador to the king of the Huns. He flourished about the year 425, and wrote a History addressed to Theodosius Junior, and containing the Roman history, particularly of the West, from A.D. 407 to 425. The work is lost, except the copious extracts preserved by Photius, *ubi supra.*—*Mur.*

7 Zosimus was a public officer in the reign of Theodosius Junior, and wrote a history in a neat Greek style. The first book gives a concise history of Roman affairs from Augustus to Diocletian; the following books are a full Roman history down to A.D. 410. The best editions are by Cellarius, Jena, 1728, 8vo, and by Reitemier, Lips. 1784, 8vo.—*Mur.*

8 Zacharias Mitylen. *De Opificio Dei*, pages 165, 200, ed. Barthii.

9 The history and progress of schools among Christians, are the subject of an appropriate work by Geo. Gottl. Reufel, Helmst. 1743, 8vo.—*Schl.*

10 The schools at Edessa and Nisibis ar noticed by Valesius on Theodore Lector's *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. p. 164, b.—*Schl.*

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

1. ALTHOUGH the illiterate had access to every office both civil and ecclesiastical, yet most persons of any respectability were persuaded that the liberal arts and sciences were of great use to mankind. Hence public schools[9] were flourishing in the larger cities as Constantinople, Rome, Marseilles, Edessa, Nisibis,[10] Carthage, Lyons, and Treves; and masters competent to teach youth were maintained at the expense of the emperors. Some of the bishops and monks also of this century, here and there, imparted to young men what learning

they possessed;[1] yet the wretchedness of the times, the incursions of barbarous nations, and the paucity of great geniuses, prevented either the church or the state from reaping such advantages from these efforts as were hoped for by those who encouraged them.

2. In the western provinces, especially in Gaul, there were several men of learning who might have served as patterns for others to follow. Such among others were Macrobius, Salvian, Vincentius of Lerins, Ennodius, Sidonius Apollinaris, Claudianus Mamertus, and Dracontius, who as writers were not indeed equal to the ancient Latin authors, yet not altogether inelegant, and who devoted themselves to the study of antiquities and other branches of learning. But the barbarians who laid waste or took possession of the Roman provinces choked these surviving plants of a better age; for all these nations considered arms and military courage as the only source of glory and virtue, and therefore despised learning and the arts. Hence, wherever they planted themselves, there barbarism insensibly sprang up and flourished, and the pursuit of learning was abandoned exclusively to the priests and monks. And these, surrounded by bad examples and living in the midst of wars and perils, gradually lost all relish for solid learning and renown, and substituted in place of it a sickly spectre and an empty shadow of erudition. In their schools the boys and youth were taught the seven liberal arts,[2] which being comprised in a few precepts, and those very dry and jejune, as appears from the treatises of Augustine upon them, were rather calculated to burden the memory than to strengthen the judgment and improve the intellectual powers. In the close of this century therefore learning was almost extinct, and only a faint shadow of it remained.

3. Those who thought it expedient to study philosophy—and there were but few who thought so—did not in this age commit themselves to the guidance of Aristotle. He was regarded as too austere a master, and one who carried men along a thorny path.[3] Perhaps more would have relished him had they been able to read and understand him. But the system of Plato had for several ages been better known, and was supposed to be not only less difficult of comprehension but more in accordance with the principles of religion. Besides, the principal works of Plato were then extant in the Latin translations of Victorinus;[4] therefore such among the Latins as had a taste for philosophical inquiries contented themselves with the decisions of Plato, as will appear to any one who shall only read Sidonius Apollinaris.[5]

4. The state of learning among the Greeks and the people of the East, both as respects elegant literature and the severer sciences, was a little better, so that among them may be found a larger number of writers who exhibit some marks of genius and erudition. Those who prosecuted the science of jurisprudence resorted much to Berytus in Phœnicia, where was a celebrated law school,[6] and to Alexandria.[7] The students in physic and chemistry resorted also to Alexandria. The teachers of eloquence, poetry, philosophy, and the other arts, opened schools almost everywhere, and yet the teachers at Alexandria, Constantinople, and Edessa, were supposed to excel the others in learning and in the art of education.[8]

5. The sect of the younger Platonists sustained itself and its philosophy at Athens, at Alexandria, and in Syria, with no small share of its ancient dignity and reputation. Olympiodorus,[9] Hero,[10] and other men of high renown, adorned the school of Alexandria. At Athens, Plutarch[11] and his

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1 On the diocesan and cloister schools in Africa, Spain, Italy, and Gaul, remarks are made by Thomassinus, *De Disciplina Ecclesiæ*, tom. i. pt. ii. lib. ii. p. 21, &c.—*Schl.*

2 These comprised, 1st, the *Trivium*—namely, grammar, rhetoric, and logic; and 2d, the *Quadrivium*, or arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. See below, cent. xi. pt. ii. chap. i. sec. 5, p. 353.—*Mur.*

3 Passages from ancient writers in proof are collected by Launoi, *De varia Aristotelis Fortuna in Academia Parisiensi.*

4 See Augustine, *Confessiones*, lib. i. cap. ii. sec. i. *Opp.* tom. i. pages 105, 106.

5 See his *Epistolæ*, lib. iv. ep. iii. xi. and lib. ix. ep. ix. and others.

6 See Hasæus, *De Academia Jureconsultorum Berytensi*; and Zacharias Mitylen. *De Opificio Dei*, p. 164.

7 Zacharias Mitylen. *De Opificio Dei*, p. 179. [Among the moderns may be consulted Schmidt's Preface to Hyperius, *De Schola Alexandrina Catechetica*, Helmst. 1704, 8vo.; Dodwell ad fragmentum Philippi Sidetæ; at the end of his *Dissert. on Irenæus*; Thomassin, *De Discipl. Eccles.* tom i. p. i, lib. ii. cap. x. p. 210, &c; Michaëlis, *Exercit. de Scholæ Alexandrinæ sic dictæ Catecheticæ origine, progressu, et præcipuis doctoribus*; in tom. *Symbolar. Liter. Bremens.* p. 195, &c. and Bingham, *Antiq. Eccles.* book iii. chap. x. sec. 5.—*Schl.* [A few additional notices may be seen in Matter, *Hist. de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*, vol. i. periods v. and vi. and especially in Guericke, *De Schola Alex. Catechet.* Halle, 1824. The student will find in the *American Biblical Repository* for the year 1834 (vol. iv. of the series), a well-digested account of this famous school, of its several presidents and the religious doctrines taught in it, written by Prof. Emerson of Andover.—*R.*

8 Æneas Gazæus, in his *Theophrastus*, pages 6, 7, 16, &c. passim.; Zacharias Mitylen. *ubi supra*, pages 164, 179, 217, &c. and others.

9 See Note 6 above, p. 177.—*Mur.*

10 Marinus, *De Vita Procli*, cap. ix. p. 19, ed. Fabricii. [Hero was a preceptor of Proclus, and is the second of the three of his name mentioned by Brucker in his *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. ii. p. 323.—*Schl.*

11 This Plutarch, in distinction from the elder Plutarch, who was more of an historian than a philosopher, is denominated Plutarchus Nestorii, or Plutarch the son of Nestorius. See concerning him Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philos*, tom. ii. p. 312, &c.; Marinus, *De Vita Procli*, cap. xii. p. 27, and Suidas, article *Plutarch. Nestorii*, p. 133.—*Schl.*

successor, Syrianus,[1] with Theophrastus, procured for themselves fame and distinction. From them Proclus received instruction, became the chief of the Platonists of this century, and acquired for himself and for the species of wisdom which he professed so much celebrity among the Greeks, that he seems almost the second father of the system.[2] His disciples, Marinus of Neapolis, Ammonius the son of Hermias, Isidorus, Damascius, and others, followed eagerly in the footsteps of their instructor, and left many followers who copied their example. Yet the laws of the emperors and the continual advances of Christianity, gradually diminished very much the fame and the influence of these philosophers.[3] As there was a sufficient number now among the Christians who cultivated and were able to teach this species of learning so much confided in at that day, it naturally followed that fewer persons than formerly frequented the schools of these heathen sages.

6. But though the philosophy of Plato appeared to most persons more favourable to religion and better founded than that of Aristotle, yet the latter gradually emerged from its obscurity, and found its way into the hands of Christians. The Platonists themselves expounded some of the books of Aristotle in their schools, and particularly his *Dialectics*, which they recommended to such of their pupils as were fond of disputation. The Christians did the same in the schools in which they taught philosophy. This was the first step made by the Stagirite towards that universal empire which he afterwards obtained. Another and a more active cause was found in the Origenian, Arian, Eutychian, Nestorian, and Pelagian contests, which produced so much evil in the church during this century. Origen, as well known, was a Platonist. When therefore he fell under public censure, many, that they might not be accounted his adherents, applied themselves to the study of Aristotle, between whom and Origen there had been little or no connexion. In the Nestorian, Arian, and Eutychian controversies, both sides had recourse to the most subtile distinctions, divisions, and sophisms, and with these they were supplied by the philosophy of Aristotle and not at all by that of Plato, who never trained men to disputation. The Pelagian doctrine had great affinity with the opinions of Plato concerning God and the human soul. Many therefore ceased to be Platonists as soon as they perceived this fact, and suffered their names to be enrolled among the Peripatetics.

CHAPTER II.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH AND ITS TEACHERS.

1. FROM the operation of several causes the outward form of government in the church experienced some change. The power of the bishops, particularly of the higher orders, was sometimes augmented and sometimes diminished, according as times and circumstances altered; yet the caprice of the court and political considerations had more influence in this matter than any principles of ecclesiastical law. These changes however were of minor importance. Of much more consequence was the vast increase of honour and power acquired by the bishops of New Rome or Constantinople, in opposition to the most strenuous efforts of the bishop of ancient Rome. In the preceding century the council of Constantinople [A.D. 381] had conferred on the bishop of New Rome the second rank among the highest bishops of the world, on account of the dignity and prerogatives of the city where he presided. The Constantinopolitan bishops (with the consent no doubt of the court) had likewise extended their jurisdiction over the provinces of [proconsular] Asia, Thrace, and Pontus. In this century, with the consent of the emperors, they not only acquired the additional province of eastern Illyricum but likewise a great extension of their honours and prerogatives; for in the year 451 the council of Chalcedon, by their twenty-eighth canon, decreed that the bishop of New Rome ought to enjoy the same honours and prerogatives with the pontiff of ancient Rome, on account of the equal dignity and rank of the two cities;[4] and by a formal act they confirmed his jurisdiction over the provinces which he claimed. Leo the Great, bishop of ancient Rome, and some other prelates, strenuously resisted this decree, but in vain; for the Greek emperors supported the cause of their own bishops.[5] Subsequently to this council the

1 Concerning Syrianus, see Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. ii. p. 315.—*Schl.*

2 His life was written by Marinus, and was published with learned notes by Fabricius, Hamb. 1700, 4to. [See also Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. ii. p. 318, &c.—*Schl.*

3 See Æneas Gazæus, in his *Theophrastus*, pages 6, 7, 8, 13, ed. Barthii. [Among the moderns, Brucker (*Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. ii. p. 337) has treated of all these disciples of Proclus.—*Schl.*

4 Yet it appears from the words of the canon that the bishop of Constantinople, though made equal in power and authority with the bishop of Rome, was to yield to him a precedence in rank or honour; because New Rome took rank after her older sister, δευτέραν μετ' ἐκείνην ὑπάρχειν.—*Mur.*

5 Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* tom. i. p. 30, &c. [See also Walch, *Hist. der Kirchenversamm.* p. 310; and *Hist. der Päpste*, p. 106.—*Schl.* [And Bower, *Lives of the Popes*, vol. ii. pages 64—84, 4to.—*Mur.*

Constantinopolitan bishop began to contend fiercely for supremacy with the Roman bishop, and to encroach on the privileges of the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch. In particular, Acacius of Constantinople is said to have exceeded all bounds in his ambitious projects.[1]

2. It was nearly at the same time that Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, or rather of Ælia, attempted to withdraw himself and his church from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Cæsarea, and affected to rank among the chief prelates of the Christian world. His designs were rendered plausible by the high veneration entertained for the church of Jerusalem, as being not only founded and governed by apostles, but a continuation of the primitive church of Jerusalem, and in a sense the mother of all other churches. Therefore Juvenal, the emperor Theodosius junior favouring his designs, not only assumed the rank of independent bishop of the three Palestines or that of a patriarch, but likewise wrested Phœnicia and Arabia from the patriarchate of Antioch. And as this produced a controversy between him and Maximus, bishop of Antioch, the council of Chalcedon settled the dispute by restoring Arabia and Phœnicia to the see of Antioch, and leaving Juvenal in possession of the three Palestines,[2] with the title and rank which he had assumed.[3] In this manner there were five principal bishops over the Christian world created in this century, and distinguished from others by the title of patriarchs.[4] The oriental writers mention a sixth, namely, the bishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, to whom they say the bishop of Antioch voluntarily ceded a part of his jurisdiction;[5] but they can bring no proof except the Arabic decrees of the Nicene council, which are well known to have no authority.

3. These patriarchs had great prerogatives. To them belonged the consecration of the bishops of their respective provinces. They annually convoked councils of their districts to regulate and settle ecclesiastical affairs. If any great or difficult controversy arose, it was carried before the patriarch. The bishops accused of any offences were obliged to abide by his decision. And finally, to provide for the peace and good order of the remoter provinces of their patriarchates, they were allowed to place over them their own legates or vicars.[6] Other prerogatives of less moment are omitted. In fact however some episcopal sees were not subject to the patriarchs, for both in the East and in the West certain bishops were exempt from patriarchal jurisdiction, or were independent.[7] Moreover, the emperors who reserved to themselves the supreme power over the church listened readily to the complaints of those who thought themselves injured; and the councils also in which the majesty and the legislative power of the church resided, presented various obstacles to the arbitrary exercise of patriarchal power.

4. The constitution of ecclesiastical government was so far from contributing to the peace and prosperity of the Christian church, that it was rather the source of very great evils, and produced boundless dissensions and animosities. In the first place, the patriarchs who had power either to do much good or much evil, encroached without reserve upon the rights and privileges of their bishops, and thus gradually introduced a kind of spiritual bondage; and that they might do this with more freedom

[1] *Nouveau Diction. Hist. Crit.* tome i. artic. *Acacius*, p. 75, &c. [Mosheim here speaks incautiously; for in fact Acacius, when all circumstances are considered, was to be justified. See below, chap. v. sec. 21.—*Schl.*

[2] Concerning the three Palestines, see Carolus a S. Paulo, *Geographia Sacra*, p. 307, &c.

[3] Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* tom. iii. p. 110, &c.

[4] See the writers who have treated of the patriarchs, as enumerated by Fabricius, *Bibliograph. Antiquar.* cap. xiii. p. 453, &c. [See also note 2, p. 128, &c. of this volume.—*Mur.*

[5] Asseman, *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatic.* tom. i. pages 9, 13, &c.

[6] Blondell, *De la Primauté de l'Eglise*, chap. xxv. p. 332, &c.; Ruinart, *De Pallio Archi-Episcopali*, p. 445, tom. ii. of the *Opp. Posthuma* of Mabillon.

[7] Brerewood, *De Veteris Ecclesiæ Gubernatione Patriarchali*, a tract which is subjoined to Ussher's *Opuscula de Episcopor. et Metropolit. Origine*, Lond. 1687, and Bremen, 1701, 8vo, pages 56–85. [The metropolitans and bishops who were subject to no patriarch, were by the Greeks called αὐτοκέφαλοι. Of this description were the metropolitans of Bulgaria, Cyprus, Iberia, Armenia, and also of Britain, before the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons by the Romish monk Augustine. For the Britons had their archbishop of Caerleon (*Episcopus Caërlegionis super Osca*), who had seven bishops under him, but acknowledged no superintendence from the patriarch of Rome, and for a long time opposed him; and in Wales, as well as in Scotland and Ireland, this independence continued many centuries. The Church of Carthage was also properly subject to no other church; as appears from Leydecker's *Hist. Eccles. Africanæ*, and from the writings of Capell and others, *De Apellationibus ex Africa ad sedem Romanam*. Some common bishops likewise were subject to no metropolitan, but were under the immediate inspection of their patriarch. Thus the patriarch of Constantinople had thirty-nine bishops in his diocese, who were subject immediately to him; and the Romish patriarch had in all his countries (*e. g.* in Germany, at Bamberg and Fulda), bishops who were subject to no archbishop or primate, but dependent immediately on himself. There were also certain bishops who were subject neither to any archbishop nor to a patriarch; as was the case with the bishop of Tomis in Scythia, according to Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. cap. xxi. The churches in countries lying without the Roman empire at first had no bishops dependent on the bishops within the empire, as *e. g.* the churches in Persia, Parthia, and among the Goths; and these did not come under the power of Romish patriarchs, until they fell under the civil power of the Romans. Most of the conversions of pagans by missionaries from Rome, were in the western provinces of the empire. See Baumgarten's *Erläuterung der christl. Alterthums*, p. 158, &c.—*Schl.*

they made no resistance to the encroachment of the bishops on the ancient rights of the people. For the more the prerogatives and the honours of the bishops who were under their control were increased, the more was their own power enlarged. In the next place, they designedly excited dissensions and fomented controversies of bishops with one another and with other ministers of religion, and also of the people with the clergy, so that they might have frequent occasions to exercise their authority, be much appealed to, and have a multitude of clients around them. Moreover, that the bishops might not be without intestine foes, nor destitute of strenuous defenders of their authority, they drew over to their side the numerous tribe of monks who were gradually acquiring wealth, and attached them to their interests by the most ample concessions. And these monks contributed much—perhaps more than any other cause—to subvert the ancient discipline of the church, to diminish the authority of the bishops, and to increase beyond all bounds the power of their patrons.

5. To these evils must be added the rivalry and ambition of the patriarchs themselves, which gave birth to abominable crimes and the most destructive wars. The patriarch of Constantinople in particular, elated with the favour and the proximity of the imperial court, on the one hand subjected the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch to a subordination to himself, as if they were prelates of a secondary rank, and on the other hand he boldly attacked the Roman pontiff, and despoiled him of some of his provinces. The two former, from their lack of power and from other causes, made indeed but feeble resistance, though they sometimes caused violent tumults and commotions; but the Roman pontiff possessing much greater power and resources, fought with more obstinacy, and in his turn inflicted deadly wounds on the Byzantine prelate. Those who shall carefully examine the history of events among Christians from this period onward, will find that from these quarrels about precedence and the boundaries of their power among those who pretended to be the fathers and guardians of the church, chiefly originated those direful dissensions which first split the eastern church into various sects, and then severed it altogether from that of the West.

6. None of these ambitious prelates was more successful than the Romish patriarch. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Constantinopolitan bishop various causes enabled him to augment his power in no small degree, although he had not yet laid claim to the dignity of supreme law-giver and judge of the whole Christian church. In the East the Alexandrine and Antiochian patriarchs finding themselves unequal to contend with the patriarch of Constantinople, often applied to the Roman pontiff for aid against him,[1] and the same measures were adopted by the ordinary bishops, whenever they found the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch invading their rights. To all these the pontiff so extended his protection, as thereby to advance the supremacy of the Roman see. In the West the indolence and diminished power of the emperors left the bishop of the metropolis at full liberty to attempt whatever he pleased; and the conquests of the barbarians were so far from setting bounds to his domination that they rather advanced it. For these kings, caring for nothing but the establishment of their thrones, when they saw that the people obeyed implicitly the bishops, and that these were dependent almost wholly on the Roman pontiff, deemed it good policy to secure his favour by bestowing on him privileges and honours. Among all those who governed the see of Rome in this century, no one strove more vigorously and successfully to advance its authority than Leo, who is commonly surnamed the Great; but neither he nor the others could overcome all obstacles to their ambition. This is evident, among other examples, from that of the Africans, whom no promises nor threats could induce to consent to have their causes and controversies carried by appeal before the Roman tribunal.[2]

[1] This is illustrated, among other examples, by the case of John Talaia, patriarch of Alexandria, who being deposed (A.D. 482) applied to the Roman bishop Simplicius for protection. See Liberatus Diaconus, *Breviarium*, cap. xviii.—*Schl.* [And Bower, *Lives of the Popes*, vol. ii. p. 189, &c. 194.—*Mur.*

[2] Du Pin, *De Antiq. Eccles. Disciplina*, Diss. ii. p. 166, &c.; Leydecker, *Hist. Eccles. Africanæ*, tom. ii. Diss. ii. p. 505, &c. [A concise view of the steps by which the bishops of Rome mounted to the summit of their grandeur is thus given by Cramer, in his German translation of Bossuet's *Universal History*, vol. iv. p. 558, &c. as cited by Von Einem in a note on this page of Mosheim. They were appointed by the emperors to decide causes in the western churches; they encouraged appeals to themselves; they assumed the care of all the churches as if it were a part of their official duty; they appointed vicars in churches over which they had no jurisdiction; where they should have been only mediators they assumed to be judges; they required accounts to be sent them of the affairs of foreign churches; they endeavoured to impose the rites and usages of their own church upon all others as being of apostolic origin; they traced their own elevation from the pre-eminence of St. Peter; they maintained that their fancied prerogatives belonged to them by a divine right; they threatened with excommunication from the church those who would not submit to their decrees; they set up and deposed metropolitans in provinces over which they never legally had jurisdiction; and each successive pope was careful at least not to lose anything of the illegal usurpations of his predecessors, if he did not actually add to them. The truth of this representation is abundantly confirmed by the

7. Of the vices of the whole clerical order, their luxury, their arrogance, their avarice, their voluptuous lives, we have as many witnesses as we have writers of integrity and weight in this age, whose works have come down to us. The bishops, especially such as were distinguished for their rank and honours, employed various administrators to manage their affairs, and formed around themselves a kind of sacred court. The dignity of a presbyter was supposed to be so great that Martin of Tours did not hesitate to say, at a public entertainment, that the emperor himself was inferior to one of that order.[1] The deacons were taxed with their pride and their vices in many decrees of the councils.[2] These stains on the character of the clergy would have been deemed insufferable had not most of the people been sunk in superstition and ignorance, and had not all estimated the rights and privileges of Christian ministers by those of the ancient priests, both among the Hebrews and among the Greeks and Romans. The fierce and warlike tribes of Germans, who vanquished the Romans and divided the empire of the West among themselves, after they had embraced Christianity, could bear with the dominion and the vices of the bishops and the clergy, because they had before been subject to the domination of priests, and they supposed the Christian priests and ministers of religion possessed the same rights with their former idolatrous priests.[3]

8. This corruption among an order of men whose duty it was to inculcate holiness both by precept and example, will be less surprising when we consider that a great multitude of persons were everywhere admitted indiscriminately, and without examination, among the clergy, the greater part of whom had no other object than to live in idleness. And among these, very many were connected with no particular church or place, and had no regular employment, but roamed about at large, procuring a subsistence by imposing upon the credulity of others and sometimes by dishonourable artifices. Whence then, some may ask, came those numerous saints of this century, who are handed down to us by both the eastern and the western writers? I answer, they were canonized by the ignorance of the age. If any possessed some superiority of talents, if they excelled as writers or speakers, if they possessed dexterity in managing important affairs, or were distinguished for their self-government and the control of their passions, these persons, in an age of ignorance, appeared to those around them to be not men but gods; or, to speak more correctly, were considered as men divinely influenced and fully inspired.

9. The monks who had formerly lived for themselves, and who had not sought to rank among the clergy, gradually became a class distinct from the laity, and acquired such opulence and such high privileges that they could claim an honourable rank among the pillars of the church.[4] The reputation of this class of persons for piety and sanctity was so great, that very often when a bishop or a presbyter was to be elected he was chosen from among them;[5] and the erection of edifices in which monks and nuns might conveniently serve God was carried beyond all bounds.[6] They did not however all observe one and the same system of rules, but some followed the rules of Augustine, others those of Basil, and others those of Antony, or Athanasius, or Pachomius, &c.[7] Yet it

evidence of historical facts by various Protestant writers, and among others by Bower, in his *Lives of the Popes*, seven vols. 4to, &c.—*Mur.* [See a very valuable section (sec. 94.) on the Roman patriarchs and the western hierarchy, in Gieseler, *Lehrbuch*, &c. Davidson's Transl. vol. i. p. 430, &c.—*R.*

[1] Sulpitius Severus, *De Vita Martini*, cap. xx. p. 339, and Dial. ii. cap. vi. p. 457.

[2] See Blondell, *Apologia pro sententia Hieronymi de Episcopis et Presbyteris*, p. 140.

[3] That these pagan nations had been accustomed to treat their idolatrous priests with extraordinary reverence, is a fact well known. When they became Christians, they supposed they must show the same respect to the Christian priests. Of course they honoured their bishops and clergy as they had before honoured their Druids; and this reverence disposed them to bear patiently with their vices. Every Druid was accounted a very great character, and was feared by every one; but the Chief Druid was actually worshipped. When these people became Christians they supposed that the bishop of Rome was such a Chief Druid, and that he must be honoured accordingly. And this was one cause why the Roman pontiff obtained in process of time such an ascendancy in the western countries. The patriarch of Constantinople rose indeed to a great elevation, but he never attained the high rank and authority of the Roman patriarch. The reason was, that the people of the East had not the same ideas of the dignity of a Chief Priest as the people of the West had. The eastern clergy also practised excommunication as a punishment of transgressors, but it never had such an influence in the East as it had in the West; and for this reason, that the effects of a pagan exclusion from religious privileges never were so great in the East as in the West. The effects in the latter are described by Julius Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, lib. vi. cap. xiii. n. 6, &c. "Si quis aut *privatus* aut *populus* eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Hæc pœna apud eos est *gravissima*. Quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur; ab iis omnes decedunt, aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant: neque iis petentibus jus redditur, neque honos ullus communicatur."—*Schl.*

[4] Epiphanius, *Exposit. Fidei, Opp.* tom. i. p. 1094. Mabillon, *Réponse aux Chanoines réguliers, Opp. Posthum.* tome ii. p. 115.

[5] Sulpitius Severus, *De Vita Martini*, cap. x. p. 320. Add, *Dial.* i. cap. xxi. p. 426.

[6] Sulpitius Severus, *Dial.* i. p. 419; Noris, *Hist. Pelagiana*, lib. ii. cap. iii. in *Opp.* tom. i. p. 272; *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome ii. p. 35.

[7] A monk was one who professed wholly to renounce this world with all its cares and pleasures, and to make religion his sole business. The particular manner in which he proposed to employ himself was called his

must have been the fact, that they were all very remiss and negligent in the observance of their rules, since the licentiousness of monks was even in this century become proverbial,[1] and these armies of lazy men, we are told, excited in various places dreadful seditions. From the enactments of the councils of this century it clearly appears that all monks of every sort were under the protection of the bishops in whose dioceses they lived, nor did the patriarchs as yet arrogate to themselves any jurisdiction over them.[2]

10. Among the Greek and oriental writers of this century the most distinguished was Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, very famous for his different controversies and writings. No impartial person will divest him of all praise, yet no good man will excuse his quarrelsome temper, his restless spirit, and his very great transgressions.[3] Next to him must be placed Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, an eloquent, copious, and learned writer, whose merits in every branch of theological learning are by no means contemptible, although he is said to have imbibed some part of the Nestorian doctrine.[4]

rule. The early monks of the third century were all Eremites or hermits—that is, they retired from all human society and lived in solitude in the deserts and mountains. Such in particular were the Egyptian monks. In the fourth century they became so numerous in Egypt as to turn their favourite desert into a populous country; and St. Antony, a leading man among them, induced great numbers to adopt his particular rule. Pachomius about the same time organised the monks of Tabennesis into a kind of society, and henceforth most monks became associated hermits, having separate cells, but living under chiefs called abbots. Basil the Great improved on the plan of Pachomius by erecting houses in different parts of the country, in which monks might live together in a kind of family state. He also made his monasteries schools for the cultivation of sacred learning. Athanasius according to some (see note 4, p. 147, above), while resident in Italy, taught the people of that country how to form and regulate these associations of monks. And Augustine first established a kind of monastery in his native town in Africa; and afterwards when bishop of Hippo, he and some of his clergy formed an association for religious purposes which gave rise to the regular Canons, a species of clergy whose private life was that of monks. During the fifth century the passion for monastic life was very great, and monks and nuns became extremely numerous in the West as well as the East. Yet hitherto there had not been required of monks any vows of perpetual celibacy, poverty, and obedience, nor of adherence for ever to any one rule of life; but every one was free to continue a monk or not, and to pass from one society or class of monks to another at his option. Different monasteries had different rules, according to the will of their founders or governors; but in all the written rules, if they had any, were few and simple, the abbots possessing despotic power over their little kingdoms. The diversity which now prevailed among the monasteries as to their rules, is described by Father Mabillon, *Annales Benedictini*, lib. i. sec. xiii. tom. i. p. 6, &c.—*Mur.*

1 Sulpitius Severus, *Dial.* i. cap. viii. p. 399, &c.

2 See Launoi, *Inquisitio in Chartam Immunitatis B. Germani*, in his *Opp.* tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 3, &c. 38, &c. In the ancient records posterior to this century, the monks are often called (*clerici*) clergymen. See Mabillon, *Præfatio ad Sæcul.* ii. *Actor. Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* p. 14. And this is evidence that they now began to be ranked among the clergy, or ministers of the church.

3 The works of Cyril were published by Aubertus, at Paris, 1638, six vols. [in seven parts] folio. [Cyrillus was nephew to Theophilus and his successor in the chair of Alexandria, from A.D. 412 to 444. Soon after his election he persecuted the Novatians, assumed the direction of political affairs, quarrelled with Orestes, the governor of Egypt; and is said to have occasioned several insurrections and much bloodshed at Alexandria, to have instigated the murder of Hypatia, an eminent female philosopher, and to have pulled down the Jews' synagogue, plundered it, and chased the Jews from the city. See Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. cap. vii. xiii. xiv. xv. and Damasius, in Suidas, *Lex.* voce *Ὑπατία*. From the year 329 he was the most zealous and efficient opposer of Nestorius and his doctrines, wrote against him, condemned his doctrines in a synod at Alexandria in his noted twelve chapters, presided in the council of Ephesus, where Nestorius was condemned and deposed, A.D. 431. His zeal against Nestorius drew on himself deposition by some oriental bishops, but he was soon restored. With the bishop of Rome he was always on the most friendly terms. He was certainly a man of talents, and his voluminous writings display much acuteness and learning, though the style is unpolished and not very clear. More than half of them are expositions of the Scriptures—viz. of the Pentateuch, Isaiah, the minor prophets, and the Gospel of John. The others are polemic treatises against Arians, Nestorians, and others, who erred in respect to the Trinity and the person of Christ, ten books against Julian, about fifty sermons, and near sixty letters. See his life in Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xviii. pages 313—354.—*Mur.* [See also an ample notice of his life and extant works by Doctor S. Davidson, in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biog.* vol. i. p. 917, &c. It might have been stated there that Cardinal Mai has published in the eighth vol. of his valuable *Script. Veterum nova Collectio*, Rome, 1838, several works by Cyril not previously extant, consisting of treatises against the Nestorian errors, letters, and fragments of commentaries on Matthew and the Hebrews; with the Greek text of a few things extant only in a Latin version. An elaborate life of this father and saint may be seen in that copious repository of truth and fiction, the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, under the date of Jan. 28. Oudin has also a dissertation on his life and writings in his *Comment de Script. Ecc.* vol. i. p. 1007.—*R.*

4 For a fine edition of the whole works of Theodoret we are indebted to the Jesuit Sirmond, who edited them at Paris, 1642, in four volumes, folio. The Jesuit Garnier afterwards added a fifth volume, Paris, 1685, folio. [Theodoret or Theodorit was born at Antioch about the year 386, of wealthy and pious parents, who named him Theodoretus, given of God. When not quite seven years old he was placed in a neighbouring monastery for education, where he had for associates Nestorius and John, who became the patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch; and for instructors, Theodorus, bishop of Mopsuestia, and Chrysostom, from whom he learned eloquence and sacred literature. He became early pious, was made first lector and then deacon in the church of Antioch, and in the year 420 was ordained bishop of Cyrus, a considerable city in Syria near the Euphrates, where he is said to have had the charge of 800 churches. The country was overrun with anti-trinitarian sectarians and with Marcionites, of whom he nearly purged his diocese, having as he says baptized no less than 10,000 Marcionites. In the year 429 his early friend Nestorius broached his errors respecting the person of Christ, and was condemned by Cyril of Alexandria. Theodoret espoused the cause of his friend, which involved him in a quarrel with Cyril as long as they lived. He was one of those who, in the year 431, deposed Cyril at Ephesus, for which he was sent home in disgrace by the emperor Theodosius jun. Cyril died in 444, and Theodoret expressed his joy at the event, which so enraged the emperor that he confined him to his house. In 449 he was deposed in the second synod of Ephesus, and applied to the bishop of Rome, who now espoused his cause. Theodosius died in 450, and his successor restored Theodoret to his see; and afterwards summoned him to be a member of the council of Chalcedon in 451, where he professed his orthodoxy, and was reluctantly brought to condemn Nestorius. After this, returning to his diocese, he devolved

Isidorus of Pelusium has left us epistles, which display more piety, ingenuity, erudition, and judgment, than the bulky volumes of some others.[1] Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, has left us very little in writing, but has perpetuated his name by his opposition to Origen and his followers.[2] Palladius, on account of his *Lausiac History* and his *Life of Chrysostom*, deserves a place among the more respectable and useful writers.[3] Notwithstanding Theodorus of Mopsuestia was accused after his death of the grossest errors, yet every one who has examined the extracts from his writings by Photius, will regret that his works are either entirely lost or exist only in Syriac among the Nestorians.[4] Nilus

most of his episcopal duties on Hypatius, and devoted himself to writing books till the year 457, when he died, aged about seventy-one. He was frank, open-hearted, ingenuous, had elevated views and feelings, was resolute and unbending, yet generous, sympathetic, and ardently pious. His learning was great, his genius good, and his productions among the best of that age. All his works, Greek and Latin, with notes, were republished by Schulze, Halle, 1768—74, in five volumes, in *nine*, 8vo. See his life in Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xviii. pages 355—432.—*Mur.* [See also Oudin, *De Script. Eccles.* vol. i. p. 1051; Holzhausen, *De fontibus quibus Socrates, Sozomenus et Theodoretus in scrib. Hist. Sac. usi sunt.* Gott. 1825, 4to. His Ecclesiastical History has been translated into English, and forms one of Bagster's series of the *Greek Ecclesiastical Historians.*— *R.*

[1] The best edition of these letters is that of the Jesuit Schott, Paris, 1638, fol. [Isidorus was probably a native of Alexandria, but he spent his life in a monastery near Pelusium, now Damietta, on one of the mouths of the Nile, and hence his surname of Pelusiota. He flourished about A.D. 412, but was active and conspicuous from the year 388 to 431. As a monk he was very austere in his mode of living, and retiring from the noise and bustle of the world he devoted himself to reading and expounding the Scriptures, and to the practice and the promotion of piety and virtue. He chose the epistolary form of writing, and has left us two thousand and thirteen short letters which are divided into five books. In most of them a question is proposed and answered by the exposition of a text of Scripture. The object is to expound the Scriptures, and to inculcate the doctrines and duties of religion. He was an admirer of Chrysostom, and of course had difficulty with Theophilus and Cyril, the patriarchs of Alexandria. But he feared no man, whenever he thought duty called him to defend truth or to censure vice.—*Mur.* [It is singular that Mosheim took no notice of the dissertation of Heumann of Gottingen, published in 1737, impugning the genuineness of many of these letters. An account of Isidore's method of interpretation may be seen in Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics*, p. 147, &c. There is a recent work on the life and writings of this father, by Niemeyer, Halle, 1825, 8vo. See Danz, *Biblio. Patrist.* p. 83.—*R.*

[2] See Renaudot, *Hist. Patriar. Alexand.* p. 103. [Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria from the year 385 to the year 412, was a man of a strong, active, courageous mind, but crafty, unscrupulous, selfish, and ambitious. He probably spent some of his early years among the monks of Nitria. Afterwards he became a presbyter of Alexandria, wrote a Paschal Cycle in 380, and was made bishop in 385. In the year 388, when Theodosius senior waged war in Italy upon Maximus the usurper, Theophilus sent his legate, Isidorus, to Rome with letters and presents for both emperors, but with instructions to await the issue of the battle, and then to present only the letter and presents directed to the victor (Sozomen, *H. E.* viii. 2). In the year 391 he solicited and obtained of the emperor leave to persecute the pagans of Alexandria, and proceeded to demolish their temples and seize whatever was valuable in them. Insurrections, and bloodshed, and the flight of the philosophers from Egypt, were the consequence. (Socrates, *H. E.* v. cap. xvi.) The major part of the ignorant monks of Nitria had so gross ideas of the supreme Being, as to suppose he literally had eyes and feet and hands, and were therefore called Anthropomorphites. But the better informed monks held that these expressions were to be taken metaphorically, as Origen had always interpreted them. And thus this controversy resolved itself into a contest respecting Origen's correctness as a theologian. At first Theophilus favoured the Origenists, but the Anthropomorphites came upon him tumultuously about the year 399, and compelled him to change sides. From this time he was a zealous persecutor of all Origenists (notwithstanding he continued to read and admire his works), and actually made a bloody crusade against those Nitric monks who opposed the Anthropomorphites, drove them from Egypt, and followed them with persecution, and also all who befriended them—in particular Chrysostom, whom he deposed in the year 403. See Socrates, *H. E.* vi. vii.—xvii; Sozomen, viii. xi.—xix. His works are not numerous, and have never been collected and published by themselves. They consist of three Paschal Letters or Episcopal Charges, several letters, and considerable extracts from different polemic treatises.—*Mur.* [His extant works are collected and published by Gallandius in Greek and Latin, in his *Bibliotheca Vet. Patrum.* vol. vii. No. xix.—*R.*

[3] Palladius was born in Galatia, in the year 368. In his twentieth year he went to Egypt, and spent several years among different tribes of monks. The failure of his health obliged him to return from the wilderness to Alexandria, and thence to Palestine. In the year 400 Chrysostom made him bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia, which he exchanged some years after for Aspona in Galatia. The time of his death is unknown, but it is supposed to have been before A.D. 431. Palladius was a man of moderate talents and erudition, but pious, a devoted monk, and a perspicuous, unassuming writer. His works are: 1. *Historia Lausiaca seu de SS. Patrum Vitis ad Lausum cubiculi Præfectum*, (Biography of thirty of the most famous monks) written about the year 421; edited Greek and Latin by Fronto le Duc, in his *Auctarium Biblioth. Patr.* tom. ii. pages 803—1053, Paris, 1624, fol. Some additions were afterwards published by Cotelier, *Monument. Eccl. Gr.* tom. iii. Several Latin translations are extant, often published. 2d. *Dialogus de Vita S. Johan. Chrysostomi inter Palladium Episc. Hellenopolitanum et Theodorum*, first published Greek and Latin by Bigot, Paris, 1680, and again 1738, 4to, with some other works. Whether the Palladius who wrote this was the same as the author of the *Lausiac History* has been questioned. 3d. *De Gentibus Indiæ et Brachmannis* is extant under his name, but it is not supposed to be genuine.—*Mur.*

[4] See Assemani, *Biblioth. Oriental. Clement. Vatic.* tom. iii. p. ii. p. 227 [and *ibid.* pt. i. pages 3—362, where we have Ebed Jesu's catalogue of his works.—Theodorus was born and educated at Antioch, where he was some time a presbyter, and where he and Chrysostom instructed youth in a monastery, and had for pupils Theodoret, the famous Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, and John, patriarch of Antioch. In the year 392 he was made bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, where he spent thirty-six years with great reputation as a preacher, a bishop, and especially as an author. After his death, which happened in the year 428, he was accused of Nestorian and likewise of Pelagian sentiments, and was condemned as a heretic in the fifth general council at Constantinople A.D. 553. His writings were very numerous, embracing literal expositions of nearly the whole Bible, elaborate polemic works against the Arians, Eunomians, Apollinarists, &c. with many sermons and epistles, and a liturgy. A Latin translation of the last is in Renaudot, *Liturgiar. Oriental. Collectio*, tom. ii. pages 616—625. His *Expositio Fidei* entire, with copious extracts from many of his other works, is extant in the acts of the fifth general council in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. iii. In the works of Marius Mercator and of other fathers, in the *Catenæ Patrum*, especially the *Catena in Octateuchum*, Lips. 1772, two vols. fol. and in Münter's *Fragmenta Patr. Gr.* Fascic. i. p. 79, &c. Copenhag. 1788, 8vo. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xv. pages 176—218; and Lardner, *Credibility*, &c. vol. ix. p. 389, &c.—*Mur.* [In the sixth volume of Cardinal Mai's *Script. Veter.*

composed many works calculated to excite religious emotions, but more commendable for the pious intentions of the writer than for his accuracy and diligence.[1] Our designed brevity obliges us to pass over what might be worthy of notice in Basil of Seleucia,[2] Theodotus of Ancyra,[3] Gelasius of Cyzicus,[4] and others.[5]

11. Among the Latin writers the first place is due to the Roman pontiff, Leo I. surnamed the Great, a man of eloquence and genius, but immoderately devoted to

Vatic. nova Collectio, Rome, 1832, p. 5, &c. there is published for the first time the Greek text of a commentary by this father on the twelve minor prophets. It had long been known to exist in manuscript in several public libraries, and among others in the Vatican; and thus the hope expressed by Lardner nearly a century ago that it might one day be published, has at length been realised See his *Credibility*, chap. cxiii. *Works*, vol. iv. p. 397.—*R*

[1] Nilus was born of a noble family at Constantinople, where he was prefect of the city. Under the preaching of Chrysostom he became pious, renounced the world, separated from his wife, and taking one of his two sons with him retired among the monks of Egypt, where he spent the remainder of his days. By robbers he lost all his property and had his son captured; but he recovered his son. He was made a presbyter, and probably lived till near the middle of this century. His numerous writings have been read with pleasure by the lovers of monastic piety. His three hundred and fifty-five epistles were published, Greek and Latin, by Leo Allatius, Rome, 1668, fol.; and his *Opuscula* (twenty-one treatises on moral and ascetic subjects), Greek and Latin, by Suares, Rome, 1673, fol.—*Mur.*

[2] Basil was bishop of Seleucia in Isauria before the year 448, and continued so till after the year 458. He possessed some talents, but he was an unstable man. In the council of Constantinople, A.D. 448, he voted with the orthodox, and condemned Eutyches. The next year, in the council of Ephesus, he openly sided with the Eutychians and anathematized the orthodox. And two years after, in the council of Chalcedon, he appeared again on the orthodox side, and said he had been compelled to act with the Eutychians; but he had much difficulty to persuade the orthodox of his sincerity, and to allow him his episcopal office.—His works were published, Greek and Latin, subjoined to those of Gregory Thaumaturgus and Macarius the monk, Paris, 1622, fol. They consist of orations, of which seventeen are on the Old Testament and twenty-six on the New, written in a lofty style and tolerably perspicuous, but excessively flowery. The *Demonstration* that Christ has come against the Jews, founded on the seventy weeks of Daniel, and the two books on the *Life of St. Thecla*, the virgin and martyr, though printed among his works, are supposed not to be genuine.—*Mur.*

[3] Theodotus, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, flourished about the year 430. Little is known of him, except that he acted a conspicuous part in the council of Ephesus, which condemned Nestorius in the year 431. Three orations which he delivered at Ephesus are extant, Greek and Latin, among the acts of that council, *Concilia*, tom. iii. pages 988, 1008, 1024. Another of his orations was published with the works of Amphilochius, Paris, 1644. His *Exposition of the Nicene Creed*, or *Confutation of Nestorius*, was published, Greek and Latin, by Combefis, Paris, 1675, 12mo. Theodotus in the close of the last mentioned work refers to his three books *on the Holy Spirit*, which are lost, as are his seven books against Nestorius addressed to Lausus. He has been accounted a good polemic writer.—*Mur.*

[4] Gelasius Cyzicenus was a native of Cyzicus, an island in the Propontis, where his father was a presbyter. He flourished about A.D. 476, and was bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine. He is known chiefly by his *History of the Nicene Council*, or as the Greek MSS. style it, his *Ecclesiastical History*, in three books. The first book contains the affairs of Constantine till the death of Licinius in 324. The second contains subsequent events, the calling of the council, and its transactions, especially the disputes of the philosophers and Arians with the Nicene fathers. The third book, now lost, contained the subsequent life and deeds of Constantine. As for the sources from which he drew his information, he tells us that when a boy at Cyzicus he met with an old MS. history of the Nicene council written by one Dalmatius, a former bishop of Cyzicus; that he then made large extracts from it, and many years after composed his history from these extracts and from the writings of Eusebius, Rufinus, &c. This work of Gelasius, once in high repute, is now little esteemed; in particular, the account of the disputes of the philosophers and Arians, which constitute the greater part of the second book, are considered very questionable. The two surviving books were published, Greek and Latin, by R. Balfour, Paris, 1599, 8vo, and in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. i.—*Mur.*

[5] The Greek and oriental writers, passed by in silence by Mosheim, are very numerous. As some knowledge of them is useful and indeed necessary for a theologian, a tolerably complete catalogue of them, extracted from Cave's *Historia Literaria*, is here subjoined.

Asterius, bishop of Amasea in Pontus, flourished about A.D. 401, an eloquent and popular preacher. More than twenty of his homilies are published by Combefis and Cotelier, *Mon. Ecc. Græc.* tom. ii.

Marcus, a monk of Nitria in Egypt, flourished A.D. 401. Seven tracts on practical piety, written with great simplicity, are extant in Fronto le Duc, *Auctar. Biblioth Patr.* tom. i.

Victor of Antioch, a contemporary of Chrysostom, wrote a commentary on Mark's Gospel, extant, Latin, in the *Bibloth. Patrum.* tom. iv. p. 370.

Severianus, bishop of Gabala in Syria, flourished A.D. 401, a turgid writer but a popular preacher. Twelve of his orations are extant among the works of Chrysostom.

Heraclides, a monk of Constantinople, flourished A.D. 402. He wrote *Paradisus* or Lives of the Monks, much of which is copied into the Lausiac history of Palladius, and the remainder was published by Cotelier, *Monument. Eccl. Gr.* tom. iii.

Atticus, bishop of Constantinople A.D. 406—427, an enemy of Chrysostom, but famed for learning, address, and piety. Two of his letters and some fragments are extant.

Polychronius, bishop of Apamea, flourished A.D. 410—427, was brother to Theodorus of Mopsuestia. His exposition of the Canticles and fragments of his Commentary on Ezekiel and Daniel are extant.

Nonnus, a converted pagan poet of Egypt, flourished A.D. 410. His *Dionysiaca*, written before his conversion, has been often published, *e.g.* Hanover, 1605, 8vo. His poetic version of John's Gospel was published, Greek and Latin, by Heinsius, 1627, 8vo, and his *Collectio et Explicatio Historiarum*, by R. Montague, Eton, 1610, 4to. He was a scholar, but a turgid writer.

Synesius, a philosopher, statesman, poet, and after A.D. 410 bishop of Ptolemais in Cyrene, Africa, a man of fine talents, and a devoted bishop, but more of a philosopher than theologian Besides several treatises, philosophical, political, and historical, he has left us one hundred and fifty-five epistles, ten hymns, and some sermons, all published, Greek and Latin, by Petavius, Paris, 1612 and 1633, fol. [This writer is entitled to a more lengthened notice. See the works and references relating to him in Danz's edition of Walch's *Bibl. Patrist.* p. 82. See also Clausen, *De Synesio Philosopho*, Copen. 1831, 8vo. A few of his poems have been translated into English by H. S. Boyd, Lond. 1814, 8vo. They have also been translated into French by Percheron, Paris, 1581; and recently by MM. Gregoire and Collombet, 2d edit. Paris, 1839, with a memoir of Synesius' life prefixed.—*R.*

Philip of Side in Pamphylia, a friend of Chrysostom, and candidate for the see of Constantinople in 427. He wrote a religious history from the creation to his own times, a tedious work, of which only extracts remain.

Eudocia, a learned Athenian lady, born A.D. 401, converted to Christianity at twenty, and soon after married to the emperor Theodosius II. proclaimed empress in 432, divorced for a slight cause in 445, then retired to Jerusalem and spent her life in works of charity and beneficence, and in composing *Centones Homerici*, poetic paraphrases of the Bible, and other religious poems. She died A.D. 459, aged fifty-eight. [Her name was Athenais. See her life in Smith's *Dict.*

of Greek and Rom. Biog. vol. ii. p. 78, where it might have been stated that her poem on the martyrdom of Cyprian, mentioned by Photius and long considered as lost, had been published by Bandini, in the first volume of his *Græcæ Eccles. Vet. Mon.* Flor. 1762.—*R.*

Philostorgius, born in Cappadocia A.D. 368, well educated at Constantinople, a Eunomian or semi-Arian in principle. He composed about the year 425 an *Ecclesiastical History*, extending from the first rise of Arianism to A.D. 425. The work itself is lost, but an epitome of it by Photius was edited by Valesius among the Greek ecclesiastical historians. His work was partial to the Arians, and is censured by Photius and others.

Sabinus, bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, flourished A.D. 425. He was of the sect of Macedonius, and published a collection of the acts of the councils from A.D. 325 to 425. The work is lost, except some extracts preserved by Socrates and others.

John, bishop of Antioch A.D. 427—441. He at first supported his early friend Nestorius, but afterwards abandoned him and his sect. Six of his epistles are extant, Gr. and Lat in the *Concilia*, tom. iii. and fifteen more, Latin, in Lupus's Collection of Ephesine Epistles.

Nestorius, presbyter at Antioch and bishop of Constantinople, A.D. 428—431. As a bishop he was very zealous to suppress all the prevailing heresies; but he soon incurred the charge of heresy himself, by maintaining that in the person of Christ the two natures were not so united as to form but one person, and that it was improper to call Mary Θεοτόκος the mother of God, though she might be called Χριστοτόκος the mother of Christ. For this opinion he was condemned and deposed in the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. Afterwards the emperor confined him to a monastery near Antioch, and then banished him to the deserts of Egypt, where he wandered several years, suffered much, and at last died. He was a popular preacher and an active bishop, but, according to Socrates (*H. E.* viii. xxxii.), not a very profound man. Besides numerous extracts from various of his works, several entire epistles and some sermons are extant in the *Concilia*, in Lupus's collection of Ephesine epistles, and in the works of Chrysostom, Mercator, &c.

Meletius, bishop of Mopsuestia, A.D. 428 and onwards, a staunch Nestorian, deposed and banished for this heresy. Eleven of his epistles are in Lupus's Ephesine Epistles.

Isaac, a converted Jew, flourished A.D. 430, author of a treatise on the Trinity and the incarnation of Christ in bad Greek, extant among the *Opuscula Veterum dogmatica* published by Sirmond, Paris, 1630, 8vo.

Acacius, a monk and bishop of Berœa, from about 378 to 436. He was a man in high repute and has left us three epistles.

Acacius, bishop of Melitene in Armenia, a staunch opposer of Nestorius in the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. A homily he delivered there and an epistle are extant in the *Concilia*, tom. iii. and in Lupus's Ephesine Epistles.

Dorotheus, bishop of Martianopolis in Mœsia, a bold defender of Nestorius at Ephesus, A.D. 431, and therefore deposed and at last banished. Four of his epistles are in the Ephesine collection.

Alexander, bishop of Hierapolis in Syria, a defender of Nestorius at Ephesus, A.D. 431, and therefore deposed and banished. He has twenty-three epistles in the Ephesine collection.

Maximinus, bishop of Anazarbum in Cilicia, a defender of Nestorius at Ephesus, A.D. 431, but afterwards renounced him. He has three epistles in the Ephesine collection.

Helladius, for sixty years abbot of a monastery near Antioch, and then bishop of Tarsus. While a bishop he defended Nestorius in the council of Ephesus, and for some time after, but at length renounced him. Six of his epistles are in the Ephesine collection.

Eutherius, archbishop of Tyanea, defended Nestorius in the council of Ephesus, though not a Nestorian in sentiment. He was deposed and banished. Five of his epistles are extant in the Ephesine collection, and seventeen of his sermons against various heresies, Gr. and Lat. among the works of Athanasius.

Paul, bishop of Emesa, a defender of Nestorius in the Ephesine council, but who afterwards retracted. He has left us a confession of his faith, two homilies, and an epistle.

Andreas, bishop of Samosata, a defender of Nestorius from the year 429 to 436, when he renounced him. He has eight epistles in the Ephesine collection.

Proclus, amanuensis to Chrysostom and to Atticus, and the bishop of Constantinople, A.D. 432—446. He was a very pious man, a good scholar, and a popular preacher. His works, consisting of twenty sermons and six epistles, were published, Gr. and Lat. by Ricardi, Rome, 1630, 4to.

Ibas, from about A.D. 436, bishop of Edessa. He was accused of Nestorianism and acquitted in 448, but was accused again and condemned in 449, and restored in 451. The greater part of a valuable letter of his, containing a history of the Nestorian contests, is extant, Gr. and Lat. in the *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 661.

Socrates, Scholasticus or a barrister, flourished at Constantinople, A.D. 440. He composed a faithful *Ecclesiastical History* from the accession of Constantine the Great to A.D. 439, which is edited by Valesius, among the Greek Eccl. Historians [and an English translation is in the English edition of Eusebius in folio, and in *Bagsters' Greek Ecc. Historians.*—*R.*

Hermias Sozomenus, also a Constantinopolitan barrister and an author of an *Ecclesiastical History*, from A.D. 324 to A.D. 439. He is a more vivacious writer than Socrates, but is deemed less judicious. Yet writing after Socrates, he has supplied some of his deficiencies. The work was edited by Valesius among the Greek Ecclesiastical Historians. [And an English translation is published in Bagster's *Greek Ecc. Historians.* The student will see a critical examination of the work of this and the preceding historian, in Holzhausen, *De Fontibus quibus Socrates, Sozomenus, ac Theodoretus in scrib. Hist. Sac. usi sunt, adjuncta eorum epicrisi.* See also Dowling on the *Study of Ecclesiastical History* p. 28, &c.—*R.*

Irenæus, Count of the empire and the emperor's commissioner at the council of Ephesus in 431. He favoured the Nestorians in that council, and defended their cause all his life, and therefore was excluded the court in 435, became bishop of Tyre in 444, was deposed by the emperor in 448, and then commenced writing a copious Memoir of the Ephesine council and of ecclesiastical affairs in the East for about twenty years. The work is lost, except the old Latin translation of certain parts of it, which was published by Lupus, Louvain, 1682, 4to, under the title of *Variorum Patrum Epistolæ ad Concilium Ephesinum Pertinentes*, [referred to in previous notes as the Collection of Ephesine Epistles.—*R.*

Flavianus, bishop of Constantinople, A.D. 447—449. He has left us two Epistles and a Creed, extant in Baluze, *Nova Collect. Conciliorum.*

Eutyches, the heretic, a presbyter of Constantinople. He so opposed Nestorianism as to confound the two natures as well as the two persons of Christ. This error he broached in the year 448. He was condemned the same year, appealed to a general council, and was again condemned in 451. A confession of his faith with a few of his letters is extant.

Eusebius, first a civilian at Constantinople and then bishop of Dorylæum in Phrygia. He was the public accuser of Nestorius, of Eutyches, and of Dioscorus, from the year 430 to 451. His Libels and some other of his documents are extant.

Diadochus, bishop of Photice in Epirus, flourished A.D. 450. He has left us some treatises on practical religion, edited in Greek at Florence, 1578, and Latin in *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. v.

Euthalius, a deacon in Egypt, flourished perhaps A.D. 458. He wrote an analytical Introduction to the books of the New Testament, published, Gr. and Lat. by Zacagnius, Rome, 1698, 4to.

Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, A.D. 471—488, very ambitious and active for the aggrandisement of his see. He has left us only two Epistles.

Nestorianus, a Greek chronographer who flourished about the year 474. He wrote *Lives of the Roman Emperors*, to A.D. 474. The work was highly commended by John Malala, but it is lost.

Johannes Ægeates, a Nestorian, flourished A.D. 483, or later, and wrote an *Ecclesiastical History*, of which (says Photius) the first five books reached from A.D. 428 to 479. Only some extracts of it remain.

Sabas, a Syrian monk and abbot, born in 439, died 531. He wrote a Typicum or the order of prayer for the whole year, which was adopted in all the monasteries about Jerusalem, and is still extant.

Justin, a bishop in Sicily, A.D. 484, author of some Epistles and (as Dodwell supposes) of the *Quæstiones ad Orthodoxos*, published among the works of Justin Martyr.

Æneas Gazæus, a sophist and a Platonist and then a

the extension of the limits of his power.[1] Orosius acquired fame by his *History*, written with a view to confute the cavils of the pagans, and by his books against the Pelagians and Priscillianists.[2] Cassian, an illiterate and superstitious man, by his oral communications, his writings, and his Institutes, instructed the Gauls in the mode of living pursued by the monks of Syria and Egypt, and was a leading teacher among those denominated semi-Pelagians.[3] The Homilies of Maximus of Turin, which are still extant, are short but generally neat and pious.[4] Eucherius of Lyons ranks not

Christian, flourished about A.D. 488. He was the author of a noted dialogue entitled *Theophrastus*, or on the immortality of souls and the resurrection of the body, ed. Gr. and Lat. by Barth, Lips. 1658, 4to.

Athanasius junior or Celetes, bishop of Alexandria A.D. 490—497, a fine biblical scholar, an active and good bishop, and a devout man. He is supposed to be the author of several of the words ascribed to Athanasius the Great, and published as such—namely, 1. *Sacræ Scripturæ Synopsis*; 2. *Quæstiones et Responsiones ad Antiochum*; 3. the two tracts, *De Incarnatione Verbi Dei*; 4. *Syntagma Doctrinæ ad Clericos et Laicos*; 5. *De Virginitate sive Ascesi*.

Zacharias, a rhetorician, flourished A.D. 491. He wrote an Ecclesiastical History from A.D. 450—491, which is often quoted as well as censured for partiality, by Evagrius in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

Eustathius of Syria flourished A.D. 496. He wrote *Chronicorum Compendium*, from Æneas to Anastasius, or A.D. 496, which is lost.

Malchus, a Byzantine sophist, flourished A.D. 496. He composed a Roman history from Constantine the Great to the emperor Anastasius. Two large extracts only are extant.

Basil of Cilicia, first a presbyter at Antioch and then bishop of Irenopolis in Cilicia, flourished A.D. 497. He wrote an Ecclesiastical History extending from A.D. 450 to A.D. 527; also *contra Johannem Scythopolitanum*, accusing him of Manichæism. Neither work is extant.

Candidus, a scrivener to the governors of the province of Isauria, flourished A.D. 496. He wrote *Historiarum libri* iii. extending from A.D. 457 to A.D. 491. Some extracts by Photius are all that remain.

Andreas, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, flourished about A.D. 500. He wrote a Commentary on the Apocalypse, which is extant, Gr. and Lat. inter *Opp.* Chrysostomi, tom. xii. ed. Morell.; also *Therapeutica Spiritualis*, of which only some fragments remain.—*Mur.*

[1] The entire works of Leo I. [comprising one hundred sermons and one hundred and forty-one epistles] were edited with great care by the celebrated presbyter of the Oratory, Quesnel, Lyons, 1700, two vols. folio. [This edition being proscribed by the pope, because the editor defended the cause of Hilary of Arles and the liberties of the Gallican church against Leo, a new edition was published by Cacciari [Rome, 1753-55, 2 tom. fol.] and the brothers Ballerini [Verona, 1755-57, 3 tom. fol. This last edition is decidedly the best.—*R.*] Leo was a man of extraordinary talents, a good writer, an indefatigable bishop, and very successful in promoting the glory of the see of Rome. It has been said that he possessed every virtue which was compatible with an unbounded ambition. He was bishop of Rome from A.D. 440 to A.D. 461. In the beginning of his reign he persecuted the sectarians of Africa, who took refuge in Italy on the conquest of Africa by the Vandals. In 445 commenced his controversy with Hilary archbishop of Arles, whom he divested of his rights as a metropolitan, in violation of the liberties of the Gallican church. He also obtained from Valentinian III. a decree confirming his usurpations over the Gallic church. In 451 he showed the violence of his passions and the excess of his ambition, by his opposition to the decree of the council of Chalcedon, which raised the bishop of Constantinople to the rank of a patriarch, and extended very much his jurisdiction. In the year 455 he was a protection to the city of Rome, when it was pillaged by Genseric, king of the Vandals. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xvii. pages 90—169, and Bower, *Lives of the Popes*, vol. ii. pages 7—140.—*Mur.* [See Professor Ramsay's account of his life and writings in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biog.* vol. ii. p. 746.—*R.*

[2] Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tom. iii. voce *Orose*. The works of Orosius have at length been published, with some medals, by Havercamp, Leyden, 1738, 4to. [Paul Orosius was a presbyter of Tarragona in Spain. In the year 413 he was sent into Africa to consult Augustine respecting the rising sect of the Priscillianists. Augustine now put him upon writing his history, which he completed four years afterwards. In the year 415 Augustine sent him to Palestine to visit Jerome, and learn his opinion respecting the origin of souls. He was present at some councils in Palestine, and there opposed the errors of Pelagius. On his return to Africa he brought with him the relics of St. Stephen, which were highly valued. He afterwards returned to Spain. The time of his death is unknown. His works written in good Latin, comprise—1. *Historia adversus Paganos*, in which he endeavours to show from the Roman history that as great calamities had happened in the empire under the reign of paganism as under that of Christianity. 2. *Apologeticus contra Pelagianos de arbitrii libertate*. These two works are in the edition of Havercamp. 3. His written statement to Augustine, in the year 413, which is published among the works of Augustine, and is entitled *Commonitorium sive Consultatio ad S. Augustinum, de Errore Priscillianistarum et Origenistarum.*—*Mur.* [See a valuable tract by Theod. de Mörner, entitled, *De Orosii Vita ejusque Historiar. lib. septem adversus Paganos*, Berlin, 1814, 8vo, in which he investigates anew the facts connected with the life of this writer, and treats fully of his historical work and of the principal sources from which he had drawn his information.—*R.*

[3] *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome ii. p. 215, &c.; Simon, *Critique de la Biblio. Ecclés. par M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 156. The works of Cassian, with a prolix Commentary, were published by Alard. Gazæus; latest ed. Francf. 1722, fol. [John Cassian, of Scythian extract, was born at Athens A.D. 351. He early devoted himself to a monastic life, which he pursued first at Bethlehem, then at Nitria in Egypt, next at Constantinople, where Chrysostom made him deacon of a church. On the banishment of Chrysostom, A.D. 404, the clergy of Constantinople sent Cassian into Italy to solicit aid to their cause from the Roman pontiff. At Rome Cassian was ordained a presbyter, and there he remained till A.D. 410, when, on the capture of Rome by the Goths, he retired to Marseilles in France. Here he erected two monasteries, one for males and one for females, and thenceforth devoted himself to the furtherance of monkery in Gaul. He commenced author in 424, and died A.D. 448, aged ninety-seven years. He was not a great man, but he was active, pious, and sincere. He was a leading man among the semi-Pelagians, and held, perhaps, nearly the same sentiments respecting original sin, and grace, and human ability, with the Remonstrants or Arminians of Holland in the seventeenth century. His works are—1. *De Institutis Cœnobiorum*, of which the first four books describe the form and regulations of a monastery, and the eight following treat of as many principal sins. 2. xxiv. *Collationes Patrum*, discourses or rather colloquies, chiefly on monastic virtues. 3. *De Christi Incarnatione adversus Nestorium.*—*Mur.* [The student will see a detailed account of Cassian and his works by Professor Ramsay, in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biog.* vol. i. p. 622.—*R.*

[4] Maximus was bishop of Turin in Piedmont from A.D. 422 to A.D. 466. Little is known of his life. His works consist of eighty-five short homilies or sermons. Of these, thirty-two were published among the works of Ambrose, and eight among the discourses of Augustine. Raynaud collected and published seventy-three of them under the name of the real author, in a volume containing the works of Leo I. and of Peter Chrysologus, Lyons, 1652, and Paris, 1671, fol. Afterwards Mabillon collected twelve more, which he published in his *Museum Ital'cum*, tom. i. pt. ii. p. i. &c. And Bruno Bruni published the whole, Rome. 1784, fol.—*Mur.*

the last among the Latins of this century who treated moral subjects skilfully and eloquently.[1] Pontius [Paulinus] of Nola, highly esteemed by the ancients for his piety, has recommended himself to posterity by his poems and by some other things.[2] Peter, bishop of Ravenna, acquired the surname of Chrysologus on account of his eloquence, and his discourses are not entirely destitute of genius.[3] Salvian was an eloquent but a gloomy and austere writer, who in the vehemence of his declamation against the vices of the times unwarily discloses the weaknesses and defects of his own character.[4] Prosper of Aquitain[5] and Marius Mercator[6] are well known to every one who has paid any attention to the Pelagian and other controversies of this century. Vincentius of Lerins has transmitted his name to posterity by a short but elegant tract against the sects which he entitled *Commonitorium*.[7] I designedly pass over Sidonius Apollinaris, a tumid writer, though not destitute of eloquence,[8] Vigilius

1 Concerning Eucherius, the Benedictine monks treat largely in their *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome ii. p. 275. [He was of an honourable family in Gaul, fond of monkery in his youth, and resided some time in a monastery in the island Lerins. But he afterwards married and had two sons, Salonius and Veranius, who became bishops. He was bishop of Lyons from A.D. 434 to A.D. 454. His most admired work is his epistle to Valerianus, *On Contempt of the World and Secular Philosophy*. Besides this he wrote in praise of monkery, instructions for his sons, and a few homilies. Several works are falsely ascribed to him. The whole were published, Basil, 1531, and Rome, 1564, 4to, and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. vi.—*Mur.* [See also Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biog.* vol. ii. p. 62.—*R.*

2 See the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome ii. p. 179. The works of Paulinus were published by Le Brun, Paris, 1685, two vols. 4to. [See note 2, p. 140, on the preceding century, where he is particularly described. —*Mur.* [and Smith, *ubi supra*, vol. iii. p. 144.—*R.*

3 See Agnelli, *Liber Pontificalis Eccles. Ravennat.* tom. i. p. 321, ed. Bachinii. [Peter Chrysologus was an Italian of a noble family. He was born at Imola, and educated under the bishop of that see. In the year 433 he was made bishop of Ravenna, where he died about A.D. 450. He has left us one hundred and forty-seven short homilies or sermons, and one epistle addressed to Eutyches the heretic in the year 449. His works have been often published; the latest edition is, perhaps, that of Venice, 1742, fol.—*Mur.* [A still later edition is that by Sebast. Paul, published also at Venice in 1750, fol.—*R.*

4 See *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome ii. p. 517. [The authors of the history here referred to give a different account of Salvian's character. They acknowledge that his declamation against the vices of the age, in his *Treatise against Avarice* and his *Discourse concerning Providence*, are warm and vehement; but they represent him notwithstanding as one of the most humane and benevolent men of his time.—*Mael.*— [Salvian was a native of Gaul, probably of Cologne, lived long at Treves, and married a pagan lady, who however became a Christian after marriage, and had one child, a daughter. At length he removed to the south of France and became a presbyter of Marseilles, where he lived to a great age. He flourished as early as 440, but was alive, though an old man, in the year 495. See Gennadius (who was a contemporary presbyter of Marseilles), *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, cap. 67. The works of Salvian now extant are, 1. *On the Providence and Government of God and his Righteous Temporal Judgments*. 2. Nine epistles. 3. *Against Avarice, especially in Clergymen and Bishops*. His style is barbarous, yet vivid and energetic. His conceptions are clear, his reasoning pungent, and his sentiments for the most part correct. Yet his descriptions are coarse and often too highly coloured, and his positions sometimes untenable. The works of Salvian have been often published. The best edition is that of Baluze, Paris, 1669, 8vo.—*Mur.* [Perhaps a still better is the collection of his works in Gallandius, *Biblio. Patrum*. v. x. They have been translated into French, Paris, 1735, 12mo, and his well-known treatise on *God's Government* into English, by R. T. Lond. 1700, 8vo. See also Lardner's *Credibility*, &c. vol. v. p. 64.—*R.*

5 For a good account of Prosper, see the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome ii. p. 369. [Tiro Prosper, a layman but a learned theologian of Aquitain in Gaul, flourished A.D. 444. He was a great admirer and an able defender of the doctrines of Augustine respecting original sin, predestination and free grace. In the year 426 he addressed a letter to Augustine, acquainting him with the incipient progress of Pelagian errors in Gaul, and soliciting him to write against them. In 431 he visited Italy to procure the aid of the Roman pontiff against these errors, and returned strengthened by a doctrinal letter addressed to the bishops of Gaul. In 433 he wrote his strictures on the thirteenth *Collatio* of Cassian, which is an able performance. In 443 Leo I. called him to Rome and made him his private secretary, and employed him in the Pelagian contests of Italy. He was alive in 455, but the time of his death is unknown. He was a man of strong reasoning powers, soundly orthodox, and a good model in controversial writing. Most of his works are in defence of the doctrines of original sin, predestination, and free grace; and especially his two books (if indeed they are his) *De Vocatione Gentium* (on the offer of salvation to all men), will be read with interest by the modern theologian. He also composed a *Chronicon*, continuing that of Eusebius down to A.D. 455, a commentary on the last fifty Psalms, several letters, and some poems. His works were published, Paris, 1711, fol. and by Salina, Rome, 1732, 8vo. —*Mur.*

6 Marius Mercator was probably an African, yet may have lived some time in Italy. He was undoubtedly a layman, a friend and admirer of Augustine, and an active defender of his doctrines from A.D. 418 to the year 451. His works are almost wholly translations from the Greek fathers, particularly Nestorius, Theodorus of Mopsuestia, Cyril of Alexandria, Proclus, Theodoret, &c. accompanied with prefaces and notes or strictures by the translator. They are all designed to confute either the Nestorian or the Pelagian errors, and were edited, with copious notes, by Garnier, Paris, 1673, fol. and still better by Baluze, Paris, 1684, 8vo.—*Mur.*

7 A good account of Vincentius of Lerins is found in the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome ii. p. 305. [He was born of a noble family at Toul in the French Netherlands, became a soldier, and afterwards a monk at Lerins, where he was made a presbyter. He flourished A.D. 434 and died before the year 450. He was probably a semi-Pelagian, as may be inferred from his *Objections against the writings and doctrines of Augustine*, which (though lost) are confuted by Prosper of Aquitain. His only surviving work is his *Commonitorium adversus Hæreticos*. This he re-wrote but lost the copy, and therefore added notes to the first draft. It is an attempt to confute all heresies at once, by showing what are the marks of the true church as distinguished from all errorists. It has been often published, e.g. by Baluze, subjoined to Salvian's works, Paris, 1669, 8vo, and Cambridge, 1687, 12mo.—*Mur.* [Also by Jo. Salinas, with the works of Hilary, Rome, 1701, 8vo, the best edition. The *Commonitorium* is a favourite book with the Romanists, being one of their most plausible defences of tradition as the rule of faith. It was translated into French, Paris, 1686, 12mo; into German, by Feder, Bamberg, 1785, 8vo; and into English, London, 1651; by Reeves, in his *Primitive Apologies*, Lond. 1709, vol. ii. and anonymously, along with a reprint of the Latin text, at Oxford, 1836, 12mo, being one of the significant indications of the rise of Puseyism.—*R.*

8 C. Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius was born of a noble family at Lyons in France, A.D. 431. His father and grandfather both bore the name of Apollinaris, and both were prætorian prefects of the Gallias. After an expensive education he became a soldier, married the daughter of Avitus who was afterwards emperor, had

of Tapsus,[1] Arnobius junior, who commented on the Psalms of David,[2] Dracontius,[3] and others,[4] who were of a secondary rank.

three children, was captured at the siege of Lyons, A.D. 457, yet was advanced to honour by the new emperor Majorianus whom he eulogized in 458, had a statue erected to him, and was advanced to the dignity of count. In the year 467 he went to Rome as legate from the city of Clermont, pronounced a eulogy on the emperor Anthemius, was made prefect of Rome, and performed his duties so faithfully that he had another statue decreed him, was made a patrician and a senator of Rome. In the year 472 he was almost compelled to accept the office of bishop of Clermont in France. He now laid aside all his civil honours, gave up his property to his son, and devoted himself to sacred studies and to his episcopal functions. His influence among the clergy and the churches was very great. When the Goths attacked Clermont he put himself at the head of the citizens as their military commander, and when the city was captured in 480 he retired in safety, was restored to his see, and died in the year 482. He has left numerous epistles published, with one sermon, and twenty-four poetic effusions interspersed. Several of his works in prose and verse are lost. His works were published by Sirmond, Paris, 1614, 8vo, and with additional notes, Paris, 1652. 8vo. His epistles are useful, as throwing light on the history of his times.—*Mur.*

[1] Vigilius, bishop of Tapsus in Africa, flourished A.D. 484, at which time he was summoned to appear at Carthage before Hunneric, the Arian king of the Vandals, and give account of his faith. He boldly professed orthodoxy, but the persecution which followed obliged him to quit Africa, and he retired to Constantinople, and after some years removed to Italy, where he composed several, perhaps the greater part of his works. To conceal himself from his persecuting enemies he composed much under borrowed names, and especially that of Athanasius. During the middle ages he was confounded with Vigilius of Trent, who flourished at the beginning of this century. His works are all directed against the Arians and the Nestorian heresy. He is supposed to be the author of that confession of faith which is commonly called the *Athanasian Creed*. His works were first published as his by Chifflet, Dijon, 1664, 4to.—*Mur.*

[2] An account of Arnobius junior is given in the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome ii. p. 312. [He is called junior, to distinguish him from the African Arnobius, who lived at the beginning of the preceding century. This Arnobius junior is supposed to have lived in Gaul. He flourished about A.D. 461, and wrote a Commentary on the Psalms, notes on some passages in the Gospels, and a Dispute with Serapion of Egypt respecting the Trinity, the person of Christ, and the consistency of grace with free will. He was a semi-Pelagian. His works are in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. viii. p. 203, &c.—*Mur.*

[3] Dracontius was a presbyter and a poet, probably of Spain, who flourished A.D. 440, and was alive in 450. He has left us a heroic poem on the Creation or the Hexaëmeron, and an elegy on Theodosius II. both published by Sirmond, Paris, 1619, 8vo, and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. ix. pages 724, 729.—*Mur.*

[4] Catalogue of Latin writers omitted by Mosheim, extracted from Cave's *Historia Literaria*.

Chromatius, bishop of Aquileia, a friend of Rufinus and a defender of Chrysostom, flourished A.D. 401 and died 410. He has left us some Homilies on the Beatitudes, and a few Epistles.

Innocent I. bishop of Rome A.D. 402—417, a firm friend of Chrysostom and strenuous against the Nestorians and Pelagians. Of thirty-four Epistles published as his the genuineness of nearly all is questioned.

Zosimus, of Greek extract, bishop of Rome A.D. 417—418, famous for his attempt to subject the African churches to his see. He has left us thirteen Epistles.

Boniface, bishop of Rome A.D. 418—423, prosecuted the attempt of Zosimus. We have three of his Epistles.

Severus, bishop of Minorca, flourished A.D. 418. His Epistle, describing the conversion of the Jews of Minorca, was published by Baronius, *Annales, ad ann.* 418.

Julian, an Italian bishop, born before A.D. 386, and died about the year 440 or 450. He studied under Pelagius, became a deacon, lector, husband, and bishop of a small town among the Hirpini. In the year 417 he came out an open defender of Pelagianism, in 420 he was condemned, went to Constantinople, and thence to Cilicia, where he lived long with Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and devoted himself to writing in defence of his sentiments. In 423 he was condemned by a synod of Cilician bishops, returned to Italy in 424, hoping to recover his see; failed and went again to Constantinople to beg the interference of the emperor, but here Mercator's *Commonitorium* to Theodosius II. met him and blasted his prospects. Being driven from Constantinople and condemned in a council at Rome A.D. 431, he pretended to renounce his errors, and applied to the Roman pontiff in 439 to restore him to his see, but in vain. He was a man of superior talents, well acquainted with the scriptures, and so eloquent that he was styled the Roman Demosthenes. He was also famed for his piety and benevolence to the poor; but he was accused of dissembling his sentiments, and of using bitter language towards his adversaries. Large extracts are preserved from his Epistles, his Commentary on the Canticles, and his twelve books against the first and second books of Augustine on marriage.

Priscus Fastidius, a British bishop, flourished A.D. 420. He has left us a Tract on Christian life and widowhood addressed to a pious widow, extant among the Works of Augustine, tom. ix.

Evodius, bishop of Uzala in Africa, an intimate friend of Augustine, flourished A.D. 420. Four of his Epistles to Augustine and one book *De Fide Contra Manichæos* are extant among the Works of Augustine.

Isidorus, bishop of Cordova in Spain, flourished A.D. 420 and died A.D. 430. He was probably the author of four books of Allegories or Commentaries on all the books of Kings, extant among the Works of Isidorus Hispalensis.

Cœlestine, bishop of Rome A.D. 423—432, and active in the Nestorian contests. He has left us fourteen Epistles.

Lupus, bishop of Troyes in France, flourished A.D. 427. He was sent by the Gallic bishops to Britain in 429 to root out Pelagianism, was successful, and returned in 430, and died A.D. 479. He has been pronounced one of the greatest men of his age. Two of his epistles are extant.

Pisidius or Possidonius, bishop of Calama near Hippo in Africa, flourished A.D. 430. He was an intimate friend of Augustine, and wrote his life and a catalogue of his works, still extant among the works of Augustine.

Hilary, bishop of Arles, born A.D. 401, became a monk of Lerins, and was made bishop in 430 and died in 449. As metropolitan of Arles, he deposed Celidonius bishop of Vienne, who appealed to Rome and was supported by Leo I. which involved Hilary in war with Leo all their lives. He wrote the life of St. Honoratus his predecessor, heroic poems on Genesis, one epistle to Eucherius of Lyons, two others to Augustine, and an account of the miracles of St. Genesius, all which were published by the Benedictines, Paris, 1693, folio, and by Salina, Rome, 1701, 8vo.

Caprocius, bishop of Carthage, flourished A.D. 431. His epistle to the council of Ephesus and another to the Spanish bishop against Nestorius, are extant in Baronius and in other collections.

Patricius (St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland). See Note 3, p. 175.

Sixtus III. bishop of Rome A.D. 432—440, has left us several epistles. The three books on riches, chastity, false teachers, &c. are erroneously ascribed to him.

Adrian, who lived perhaps about A.D. 450, wrote an *Isagoge in S. Scripturam*, which is extant in Poole's *Synopsis Critic. Sacr.* tom. vi. p. 11.

Maximus, a Gallic monk, abbot of Lerins in 426 and bishop of Riez in France A.D. 433, lived till 451 or longer, and wrote several homilies, which are extant among those of Eusebius of Emesa and Eucherius of Lyons.

Claudius Marius Victor or Victorinus, a rhetorician and poet of Marseilles, flourished A.D. 434, and died before A.D. 450. He wrote a *Poetic Commentary on Genesis* to the death of Abraham, a poetic *Epistle to the abbot Solomon* on the corrupt morals of the age, both extant, Paris, 1560, 8vo, and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. viii. p. 580.

Cœlius Sedulius, a Scotchman and poet, who flourished A.D. 434. He studied in Italy, became a presby-

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THEOLOGY.

I. IN the controversies which in this century agitated nearly all Christendom, many points of theology were more fully explained and more accurately defined than they had been before. Thus it was with the doctrine concerning Christ, his person and natures; and those concerning the innate depravity of the human soul, the natural ability of men to live and act as the law of God requires, the necessity of divine grace in order to salvation, human liberty, and the like. For that devout and venerable simplicity of the first ages of the church, which taught men to believe when God speaks and to obey when God commands, appeared to the leading doctors of this age to be clownish and vulgar. Many of those however who attempted to explain and illustrate these doctrines, opened the way rather for disputation than for a rational faith and a holy life; for they did not so much explain as involve in greater obscurity and darken with ambiguous terms and incomprehensible distinctions the deep mys-

ter, and perhaps a bishop. His works were collected by Asterius towards the close of this century, comprising *Carmen Paschale* (on the miracles of Christ) *Veteris et Novi Test. Collatio*, an elegiac poem, *Psalm Alphabeticus de Christo*, in Iambic measure (on the life of Christ), and *Paschale Opus* in prose, An *Exposition of all the Epistles of Paul* is falsely ascribed to him. The works of Sedulius have been published repeatedly, and are to be found in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. vi.—[The best edition is in the fourth volume of the *Poetæ Christianæ* of F. Arevalus, Rome, 1788-94, in four vols. 4to. This collection includes the works of Prudentius, Dracontius, Juvencus, and Sedulius. The *Paschale Opus* in prose is merely another version by the author himself of his poem entitled *Carmen Paschale.*—*R.*

Valerianus, a bishop in the maritime Alps, flourished A.D. 439, and was alive in 455. His twenty homilies and an epistle were published by Sirmond, Paris, 1612, 8vo, also in the *Biblio. Patrum*, tom. viii.

Eustathius flourished A.D. 440, the neat Latin translator of St. Basil's nine homilies on the Hexaëmeron, extant among the works of Basil the Great.

Philippus, a presbyter and disciple of Jerome, flourished A.D. 440, and died A.D. 455. He wrote a *Commentary on Job*, published, Basil, 1527, 4to and fol. It has been ascribed both to Bede and to Jerome.

Idatius or Hydatius, a Spanish bishop who flourished A.D. 445, and died A.D. 468. He wrote a *Chronicon* from A.D. 379 to A.D. 428, and afterwards continued it to A.D. 467, first published entire by Sirmond, Paris, 1619, 8vo, and since in the works of Sirmond, Paris, 1696, and Venice, 1729. It is barbarous in style and frequently inaccurate as to facts, yet affords valuable aid in tracing the movements of the Goths and Suevi.

Zachæus, the reputed author of three books of discussion between Zachæus a Christian and Apollonius a pagan, in regard to Christianity. The book was probably written about A.D. 450, and is published in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, tom. x.

Salonius, son of Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, and himself a Gallic bishop, flourished A.D. 453. He wrote an *Exposition of the Parables of Solomon*, and a *Mystical Paraphrase on Ecclesiastes*, both extant in the *Orthodoxographia*, and in *Biblio. Patrum*, tom. viii.

Victorius or Victorinus, a Gallic mathematician, flourished A.D. 457, author of a *Paschal Canon* in two parts; the first part exhibits the principles and the method of calculating Easter, the second is a table of Easter days from A.D. 28 to A.D. 457. This Canon was recommended by the council of Orleans, A.D. 451, and was first published by Bucherius, Antw. 1634, fol.

Hilary, bishop of Rome, A.D. 461—467. He was the bishop of Rome's legate to the council of Ephesus in 449. Twelve of his Epistles are extant.

Paulinus Petricordius or Vesuntius (i. e. of Besançon), a Gallic poet, who flourished A.D. 461, and is often confounded with Paulinus of Nola. He wrote *De Vita Sti Martini*, an uninteresting poem, extant in the *Biblio. Patrum*, tom. vi. and published by Daunius, with notes, Lips. 1686, 8vo.

Claudius Mamertus, a Gallic poet, a presbyter, and assistant to the bishop of Vienne, flourished A.D. 462. He wrote *De Statu Animi*, two Epistles, a *Poem against various errors*, and a *Hymn on the Crucifixion*, all extant in the *Biblio. Patrum*, tom. vii.

Simplicius, bishop of Rome, A.D. 467—483 He was

much engaged in contests with the eastern patriarchs, and has left us nineteen Epistles, extant in the *Concilia*, tom. iv.

Ruricius senior, bishop of Limoges in France, flourished A.D. 470, but was alive in 506. He has left us two books of Epistles, published by Canisius, *Antiq. Lectiones*, tom. v. (or tom. i. of new ed.) and in the *Biblio. Patrum*, tom. viii.

Remiglus, bishop of Rheims, A.D. 471—533. He baptized Clovis, king of the Franks, with many of his lords, was a man of note, and has left us five Epistles, together with his Will. The Exposition of Paul's Epistles attributed to him is not his.

Faustus, abbot of Lerins and then bishop of Riez in France, A.D. 472—480 or 485, a semi-Pelagian. His works are, *De Gratia Dei et Libero Arbitrio*, with several Sermons, Epistles, and Tracts, collected in *Biblio. Patrum*, tom. viii.

Fœlix, bishop of Rome, A.D. 483—492; was much in controversy with the eastern patriarchs. Fifteen of his Epistles are extant.

Victor Vitensis, an orthodox African bishop who fled to Constantinople A.D. 487, and there composed a *History of the Persecutions in Africa* under Genseric and Hunneric, kings of the Vandals. It was published with Optatus Milevitanus, Paris, 1659, 8vo, with Vigilius Tapsensis, Dijon, 1664, 4to, and in the *Biblio. Patrum*, tom. viii.

Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus, bishop of Clermont, A.D. 490—523. He has left us five poetic books *On the Creation and Fall of Man, the Flood, and the Passage of the Red Sea*, a poem *in praise of Virginity*, eighty-seven epistles, and some sermons, published by Sirmond, Paris, 1643, and in the *Biblio. Patrum*, tom. ix. [See an account of his life and writings in Smith's *Greek and Rom. Biog.* vol. i. p. 434.—*R.*

Gelasius, bishop of Rome, A.D. 492—496. Sixteen of his epistles and fragments of various other works are extant. The famous decree of a Roman council, A.D. 494, *De Libris Canonicis, Ecclesiasticis, et Apocryphis*, ascribed to Gelasius, is of dubious authenticity.

Gennadius, a presbyter of Marseilles, flourished A.D. 495, and wrote *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, or a catalogue of authors continuing Jerome's catalogue from the year 393 to A.D. 495. His book *De Fide* and his *Life of Jerome* are also extant. But his works against all the heresies, against Nestorius, and against Pelagius, his tract on the Millenium, and his translations from the Greek fathers, are lost.

Rusticus Elpidius, physician to Theodoric, king of the Goths, flourished about A.D. 498, and has left twenty-four epigrams on Scriptural facts, and a poem on the *Benefits of Christ*.

Julianus Pomerius of Mauritania, a teacher of rhetoric at Arles and a presbyter there, flourished A.D. 498. His work *De Anima*, and several smaller ones, are lost. But his treatise *De Vita Contemplativa*, is extant among the works of Prosper, to whom it has been wrongly ascribed.

Symmachus, bishop of Rome, A.D. 498—514, famous for his excommunication of the emperor Anastasius, has left us twelve epistles.—*Mur.* [To this list should be added the names of Nicetas or Niceas of Romacia, mentioned below at page 192, and Nicetas, bishop of Aquileia, several tracts by whom have been recently published by Cardinal Mai, in his *Script. Vet. nova Collectio*, vol. vii part i. pages 314—340.—*R.*

teries of revealed religion; and hence arose abundant matter for those difficulties, contentions, and animosities which have flowed down to succeeding ages, and which can scarcely be removed by the efforts of human power. It hardly need be remarked that some, while pressing their adversaries, incautiously fell into the opposite errors which were no less dangerous.

2. The superstitious notions and human devices by which religion was before much clogged, were very considerably augmented. The aid of departed saints was implored with supplications by vast multitudes, and no one censured this absurd devotion. Nor did the question which afterwards occasioned much debate—namely, in what way the prayers of mortals could reach the ears of residents in heaven, present any difficulties to the Christians of those times. For they did not suppose the souls of departed saints to be so confined to the celestial mansions, as not to have liberty of paying visits to mortals and of travelling over various regions at their pleasure. These unembodied spirits were supposed to be frequent and willing visitors at the places where their bodies were buried;[1] and this opinion transmitted to Christians from the Greeks and Romans, drew a great conflux of supplicants to the sepulchres of the saints.[2] The images of those who were in reputation for sanctity while alive, were now honoured with extraordinary devotion in several places; and there were those who believed what the pagan priests had maintained respecting the statues of Jupiter and Mercury[3]—namely, that those inhabitants of heaven were favourably present in these their images. The bones of martyrs and the sign of the cross, were supposed to be the most sovereign remedy against the assaults of demons and all other calamities, and to have power not only to heal diseases of the body, but likewise those of the mind.[4] Of the public processions, the holy pilgrimages,[5] the superstitious offices of devotion paid by the living to the souls of the dead, the multiplication and extravagant veneration of temples, chapels and altars, and innumerable other proofs of degenerate piety, I forbear to speak particularly. As no one in those times objected to Christians retaining the opinions of their pagan ancestors respecting the soul, heroes, demons, temples, and the like, and their transferring them into their devotions; and as no one proposed utterly to abolish the ancient pagan institutions but only to alter them somewhat and purify them, it was unavoidable that the religion and the worship of Christians should in this way become corrupted. This also I will add, that the doctrine of the purification of souls after death by means of some sort of fire, which afterwards became so great a source of wealth to the clergy, acquired in this age a fuller development and greater influence.[6]

3. The number of those who devoted their talents to the explanation of the Scriptures was not so great as in the preceding century, when there was less controversy among Christians; and yet the number was not small. I pass over those who expounded but one or only a few books of Scripture, Victor of Antioch, Polychronius, Philo of Carpathus, Isidore of Cordova, Salonius, and Andreas of Cæsarea. The two most distinguished interpreters of this century who explained a great part of the sacred volume, and not altogether without success, were, Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, and Theodorus of Mopsuestia. Both possessed genius and learning, and neither would follow in the footsteps of preceding expositors without some reason. The expositions of the former are before the public;[7] those of the latter lie concealed in the East among the Nestorians for various reasons, and are worthy to see the light.[8] Cyril of Alexandria deserves a place among the interpreters, but a far more honourable

[1] On the rise and spread of this intercession of departed spirits and other innovations referred to in this paragraph, see Giesseler's *Lehrbuch*, &c. sec. 99, or sec. 97, in Cunningham's Translation, Philad. 1836. This translation will henceforth be referred to, being the only extant English translation, as the second volume of Dr. Davidson's more accurate translation of Giesseler's later edition was not published when these sheets were passing through the press [June, 1847].—*R.*

[2] Lactantius, *Divinar. Instit.* lib. i. p. 164; Hesiod. *Opp. et Dier.* line 122; with which compare Sulpitius Severus, *Epist.* ii. p. 371; *Dial.* ii. cap. xiii. p. 474; *Dial.* iii. p. 65; Macarius, in Tollius, *Insignia Itineris Italici*, p. 197, and other writers of that age.

[3] *Clementina, Homil.* x. in *Patr. Apostol.* tom. i. p. 697, Arnobius, *Adv. Gentes*, lib. vi. p. 284, &c; Barthius, *Ad Rutilium Numantian.* p. 250.

[4] Prudentius, *Hymn.* xi. *De Coronis*, pages 150, 151; Sulpitius Severus, *Epist.* i. p. 364; Ænea Gazæus, *Theophrastus*, p. 173, ed. Barth.

[5] These pilgrimages were then so common that some Christians fell into absurdities truly ridiculous. They journeyed quite to Arabia in order to see the dunghill on which the diseased Job sat, and to kiss the ground which had absorbed his precious blood; as Chrysostom describes it (*Homily* v. *to the Antiochians*) where he says in his rhetorical way, that the dunghill of Job was more venerable than the throne of a king.—*Schl.*

[6] On this subject Augustine deserves especially to be consulted, *De Octo Quæstionibus ad Dulcitium Liber*, cap. xiii, *Opp.* tom. vi. p. 128, *De Fide et Operibus* cap. xvi. p. 182, *De Fide, Spe, et Caritate*, sec. cxviii p. 222, *Exposition of Psalm* xxxv. sec. iii. &c.

[7] See Simon, *Hist. Crit. des Princip. Comment. du Nouv. Test.* chap. xxii. p. 314, and *Crit. de la Biblio. Eccles. de M. Du Pin* tome i. p. 180 [and note 4, p. 183, above.—*Mur.*

[8] Asseman, *Biblioth. Oriental. Clement. Vatic.* tom. iii. sec. ii. p. 227; Simon, *Crit. de la Biblioth. Eccles par M. Du Pin*, tome i, pages 108, 677, [See also note 4, p. 184 above.—*Mur.*

one is due to Isidore of Pelusium, whose epistles contain much which tends to elucidate and explain the holy Scriptures.[1]

4. Most of these interpreters, whether Greeks or Latins, everywhere copy after Origen, and despising the genuine and obvious meaning of the Scriptures, search after abstruse senses, or what the Latins of that age called mysteries, in the plainest passages and sentences of the Bible. Some of the Greeks indeed, and in particular Theodoret, laboured not unsuccessfully in explaining the pages of the New Testament, which we may ascribe to their skill in the Greek language, with which they had been familiar from their infancy; but upon the Hebrew Scriptures neither the Greeks nor the Latins cast much light. Nearly all who attempted to explain them, making no use of their judgment, applied the whole either to Christ and his benefits, or to anti-Christ and his wars and desolations, and to the kindred subjects.

5. Here and there, however, one more sagacious and wiser than the rest ventured to point out a safer path. This is evident from the Epistles of Isidore of Pelusium, who in various places censures in a pertinent manner those who, disregarding the historic sense, referred all the narrative and prophetic parts of the Old Testament to Christ; and yet he himself was by no means entirely free from the fault of his age, the love and pursuit of allegories. No one went further in censuring the imitators of Origen than Theodorus of Mopsuestia. He not only wrote a book concerning allegory and history against Origen,[2] but also in his own Commentaries on the Prophets of the Old Testament he ventured to explain most of their predictions with reference to events in ancient history;[3] and this method of explaining the Old Testament perhaps raised as much ill-will against him as those other sentiments which brought on him the charge of heresy. The example of this excellent man was followed especially by the Nestorians.[4] Nor have they yet ceased to follow it, for to this day they preserve his books with care, and venerate him as a saint of the highest order.

6. It is very evident that the doctrines of religion were not exhibited with due purity and simplicity by most persons, but were sometimes with uncommendable zeal expanded beyond what was revealed, were anatomized with too great art and subtlety, and were supported not so much by Scripture evidence, as by the authority and reasonings of the ancient doctors. I know of no one who embraced a complete system of Christian doctrines in a single work, unless Nicæas of Romacia may be considered as doing this in the six books of instruction for Neophytes which he is said to have composed.[5] But it has been already observed that various doctrines of religion were laboriously explained, especially in the controversial works against the Nestorians, Eutychians, Pelagians, and Arians.

7. Of controversial writers a great number can be mentioned, and indeed many such were required by the numerous controversies. The worshippers of the pagan images and gods were vigorously assailed by Theodoret in his book *De Curandis Græcorum Affectionibus*, which displays much genius and erudition, by Orientius in his *Commonitorium*, and by Evagrius in his *Disputation between Zachæus and Apollonius*.[6] To these may be added Philip of Side and Philostorgius, of whom the former wrote against Julian and the latter against Porphyry.[7] The Jews were confuted by Basil of Seleucia,[8] by Gregentius in his *Disputation with Herbanus*, and by Evagrius in his *Dialogue between Theophilus and a Jew*. Against all the heretics something was attempted by Voconius, an African,

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1 Concerning both, see Simon, *Hist. des Princip. Comment. du Noun. Test.* chap. xxi. p. 330, &c [For some account of Cyril, see note 3, p. 183, and concerning Isidore, note 1, p. 184 above.—*Mur.* [Further, in respect of three of these interpreters, Theodoret, Cyril, and Isidore, see Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics* from p. 141, &c.—*R.*

2 Facundus Hermianensis, *De Tribus Capitulis*, lib. iii. cap. vi; Liberatus, *Breviarium*, cap. xxiv.

3 *Acta Concilii Constantinop. II. seu Œcumenici V.* tom. iii. p. 58 of Harduin's *Concilia.*

4 One witness among others is Cosmas Indicopleustes, a writer of the sixth century, who is known to have been a Nestorian. For he says in his *Topographia*, lib. v. (pages 224, 225, of the *Collectio nova Patrum Græcor.* published by Montfaucon), "Among all the Psalms of David only four refer to Christ;" and to confirm this sentiment he does not hesitate to declare (p. 227) "That the writers of the New Testament when they apply the prophecies of the Old Testament to Jesus Christ, follow the words rather than the sense." See also Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. p. p. 880.—*Mur.*

5 Gennadius, *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiast.* cap. xxii. p. 14, ed. Fabric. [The work is lost, but from the account of Gennadius it was no *System of Theology.*—*Mur.* [See Professor Ramsay's account of the author whose name was Nicetas or Niceas, in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biog.* vol. ii. p. 1184.—*R.*

6 For an account of Orientius and Evagrius see the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome ii. pages 121, and 252. [Orientius, called also Orontius and Oresius, was bishop of Aux in France, perhaps also of Tarragona in Spain His *Commonitorium* written in heroic verse, was published, book i. by Delrio, Antwerp, 1600, and book ii. by Martene, in his *Nova Collectio Operum Eccles. Vet.* Paris, 1700. This Evagrius is not the noted Evagrius Scholasticus of the sixth century, but was a French priest and a disciple of St. Martin. His *Altercatio Simonis Judæi et Theophili Christiani*, is found in Martene's *Anecdota*; and his *Consultationes, seu Deliberationes Zachæi Christiani et Apollonii Philosophi*, is in the *Spicilegium* of D'Achery, tom. x.—*Schl.*

7 Neither of the works here mentioned is extant.—*Mur.*

8 For some account of this Basil and of his writings, see note 2, p. 185 above.—*Mur.*

by Syagrius in his tract *De Fide*, by Gennadius of Marseilles, and, best of all by Theodoret[1] in his work *De Fabulis Hæreticorum*. Those who attacked only individual sects are here omitted.

8. Those who contended against the Christian sectaries followed the rules of the ancient sophists, and also (what is truly surprising) the practice of the Roman courts rather than the examples and instructions of Christ and his apostles. In the Roman courts very difficult and doubtful points were decided according to the opinions of certain ancient jurists. If these happened to disagree, that opinion was preferred which was maintained by the greatest number, or by the jurists of most learning and reputation.[2] It was very prejudicial to the interests of truth that this usage of the Roman courts was adopted as a rule in the controversies of Christians on subjects of religion, and followed in the deliberations of the councils of this century; for by it that was sanctioned and regarded as confirmed which had been judged true and certain by the majority, or by the most learned and distinguished of the doctors of former times. This appears from nearly all the Acts of Councils now extant. The other faults of the theological disputants may be easily inferred from what has now been stated.

9. This imitation of the practice of the Roman courts in conducting religious controversies stimulated very much the base audacity of those, who did not blush to palm their own spurious productions on the great men of former times, and even on Christ himself and his apostles; so that they might be able, in the councils and in their books, to oppose names against names and authorities against authorities. The whole Christian church of this century was overwhelmed with these disgraceful fictions. And this it is said occasioned the Roman pontiff, Gelasius, to assemble at Rome a convention of bishops from the whole western empire, and after examining the books which were professedly the works of persons of the highest authority, to draw up that famous decree by which so many apocryphal books are stripped of their false reputation. That something of this kind was actually done cannot well be denied, but men of superior learning maintain that this pretended decree of Gelasius is of no better authority than those books which it condemns; that is, they believe that it was not the production of Gelasius but of some one who abused his name.[3]

10. Among those who discussed the subject of morals, Eucherius, Salvian, and Nilus, stand conspicuous. The epistle of Eucherius especially, on *Contempt of the World and Secular Philosophy*, will recommend itself to every good man both by its style and its matter. The short pieces of Mark the hermit breathe a spirit of piety, but do not afford pleasure either by the choice of the matter, the justness of the arrangement, or the solidity of the reasoning. Fastidius composed various tracts concerning moral duties and virtues, which are all lost.[4] The productions of Diadochus, Prosper, and Severianus in this department are interesting, with a few exceptions, for the truth and terseness of the thoughts, but they will afford little satisfaction to one fond of solid reasoning and well-digested composition. Indeed it was a fault common to nearly all the moral writers of those times, that they had no idea of a regular distribution of their subject into parts, nor of a recurrence to first principles.

11. But the candid might tolerate this fault and ascribe it to the infelicity of the times, did they not see other injuries inflicted on the cause of piety by inconsiderate men. In the first place the mystics as they are called, who pretended to be more perfect than other Christians, drew to their party many everywhere among the weak and thoughtless, and especially in the eastern provinces, who were allured by the appearance of their extraordinary and self-denying piety; and it is incredible what rigorous and severe laws they imposed on themselves, in order to appease God and deliver the celestial spirit from the bondage of this mortal body. To live among wild beasts—nay, in the manner of these beasts, to roam about like madmen in desert places and without garments, to feed their emaciated bodies with hay and grass, to shun the converse and even the sight of men, to stand motionless in certain places for many

[1] An account of Theodoret and of his writings is given in note 4, p. 183 above.—*Mur.*

[2] See *Codex Theodosianus*, lib. i. tit. iv. *De Responsis Prudentum*, p 32, ed. Ritter.

[3] Pearson, *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*, pt. i. chap. iv. page 189, &c; Cave, *Hist. Liter.* page 260; Siberus, *Præf. ad Enchiridion Sexti*, page 79, and others. [This decree is ascribed by most of the MSS. to Gelasius I. but by some to Damasus, and by others to Hormisdas. It is not quoted by any writer before the ninth century. It mentions some books which were not in being in the age of Gelasius; and it contains some sentiments and arguments which savour of a later age. It may be found in perhaps all the larger Collections of Councils; in Binnius, vol. ii. in Labbé, vol. iv. in Harduin, vol. ii. in Mansi, *Supplem.* vol. i. also in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Decret. Gratian. pt. i. Distinct. xv. cap. iii. —*Mur.*

[4] Except his tract on a *Christian Life and Widowhood*, addressed to a pious widow, which is preserved among the works of Augustine, tom. ix.—*Mur.*

years exposed to the weather, to shut themselves up in confined cabins till life ended —this was accounted piety, this the true method of eliciting the [spark of] Deity from the secret recesses of the soul.[1] The greater part of these people were influenced not so much by arguments and assignable reasons, as either by a natural propensity to melancholy and austerity or by the example and opinions of others; for there are diseases of the mind as well as of the body which spread like a pestilence. Yet there are some who gave systematic precepts for this austere mode of living; for instance, among the Latins, Julianus Pomerius in his three books *De Vita Contemplativa*, and among the Syrians many whose names it would be needless to mention.

12. Among these examples of religious fatuity, none acquired greater veneration and applause than those who were called Pillar-Saints [*Sancti Columnares*], or in Greek, *Stylitæ*, persons of a singular spirit and genius, who stood motionless on the tops of lofty columns during many years and to the end of life, and to the great astonishment of the ignorant multitude. The author of this institution in the present century was Simeon of Sysan, a Syrian, who was first a shepherd and then a monk, and who, in order to be nearer heaven, spent thirty-seven years in the most uncomfortable manner on the tops of five different pillars, of six, twelve, twenty-two, thirty-six, and forty cubits elevation, and in this way procured for himself immense fame and veneration.[2] His example was afterwards followed, though not fully equalled, by many persons in Syria and Palestine, who were led to it either by their ignorance of true religion or by their love of fame; and this stupid form of religion continued in the East quite down to the twelfth century, when it was entirely abolished.[3] The Latins had wisdom enough not to copy after the Syrians and orientals in this matter; and when one Wulfilaicus built himself such a pillar in the German territory of Treves, and wished to live upon it in the manner of Simeon, the neighbouring bishops pulled it down and prohibited the man from pursuing his object.[4]

13. Those who undertook to give religious instruction to the less advanced Christians, were at more pains to inculcate and recommend the external signs of religion and exercises of the body, than to promote that real holiness which has its seat in the soul. In this respect many went

[1] See Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale*, Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, Sulpitius Severus, *Dial* i. and others.

[2] See the *Acta Sanctor.* for the month of January, tom. i. p. 261, &c. where the very reason I have mentioned for his living in this manner is expressly stated, p. 277. Theodoret also indicates the same by saying that Simeon desired gradually to increase the altitude of his pillar that he might get nearer to heaven. Tillemont, *Mémoires à l'Hist. de l'Egl.* tome xv. p. 347. ed. Paris. The *Acta S. Simeonis Stylitæ* are most fully related in Asseman's *Acta Martyrum Oriental. et Occidental.* vol. ii. p. 227, Rome, 1748, fol. [This Simeon we are told was born at Sisan in Syria about A.D. 390. At the age of thirteen, while tending his father's sheep, he heard a public exposition of Luke vi. 21—25 ("Blessed are ye that weep now, &c. But woe unto you that laugh now," &c.) which determined him to become a monk. Having therefore passed a novitiate for two years he removed to a monastery near Antioch, where he lived ten years. Here his abstinence and his voluntary mortifications were so excessive as to draw on him censure from the other monks. He once swathed himself from his loins to his neck with a rigid rope of palm during ten days, which caused his whole body to fester and discharge blood. Being expelled the monastery for such austerities, he retired to the adjacent mountain and let himself down into a dry cave. After five days the repenting monks sought him out, drew him forth from the cavern, and restored him to their fellowship. But not long after he retired to a little cell at the foot of a mountain near Antioch, and there immured himself three years. During this period, having caused his den to be stopped up with earth, he remained buried for forty days without eating or drinking, and when disinterred was found nearly dead. So pleased was he with this experiment that he afterwards kept such a fast annually as long as he lived. He next removed to the top of the mountain, where he chained himself to a rock for several years. His fame had now become very great, and crowds of admiring visitors of all ranks and characters thronged around him. Incommoded by the pressure of the crowd, he erected a pillar on which he might stand, elevated at first six cubits, and ending with forty. The top of the pillar was three feet in diameter, and surrounded with a balustrade. Here he stood day and night and in all weathers. Through the night and till nine A.M. he was constantly in prayer, often spreading forth his hands and bowing so low that his forehead touched his toes. A by-stander once attempted to count the number of these successive prostrations, and he counted till they amounted to 1244. At nine o'clock A.M. he began to address the admiring crowd below, to hear and answer their questions, to send messages and write letters, &c. for he took concern in the welfare of all the churches, and corresponded with bishops and even with emperors. Towards evening he suspended his intercourse with this world, and betook himself again to converse with God till the following day. He generally ate but once a week, never slept, wore a long sheepskin robe and a cap of the same. His beard was very long, and his frame extremely emaciated. In this manner he is reported to have spent thirty-seven years, and at last, in his sixty-ninth year, to have expired unobserved in a praying attitude, in which no one ventured to disturb him till after three days, when Antony, his disciple and biographer, mounting the pillar found that his spirit was departed, and his holy body was emitting a delightful odour. His remains were borne in great pomp to Antioch, in order to be the safeguard of that unwalled town, and innumerable miracles were performed at his shrine. His pillar also was so venerated that it was literally enclosed with chapels and monasteries for some ages. Simeon was so averse from women that he never allowed one to come within the sacred precincts of his pillar. Even his own mother was debarred this privilege till after her death, when her corpse was brought to him, and he now restored her to life for a short time, that she might see him and converse with him a little before she ascended to heaven. Such is the story gravely told us by the greatest writers of that age, and as gravely repeated in modern times by the Catholic historians.—*Mur.*

[3] See Siberus, *Diss. de Sanctis Columnaribus*, Lips. 4to, and Majell, *Diss. de Stylitis*, in Asseman's *Acta Martyr. Orient. et Occident.* tom. ii. p. 246, where there is a copperplate of Simeon's pillar.

[4] Gregor. Turonens. *Hist. Francor.* lib. viii. cap. xv. p. 387, &c.

so far that they enjoined an extreme of austere virtue little short of the inconsiderate piety of the mystics. According to the sentiments of Salvian and others, no one can become truly and perfectly holy unless he abandons altogether his property and honours, contemns matrimony, banishes all hilarity from his mind, and subjects his body to a variety of mortifications and inconveniences. As there were few who could bear the severity of these rules, veneration for those senseless or fanatical persons, those religious maniacs to whose temperament these rules were adapted, increased marvellously, and saints sprang up like mushrooms.

14. Some few dared to strike at the roots of the growing superstition, and to recall men from vain and fictitious piety to that which is genuine. But these were soon bidden to hold their peace by others who were more numerous, in higher reputation, and possessed of greater influence.[1] An example we have in Vigilantius, a presbyter of Gallic extraction but resident in Spain, a learned and eloquent man. After a journey to Palestine and Egypt, returning home near the beginning of this century, he issued several tracts, in which he taught and inculcated many things contrary to the opinions of the age. Among other things he denied that the tombs and the bones of the martyrs were worthy of any religious worship, and therefore censured pilgrimages to places accounted sacred; he ridiculed the miracles reported as occurring in the temples consecrated to the martyrs, and condemned the practice of keeping vigils therein; he said that the custom of burning wax candles in the day-time at the sepulchres of the martyrs, was imprudently borrowed by Christians from the ancient superstition of the pagans; he maintained that prayers addressed to departed saints were fruitless; he treated with contempt the [prevailing] fasts, the celibacy of the clergy, and the monastic life; and he maintained that neither those who distributed all their goods among the poor in order to live in voluntary poverty, nor those who sent portions of their property to Jerusalem, performed an act pleasing and acceptable to God. These sentiments were not offensive to several of the Gallic and Spanish bishops. But Jerome, the most renowned monk of that age, attacked this bold religious reformer with so much acrimony, that he readily saw he must be silent if he would have his life in safety. This effort therefore to check the reigning superstition was crushed in its commencement.[2] The good man's name still remains in the list of heretics, recognised by those who follow not their own judgment or the decision of the holy Scriptures, but the decisions of antiquity.

15. The contests which agitated Egypt near the close of the preceding century respecting Origen, were in this century prosecuted at the court of Constantinople with little prudence or decency. Some monks of Nitria being banished from Egypt on account of Origen, took refuge at Constantinople, and were treated by John Chrysostom, the bishop of that city, with candour and kindness. As soon as this was known by Theophilus of Alexandria, he began to plot against Chrysostom; and sending the renowned Epiphanius with several other bishops to Constantinople, he endeavoured to deprive that most eloquent prelate of his office. The time was a favourable one for his purpose, for Chrysostom, by the strictness of his discipline and by the severity with which he lashed the vices of the times, and particularly those of some ladies of the court, had incurred the most violent resentment of many, and especially of Eudoxia, the wife of Arcadius the emperor. Eudoxia being enraged invited Theophilus and the Egyptian bishops to come to Constantinople, to assemble a council, and inquire into the religious sentiments, the morals, and the official conduct of Chrysostom. This council, which was held in the suburbs of Chalcedon in the year 403, and had Theophilus for its president, declared Chrysostom unworthy of the episcopal office, among other causes on account of his too great attachment to Origen and the followers of Origen, and therefore decreed his banishment. The people of Constantinople who were exceedingly attached to their bishop, became

[1] Augustine himself complains of this in his noted *Epistle* cxix. *ad Januarium*.

[2] Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, Article *Vigilantius*; Barbeyrac, *De la Morale des Pères*, p. 252; Vossius, *Theses Historico-Theologicæ*, p. 170; *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome ii. p. 57, &c. [That Vigilantius was an honest and correct theologian and that his name ought to be erased from the list of heretics, appears highly probable from a candid examination of the whole subject. See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer*, vol. iii. pages 673—704; and Vogel, *De Vigilantio Hæretico Orthodoxo*, Gotting. 1756.—*Mur.* [The history of this reformer and his controversy with Jerome have been recently subjected to an elaborate examination by the Rev. Dr. Gilly, in his learned and instructive work, *Vigilantius and his Times*, Lond. 1844, 8vo, which the student ought by all means to consult, in order to obtain a clear idea of the deplorable state of religion in the early part of this century. I would also refer the reader to some striking and pertinent observations on the character and position of both Jovinian (formerly mentioned) and Vigilantius, in Isaac Taylor's *Introductory Essay* to Williams' translation of Pfizer's *Life of Luther*, Lond. 1840, p. 14, &c.—*R.*

tumultuous, and impeded the execution of this unjust sentence; but the tumult subsiding, the same judges the next year A.D. 404, in order to gratify their own enmity and that of Eudoxia, renewed the sentence under another pretext; and Chrysostom, surrendering himself to his enemies, went into banishment at Cucusus, a city of Cilicia, where he died three years after.[1] His departure was followed by a great insurrection of the Johannists (for so his partisans were called) which the edicts of Honorius with difficulty suppressed.[2] That the proceedings against Chrysostom were most unjust, no one doubts; yet it was a fault in him that he determined to avail himself of the elevation decreed to the bishops of his see by the council of Constantinople, and to assume the prerogatives of a judge in the contest between Theophilus and the monks, which greatly exasperated the Alexandrine prelate. The monks of Nitria having lost their patron, sought a reconciliation with Theophilus, but the Origenist party still continued to flourish in Egypt, Syria, and the neighbouring countries, and Jerusalem became the centre and rendezvous of the sect.[3]

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF CEREMONIES AND RITES.

1. To recount all the regulations made in this century respecting the mode of worship and religious rites and institutions, would require a volume of considerable size. The curious in these matters are referred to the Acts of the councils and to the works of the principal writers of those times. There were some however among those writers, who were not so corrupted by the bad examples of their age as not candidly to acknowledge that true piety in the soul was oppressed by that enormous load of ceremonies. This evil originated partly from the degeneracy and indolence of the teachers, partly from the calamities of the times which were unfavourable to mental cultivation, and partly from the innate depravity of man, which disposes him more readily to offer to God the service of his limbs and eyes than that of his heart.

2. Public worship everywhere assumed a form more calculated for show and for the gratification of the eye. Various ornaments were added to the sacerdotal garments in order to increase the veneration of the people for the clerical order. The new forms of hymns, prayers, and public fasts, are easily enumerated. In Gaul particularly were instituted the Rogations or public supplications, which precede the festal day of Christ's ascension.[4] In some places it was appointed that the praises of God should be sung perpetually day and night, the singers succeeding each other without interruption,[5] as if the Supreme Being took pleasure in clamour and noise, and in the flatteries of men. The magnificence of the temples had no bounds.[6] Splendid images were placed in them, and among these, after the Nestorian contests, the image of the virgin Mary holding the infant in her arms occupied the most conspicuous place. Altars and repositories for relics made of solid silver if possible, were procured in various places, from which may easily be conjectured what must have been the splendour and the expense of the other sacred utensils.

3. On the contrary, the Agapæ or Love-feasts were abolished, because as piety diminished gradually and continually, these feasts gave to many persons occasions for sin.[7] Among the Latins grievous offenders,

[1] See the authors referred to in the preceding century, to whom add the writers on the Life of Chrysostom—viz. Tillemont, Hermont, and others; and *Nouv. Diction. Histor. et Crit.* tome i. p. 79, 80. [See also note 3, p. 133, above; and Socrates, *H. E.* lib. vi. cap. ix.—xviii.; Sozomen, *H. E.* lib. viii. cap. xiii.—xxii.—*Mur.*

[2] See his three Laws with the notes of Gothofredus, in the *Codex Theodos.* tom. v. pag. 83, 113, &c.

[3] See Cyril's, *Vita Sabæ*, in Cotelier, *Monumenta Eccles. Græcæ*, tom. ii. p. 274; Asseman, *Biblioth. Orientol. Vatic.* tom. ii. p. 31, &c.

[4] See Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epist.* lib. v. ep. 16; and lib. vi. ep. 1.; Martene, *Thesaurus Anecdot.* tom. v. p. 47. The three days immediately preceding Ascension-day—that is, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, it is said were first observed as days of public fasting with solemn processions and supplications, by order of Claudius Mamertus, bishop of Vienne, in a time of great public calamity. Whether this was in the year 452 or 463 or 474, writers are not agreed; but the custom was approved, imitated, and repeated, till at length it became a law in the Latin church that these days should be so observed to secure a blessing on the fruits of the earth and the temporal interests of men. The three days were called Rogation Days, and the week Rogation Week, and the Sunday preceding Rogation Sunday, from the Rogations or Litanies chanted in the processions of these days. See Baillet, *Vies des Saints et l'histoire des Festes*, tome iv. p. 92, &c.—*Mur.*

[5] Gervais, *Hist. de Suger*, tome i. p. 23. [This custom probably originated in the East. There, in the beginning of the fifth century, one Alexander established under the auspices of Gennadius, the patriarch of Constantinople, the Order of *Acœmetæ* (ἀκοιμῆται) or the Sleepless, who so regulated their worship that it was never interrupted by day or by night, one class of the brethren succeeding another continually. This order obtained afterwards the name of Studites, from a rich Roman counsellor of the name of Studius who went to Constantinople, and erected a cloister appropriated to this order.—*Schl.*

[6] See an example in Zacharias of Mitylene, *De Opificio Mundi*, pages 165, 166.

[7] The abolition of the love-feasts was in part effected in the fourth century. The council of Laodicea, canon twenty-eight, first ordained that they should no longer be held in the churches. A similar decree was passed in the year 397 by the third council of Carthage, canon twenty [thirty]; yet the custom was too firmly established to be at once rooted out. Hence we find that in the times of Augustine, love-feasts were still kept in the churches. (Augustine *contra Faustum*, lib. cap. xx. xxi. *Confess.* lib. vi. cap. ii. and *Epist.* lxiv.) Yet he there informs us that all kinds of feasting had been

who before had to confess their sins in public, were relieved from this unpleasant duty; for Leo the Great gave them liberty to confess their crimes privately to a priest selected for that purpose. In this way the ancient discipline, the sole defence of chastity and modesty, was removed, and the actions of men were subjected to the scrutiny of the clergy, which was greatly for their interest.[1]

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF RELIGIOUS SCHISMS AND HERESIES.

1. SOME of the earlier sects acquiring new vigour, dared to disquiet the church. I will pass in silence those inauspicious names of former days, the Novatians, the Marcionites, and Manichæans, notwithstanding a numerous progeny of them appeared here and there, and will confine my remarks to those two pests of the preceding century, the Donatists and the Arians.

The Donatists had hitherto been prosperous. But near the commencement of this century the Catholic bishops of Africa, led on principally by St. Augustine of Hippo, put forth all their energies to crush and destroy this sect, which was not only very troublesome to the church, but through the Circumcelliones, who were its soldiers, pernicious also to the commonwealth. Accordingly in the year 404, the council of Carthage sent deputies to the emperor Honorius, petitioning that the imperial laws against heretics might be extended to embrace explicitly the Donatists, who denied that they were heretics, and also that the fury of the Circumcelliones might be restrained.[2] The emperor therefore first imposed a fine upon all Donatists who should refuse to return to the church, and ordered their bishops and teachers to be banished.[3] The following year additional and more severe laws were enacted against the Donatists, which were usually called [edicta unitatis] Acts of Uniformity.[4] And as the magistrates were perhaps somewhat remiss in executing these laws, the council of Carthage in the year 407, sent a new deputation to the emperor, by which they requested and obtained the appointment of special executors of these Acts of Uniformity.[5]

2. The weakened party recovered some strength and courage in the year 408, when Stilicho was put to death by order of Honorius;[6] and still more in the year 409, when Honorius issued a law that no one should be coerced in matters of religion.[7] But the council of Carthage in the year 410 again sent a deputation to the emperor, and obtained a repeal of this law,[8] and likewise the appointment of Marcellinus, a tribune and a notary [or imperial secretary] to visit Africa in the year 411, with full power to bring this long and pernicious controversy to a conclusion. Accordingly Marcellinus about the feast of Easter A.D. 411, in that solemn trial which is called a conference, formally examined the cause, and after a three days' hearing of the parties gave sen-

excluded from the church by Ambrose. In the Gallic churches love-feasts were prohibited by the council of Orleans, A.D. 541; and as here and there some relics of them appeared in the seventh century, the council *in Trullo* [A.D. 692, can. seventy-four] was induced to confirm the canon of the Laodicean council, by annexing the penalty of excommunication.—*Schl.*

[1] That the strictness of the ancient discipline was greatly relaxed admits no question. But that all public testimony against particular offenders, all public penances and public censures were commuted for private confession before priests and for private penances (as Mosheim seems to intimate), is contrary to the voice of history. All public offenders and all such as were proved guilty of gross crimes, were still liable to public censures. But the ancient practice of voluntary confession before the church, of private offences and secret sins, had for some time gone into desuetude. Instead of such confessions before the church, in most places both of the East and the West, these voluntary confessions were made only to a priest in private, and he directed the persons to such a course as he deemed proper. In some churches however in Campania and the vicinity, the practice was for the priests to write down these voluntary disclosures; and if the persons were directed to do penance, their confessions were also read in public. It was to correct this public disclosure of voluntary confessions that Leo I. in the year 460, wrote the epistle to the bishops of Campania, Piceenum, and Samnium, to which Mosheim refers. See his works, *Epist.* cxxx. or in some editions *Ep.* lxxx. It is cited also in Baronius, *Annales, Ann.* 459, *subfinem.* See also Bower's *Lives of the Popes, Leo I.* vol. ii. p. 124, &c.—*Mur.* [And Bingham's *Origin. Eccles.* vol. vi. p. 487, where the substance of Pope Leo's letter is given.—*R.*

[2] The documents of this transaction may be found in Mansi, *Collectio Concilior. Ampliss.* tom. iii. p. 1157, and in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. i. in *Cod. Eccles. African.* can. xcii. &c. p. 915, &c. and in Du Pin, *Monument. Vet. ad Donat. hist. pertin.* p. 216. Compare also Augustine, *Ep.* xciii. and among the moderns Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. iv. p. 192, &c.—*Schl.*

[3] Even before the arrival of the deputies from the council, the emperor had determined vigorously to persecute the Donatists, and to compel them to a union with their opposers; and had issued a law by which the refractory bishops and clergy were to be banished and the laity to be fined. The character of this law may be learned from Augustine, *Epist.* clxxxv. sec. xxv. &c. and *Epist.* lxxxviii. sec. vii. The law itself is probably lost. The edict which was issued after the petition of the council is in the *Codex Theodos. De Hæret.* lib. xxxviii.—*Schl.*

[4] These *Edicts of Uniformity* are mentioned in the *Codex Theodos.* lib. ii. *De Religione*, and in the Decree of the council of Carthage A.D. 407, in *Cod. Eccles. African.* can. xcix. and by Du Pin, p. 220. Gothofredus and Tillemont suppose the before mentioned law (lib. xxxviii. *De Hæret.*) and lib. iii. *Ne bapt. iterand.* were included among them.—*Schl.*

[5] The documents are found in Du Pin, and the laws in the *Codex Theodos.* lib. xli. and xliii. *De Hæret.*—*Schl.*

[6] See Augustine, *Ep.* xcvii. sec. ii. &c. *Ep.* c. sec. ii. *Ep.* cv. sec. vi.—*Schl.*

[7] This law is in the *Codex Theodos.* lib. i. *De Hæret* and in Du Pin, *Monument.* p. 224.—*Schl.*

[8] See Noris, *Hist. Donatist.* p. 533.—*Schl.*

tence in favour of the Catholics.[1] Before this court two hundred and eighty-six Catholic bishops and two hundred and seventy-nine Donatist bishops were assembled. The vanquished Donatists appealed indeed to the emperor, but in vain. The principal actor in all these scenes was the celebrated Augustine, who by his writings, his counsels, and his admonitions, controlled nearly the whole African church and the leading men of the country.[2]

3. By the conference at Carthage the Donatist party lost a large part of its strength; nor could it ever recover from the shock, notwithstanding the revolutions of the country. Through fear of punishment very many submitted to the will of the emperor and returned to the church. On the contumacious the severest penalties were inflicted, such as fines, banishment, confiscation of goods, and even death upon the more obstinate and seditious.[3] Some escaped these penalties by flight, others by concealing themselves, and some by a voluntary death; for the Donatists were much inclined to practice suicide. The Circumcelliones escaped by travelling up and down the province with arms and violence, everywhere venting their rage. To the Donatists their former liberties and repose were indeed restored by the Vandals, who under Genseric their king, invaded Africa in the year 427, and wrested this province from the Romans. But the edicts of the emperors had inflicted such a wound on the sect, that though it revived and grew a little under the Vandals, it could never recover the influence it formerly possessed.[4]

4. The Arians, oppressed and persecuted by the imperial edicts, took refuge among those barbarous nations who gradually overturned the Roman empire in the West, and found among the Goths, Heruli, Suevi, Vandals, and Burgundians, a fixed residence and a quiet retreat. Being now safe they treated the Catholics with the same violence which the Catholics had employed against them and other heretics, and had no hesitation about persecuting the adherents of the Nicene doctrines in a variety of ways. The Vandals who had established their kingdom in Africa surpassed all the rest in cruelty and injustice. At first Genseric their king and then Huneric his son demolished the temples of such Christians as maintained the divinity of the Saviour, sent their bishops into exile, mutilated many of the more firm and decided, and tortured them in various ways;[5] and they expressly stated that they were authorized to do so by the example of the emperors, who had enacted similar laws against the Donatists in Africa, the Arians, and others who dissented from them in religion.[6] During this African persecution God himself is said to have confuted the Arians by a great miracle, causing by his almighty power the persons whose tongues had been cut out by order of the tyrants to speak distinctly notwithstanding, and to proclaim the glory and the praises of Christ. The fact itself no one can well deny, for it rests on powerful testimony; but whether there was anything supernatural in it may be questioned.[7]

[1] See Baldwin (who was a lawyer), *Hist. Collationis Carthag.* subjoined to *Optatus Milevitanus*, ed. Du Pin, p. 337.—This meeting called by Marcellinus is improperly denominated a conference, or a free discussion; for the Donatists and Catholics did not enter into a disputation in which each party endeavoured to vanquish the other by arguments. It was truly and properly a legal trial, in which Marcellinus as the judge of this ecclesiastical cause appointed by the emperor, after a three days' hearing of the parties, pronounced sentence authoritatively. It appears therefore that no one then once thought of any supreme judge in the church appointed by Christ. These bishops of Africa made application solely to the emperor in this contest.—[For an account of this Conference, the reader may consult with advantage Walch's *Hist. der Ketzer* vol. iv. p. 198, &c. As to the sources of knowledge concerning it, see the *Gesta Collationis Carthagine habit.* published in Du Pin's *Monumenta apud Hist. Donat.* p. 225, &c. in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. i. p. 1043, &c.: also Augustine, *Brevicul. Collationis cum Donatistis*, in his *Opp.* tom. ix. p. 371, &c.—*Schl.*

[2] His writings against the Donatists fill the whole ninth volume of his works, according to the Amsterdam impression of the Benedictine edition. His recommendations in the Donatist contest were not always the best. In his epistles to Vincentius and to Boniface he speaks in such a manner about punishing heretics, that he must be regarded as the man whose writings afforded most support to that spirit of persecution, which laid waste the church in after ages more than in his own times. In the contests with the Donatists he seemed often to show himself on the side of those who would pursue mild measures, for he himself made representations to the imperial court against punishing the Donatists with death. Yet these representations are founded, not on correct views respecting toleration, but on the current principle that it is unseemly for Christians to bear a part in the execution of criminals.—*Schl.*

[3] By virtue of the law (*Codex Theodos. De Hæreticis*, lib. iii.) all Donatists without distinction and their married women, if they would not unite with the orthodox, were to be fined according to the wealth of each individual. Such as would not be reclaimed by this means were to forfeit all their goods, and such as protected them were liable to the same penalties. Servants and country tenants were to undergo corporeal punishments by their masters and lords, or on the other hand suffer the same pecuniary mulcts. The bishops and all the clergy were to be banished to different places, yet always beyond the province, and all Donatist churches were transferred to the opposite party.—*Schl.*

[4] See Witsius, *Hist. Donat.* cap. viii. sec. ix.—*Schl.*

[5] See Victor Vitensis, *De Persecutione Vandalica*, published by Ruinart in connexion with his own *Hist. Persecutionis Vandal.* Paris, 1698, 8vo, [and reprinted, Venice, 1732.—*Mur.*

[6] See the edict of king Huneric in Victor Vitensis, lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 64, where much is said on this subject.

[7] See Ruinart, *Hist. Persecut. Vandal.* pt. ii. cap. vii. p. 482, &c. and the recent and acute discussions of some Englishmen respecting this miracle. *Bibliothèque Britannique*, tome iii. pt. ii. p. 339, &c. tome v. pt. i. p. 171, &c. [Maclaine has here a long note in review of the discussions respecting this alleged miracle, by Abadie, Berriman, Chapman, and Dodwell, who defend

5. A new sect, which was the source of lamentable evils to the church, was formed by Nestorius, a Syrian by birth, bishop of Constantinople. He was a pupil of the celebrated Theodorus of Mopsuestia, a man of eloquence and not without learning, but arrogant and indiscreet. That Christ was truly God and at the same time truly man had been placed beyond all controversy by the decrees of former councils; but as to the mode and the effects of the union of these two natures in Christ, hitherto there had been no discussion among Christians, and nothing had been decided by the councils. The Christian doctors were therefore accustomed to express themselves differently respecting this mystery. Some used expressions which seemed to separate the Son of God from the Son of man too much, and to make out two persons in Christ. Others seemed to confound the Son of God with the Son of man, and to make the divine and human natures in Christ coalesce, and constitute one compound nature. The Syrian and oriental doctors differed in this matter from those of Alexandria and Egypt after the rise of the sect of Apollinaris, who taught that the man Christ was without a proper human soul, and that the divine nature in Christ supplied the place of a rational soul, whence sprang a confounding of the natures. The Syrians therefore, in order to oppose the followers of Apollinaris, carefully distinguished the man from the God in Christ, and used phraseology which might lead to the supposition that they divided the person of Christ into two persons. On the contrary, the Alexandrians and the Egyptians were accustomed to adopt modes of expression which might be charged with favouring Apollinarism, and which seemed to imply a confusion of the two natures. Nestorius being bred in the Syrian schools, and extremely anxious for the extermination of all the sects, and especially that of the Apollinarists, discoursed of the two natures in Christ after the manner of his instructors, and directed his hearers to make a distinction between the Son of God and the Son of man, and carefully to discriminate the actions and sensations of the one from those of the other.[1]

the miracle; and by an anonymous writer, and Middleton, and Toll, who controvert it. The discussion turned on four points. 1st, The credibility of the testimony; 2d, The degree in which the men were mutilated; 3d, The possibility of speaking with imperfect and even with no tongues; and 4th, The probability that God would work a miracle to decide such a theological dispute. Schlegel's note is more historical, and though long, may be worth inserting entire. Huneric (he says) in the beginning of his reign was very indulgent to the orthodox, and at the request of the emperor Zeno allowed them to choose a bishop of Carthage, on condition that the Arian churches in the Roman empire should be allowed the same privilege. The orthodox did actually choose Eugenius for their bishop (Victor Vitens. *De Persecut. Vandal.* lib. ii. cap. vii.); but, by the instigation of the Arian bishops, Huneric afterwards changed his course. He forbade any person in a Vandal dress attending the orthodox worship, and in the year 483 he banished to the deserts a great number of their teachers with their adherents, on pretence of a violation of the royal statutes. In the year 484, in February, a formal conference of both parties was appointed, when the orthodox handed in a long confession of their faith, but without gaining a hearing from the Vandal patriarch, Cyrila. After this, Huneric forbade by a severe law all public worship among the orthodox, ordered their books to be burned, caused the 466 bishops who had been called to Carthage to be arrested and banished to different countries, and endeavoured to compel all his subjects to become Arians. At Typasus in Mauritania most of the inhabitants fled to Spain, because Cyrila determined to force upon them an Arian bishop. Such as stayed behind refused to accept the bishop, and kept up their own separate worship. Hunerie therefore caused their tongues to be cut out by the roots, and their right hands to be chopped off; they were able notwithstanding to speak distinctly. Victor expresses himself with so much assurance on this subject, that he says whoever doubts the fact need only go to Constantinople; where he will now meet with a subdeacon named Reparatus, who although his tongue was cut out nevertheless speaks without any effort, clearly and distinctly, and is on that account in high esteem in the court of the emperor Zeno, and especially with the empress. Æneas of Gaza, a Platonic philosopher, who then lived at Constantinople and was an eyewitness, in his Dialogue on the Resurrection, entitled *Theophrastus* (p. 81), says he had himself seen these people, and had heard them to his amazement speak distinctly, that he would not trust his ears but ascertained the fact by oral proof, that he made them open their mouths and then found that their tongues were cut out at the roots. Procopius testifies that many of those whose tongues had been cut out, were living at Constantinople in his time, and that they spoke very distinctly. The Count Marcellinus who was chancellor to Justinian and compiled his Chronicle from the records of the judicial courts, says, *se vidisse mutum quendam, ita natum, post abscissum linguam statim locutum, refutasse Arianorum hæresin et de fide Christiana veras voces emisisse.* Isidorus in his Chronicle testifies also to the fact, as does Evagrius in his *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. iv. See Valesius on these passages, and Sagittarius, *De Cruciat. Martyr.* p. 296, and Schmidt, *Diss. de Elinguatis Mysterium Trinitatis Prædicantibus*, in his *Decas. Dissert. Hist. Theol.* No. vii. Even Justinian himself (*Codex Justin.* lib. i. tit. xxvii. *De Officio Præfecti Prætorio Africæ*) says, "We have seen venerable men with their tongues cut out from the roots, lamentably describing their sufferings." One must therefore carry historical scepticism quite too far if he would question the reality of the fact. But whether it be not possible that a man should speak distinctly without a tongue, and also whether that which took place in Africa during the persecution was a real miracle or not, are more properly physical than historical questions.—*Mur.* [See Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, cap. xxxvii. and Newman's *Essay on the Eccles. Miracles* prefixed to his translation of Fleury, p. 200. —*R.*

[1] A *History of Nestorianism* was written in French by the Jesuit Doucin, Paris, 1716, 4to. But it is such a one as might be expected from a person who was obliged to rank Cyril among the saints and Nestorius among the heretics. [A better account is given by Walch in his *Hist. der Ketzer*, vol. v. p. 289, &c. to the end of the volume.] The ancient writers on both sides are mentioned by Buddeus, *Isagoge in Theologiam*, tom. ii. p. 1084, &c. In what manner the oriental writers relate the matter is stated by Renaudot, *Hist. Patriar. Alexand.* p. 108, and by Asseman, *Biblio. Oriental. Vatic.* tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 67, &c [For the sources of knowledge and a list of the writers on this controversy, see Walch, *ubi supra*, p. 304, &c.—For testimony to the persecuting spirit of Nestorius, see Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. cap. xxix. where we are told that on the very day of his installation he thus publicly addressed the emperor: "Give me a country purged of heretics and I will recompense you with

6. The occasion for this controversy was given by Anastasius, a presbyter and the intimate friend of Nestorius. In a public discourse delivered A.D. 428, Anastasius opposed the use of the word Θεοτόκος or mother of God, which was now more frequently applied to the mother of Christ in discussions with the Arians than formerly, and to which the Apollinarists were exceedingly attached; alleging that the holy virgin could only be called Χριστοτόκος, mother of Christ, because God could neither be born nor die, so that only the Son of man was born of Mary. Nestorius approved this discourse of his friend, and in several addresses explained and defended it.[1] Some monks at Constantinople made opposition, maintaining that the son of Mary was God incarnate, and they excited the populace against Nestorius. But some persons were pleased with his discourses, and when they were carried to the monks of Egypt, these were so moved by his arguments that they embraced his opinions, and ceased to denominate Mary the mother of God.[2]

7. Cyril, a man of a most restless and arrogant spirit, was then bishop of Alexandria, and of course jealous of the increasing power and authority of the Constantinopolitan prelate. On hearing of this controversy he first reprimanded both the monks and Nestorius; but as the latter would not retract, after advising with Cœlestine the bishop of Rome, Cyril resolved on war, and calling a council at Alexandria A.D. 430, he hurled twelve anathemas at the head of Nestorius, who, finding himself accused of blasphemy against Christ, returned as many anathemas against Cyril, accusing him of the same crime and of Apollinarianism, and of confounding the two natures of Christ.[3] This contest between two bishops of the highest rank, and originating rather from the depraved passions of the mind than from a sincere love of truth, was the parent and cause of immense evils.

8. The feelings of the parties being so exasperated by their reciprocal excommunications and letters that there was no prospect of an amicable termination of the controversy, the emperor, Thodosius II. assembled a council at Ephesus in the year 431, which is accounted the third general council. Cyril, the adversary of Nestorius, presided, and he wished to have the cause examined and decided before John, the bishop of Antioch, and the other bishops of the East should arrive. Nestorius maintained that both circumstances were contrary to equity, and therefore when summoned to trial he refused to appear; but Cyril, pressing the business forward, without a hearing of the cause, and a great part of the bishops being absent, Nestorius, whom the council compare with Judas the betrayer of the Saviour, was condemned as guilty of blasphemy, deprived of his office, and sent into banishment, where he closed his days.[4] That

heaven; aid me to conquer the heretics, and I will aid you to conquer the Persians." And five days after he commenced his work by demolishing the Arian house of worship, and proceeded to persecute the Novatians, the Quartodecimani, and the Macedonians. He was undoubtedly a rash zealot, yet a person of some talents, sincere, and by no means inclined to be a heresiarch See a general account of him in note 5, p. 185 above. —*Mur.*

[1] See these discourses of Nestorius in the works of Marius Mercator, tom. ii. p. 5, &c. accompanied with the observations of Garnier. [See also Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. cap. xxxii.—*Mur.*

[2] Cyril, against Nestorius, lib. i. and in his Epistle to the monks, to Nestorius, and to Cœlestine.—*Schl.*

[3] See Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. i p. 2190. Other anathemas different from the published ones are set forth by Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tome iii. pt. ii. p. 199, &c. See Walch's *Hist. der Ketzer*, vol. v. p. 700, &c. —*Von Ein.*

[4] Concerning this council the principal work to be consulted is the *Variorum Patrum Epistolæ ad Concilium Ephesinum pertinentes*, which Chr. Lupus published from some MSS. at Cassino and in the Vatican, Louvain, 1682, 4to. Nestorius was transported to Petra in Arabia, then to Oasis a desert place in Egypt, where he probably died in the year 435 [or rather after A.D. 439]. The accounts of his lamentable death given by Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. vii. and by Theodorus Lector, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. p. 565, are undoubtedly fables deserving no credit.—[On the council of Ephesus, see Walch, *Hist. der Kirchenversamm.* p. 275, &c.; and *Hist. der Ketzer*, vol. v. p. 452, &c. from which the following account is taken.—The emperor called the council, Nestorius was one of the first who arrived. With him came two imperial ministers of state, one of whom was accompanied by soldiers to protect the council, and was commanded by the emperor to remain with the council. Cyril of Alexandria appeared also attended by a number of Egyptian bishops, who with Memnon, bishop of Ephesus, were of his party. From the western provinces appeared only three deputies from the see of Rome, and one deacon deputed by the bishop of Carthage. Cyril presided, though a party. Nestorius, with the imperial commissioners, made the reasonable request that the opening of the council might be deferred till the arrival of John of Antioch and the other eastern bishops, and also of the Italian and Sicilian members. But neither prayers nor tears nor commands in the name of the emperor, could move the fiery Cyril to delay, although it was affirmed that John and the other eastern bishops were within five days' travel of Ephesus. The council was opened June 22. The imperial commissioner gave his public protest against the proceeding, and then retired. Nestorius was cited three times to appear, but he refused to stand before a court thus illegally sitting, and from which he had so little reason to expect justice. He was therefore on the same day pronounced a heretic by an irregular outcry. The condemnation was not founded on the holy Scriptures but on the writings of the fathers. The next day the decision was communicated to Nestorius, and an account of it was sent to Constantinople, with a letter recommending the immediate choice of a new bishop. Candidianus the imperial commissioner and Nestorius transmitted an account of the whole procedure to the emperor, and the former endeavoured, though in vain, to arrest the irregular proceedings at Ephesus. The arrival of John and the eastern bishops on the 27th of June, made the state of things worse rather than better. They were offended with the council for not waiting for their arrival, and united themselves with a considerable part of the council who opposed the violent measures against Nestorius, and who accused Cyril of many errors. Whether the two parties had afterwards any communication with each other is uncertain. John presided over the dis-

base artifices and intrigues were very influential in this council, and that Cyril was guided more by his passions than by justice and piety, no wise and good man will readily deny; but the doctrine established by the council, that Christ consists of one divine person, yet of two natures most closely united but not mixed and confounded, has been approved and acknowledged by the great body of Christians.

9. To pass by the minor errors which were attributed to Nestorius, he is said to have divided Christ into two persons, and to have held that the divine nature joined itself to the full formed man, and only aided him during his life. But Nestorius himself as long as he lived professed himself utterly opposed to such sentiments,[1] which were never directly stated by him, but only inferred by his adversaries from his rejection of the epithet mother of God, and from some incautious and ambiguous terms which he used. Hence very many, both among the ancients and the moderns, think that he held the same sentiments that the Ephesine fathers did, though he expressed himself in a different manner; and they cast the whole blame of this most destructive contest upon the restless spirit of Cyril, and his malignant disposition towards Nestorius.[2] Allowing

senting party, who met in the house where he lodged, and who in their precipitancy declared Cyril and Memnon to be deposed and to be banished. From this time there were two councils sitting at Ephesus, the one under Cyril and the other under John, as the presidents. The latter was supported by the imperial commissioner. But both committed such extravagances as show that the spirit of meekness did not rest upon these fathers. These intemperate proceedings threatened to kindle a flame in the church, and even to disturb the public peace. The emperor therefore thought it necessary to bring the matter before his court, and to proceed rather upon principles of good policy than of strict justice. He confirmed the decisions of both parties against each other, in regard to Nestorius, Cyril, and Memnon, and sent another of his ministers to Ephesus, to expel these three bishops from the city, and to admonish the others to unite and act together. In the mean time the bishops of Cyril's party had held no less than six sessions; in the first three of which the arrival and formal accession of the delegates from Rome to all the proceedings of Cyril against Nestorius, and the making out of an account of this to be sent to the emperor, were the principal transactions. The three subsequent sessions tended farther to widen the breach, as the eastern bishops were publicly excommunicated by the party of Cyril, and a new confession of faith was framed by them. The imperial minister now arrived and put Cyril and Memnon under arrest; but he laboured in vain to unite the fiercely contending parties. Both concluded to send their respective deputies to the court then at Chalcedon. Historians tell us the court people were friendly to Nestorius; if so, it will be difficult to assign the cause of the unexpected revocation by the emperor of his former decree, which deprived Cyril and Memnon of their offices, while he still condemned Nestorius to banishment. The party of Cyril indeed when they found things not proceeding according to their wishes at Ephesus, made every effort to meet the investigation of the case before the imperial court. And their movements were not unsuccessful. The outcry of the more worthless clergy and the monks against Nestorius may have made considerable impression, producing fear of an insurrection if Cyril were punished. Besides, Nestorius fell under the displeasure of Pulcheria, the emperor's sister, who had vast influence over him. And Cyril co-operated by means—always very efficacious in courts—the bribery of the ministers. It is strange that the subsequent ages should have regarded the Ephesine assembly as ranking among councils of the highest order, since in regard to the principal points it decided nothing happily, and what was done was in reality done by the emperor.—Schlegel's abridgment of Walch corrected by the original.—*Mur.*

[1] See Marius Mercator, *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 286, ed. Garnier; and fragments of the epistles of Nestorius written a little before his death, in Asseman, *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatic.* tom. ii. pag. 40, 41.

[2] Among the moderns Luther first held such sentiments and inveighed bitterly against Cyril, *De Conciliis*, in his *Opp.* tom. vii. ed. Altenb. pag. 265, 266, 273, &c. He was followed by innumerable others, as Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome iii. [and iv.] artic. *Nestorius* and *Rodon*; Salig, *De Eutychianismo ante Eutychem.* p. 200; Schütz, *De Vita Chytræi*, lib. ii. sec. xxix. pag. 190, 191; Volgt, *Biblioth. Historiæ Hæresiol.* tom. i. pt. ii. p. 457; Jablonski, *Exercit. de Nestorianismo*, Berl. 1720, 8vo. [republished, with two other dissertations on Nestorianism, in Te Water's edition of his *Opuscula*, vol. iv. pages 149—330.—*R.*]; *Thesaurus, Epistolicus Croxianus*, tom. i. p. 184, &c. tom. iii. p. 175; Jordan, *Vie de M. la Croze*, p. 231, and many others. What may be alleged against Nestorius is carefully collected by Asseman, *Biblio. Orient. Clement. Vatic.* tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 210, &c. [Walch (*Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. v. p. 778, &c.) after a careful investigation states the sentiments of Nestorius in the following propositions:—1. The doctrine of three persons in the one divine essence, as stated in the Nicene Creed, is true and certain. 2. In particular, the second Person, the divine Word, is true God, eternally begotten of the Father and of the same essence with him. 3. Yet Christ is not only true God but likewise a complete man—that is, he had a body and a rational soul just as we have. 4. His body he derived from the virgin Mary and in her womb. 5. Nothing therefore is more certain than that Christ possessed two natures, a divine and a human. 6. Yet there are not on this account two persons, two Sons, two Christs, two Lords; but he is one person, one Christ, one Son, one Lord. 7. There was therefore a union between the perfect God, the Word, and the perfect man; and this union may be expressed by various terms, among which συνάφεια [connexion] is the best, but ἕνωσις [union] is not to be rejected. 8. To the question, "What was united?" Nestorius answered, "God and man, the divinity and humanity, the two natures or two substances and hypostases, but not two persons." 9. This union did not consist in this, that the natures ceased to possess their peculiar properties, for the essential difference of the two natures remained without the least change or commixtion. 10. Yet the union was inseparable, so that the Word was never afterwards without the assumed man, nor the man without the Word. 11. The union of the two natures commenced with the existence of the human nature, when he was conceived in the womb of his mother. 12. It is therefore correctly said, the Word became man and was made flesh. 13. It is also correctly said, the Son of God took upon him man. 14. It is easy to state what kind of union Nestorius did not admit, but it cannot be proved that he distinctly believed as bishop John states. 15. To explain the connexion of the two natures of Christ as united in one person, Nestorius said: The Son of God dwells in the man, and the flesh is the temple of God. Yet he explained himself by saying that he did not understand such an indwelling, as the indwelling of God in the faithful and in the prophets. 16. Nestorius called the human nature an instrument by which the Son of God worked, and a garment with which he was clad, and said God carried and bare the man. 17. He also admitted a communion or intercourse of the two natures. 18. And at the same time maintained the so-called personal properties. 19. In respect to the communication of attributes, Nestorius held that in the Scriptures, names are used in reference to our Saviour which indicate the union of the two natures, but not one nature as distinct from the other—names with which we must connect the idea of the entire Christ, *e.g.*

these to judge correctly, still Nestorius must be pronounced guilty of two faults; first, that he was disposed rashly and with offence to many, to abolish the use of a harmless term[1] which had been long current; and secondly, that he presumed to express and explain, by unsuitable phrases and comparisons, a mystery which exceeds all human comprehension. If to these faults be added the excessive vanity and impetuosity of the man, it will be difficult to determine which was the principal cause of this great contest, Cyril or Nestorius.

10. The council of Ephesus was so far from putting an end to these contentions that it rather extinguished all hope of the restoration of harmony. John, bishop of Antioch, and the other eastern prelates whose arrival Cyril would not wait for, assembled at Ephesus, and they issued against Cyril and his friend Memnon, bishop of Ephesus, as severe a sentence as they had issued against Nestorius. Hence a violent and troublesome controversy arose between Cyril and the oriental bishops, who took John of Antioch for their leader. It was indeed partially adjusted in the year 433, when Cyril acceded to a formula of faith prescribed by John, and rejected the use of certain suspicious phrases. Yet the commotions it produced continued long in the East,[2] and no means could prevent the friends and disciples of Nestorius from spreading his doctrines through various provinces of the East, and everywhere gathering churches which rejected the Ephesine decrees.[3] The Persians in particular were averse from any reconciliation with Cyril, and persevered in maintaining that Nestorius was rashly condemned at Ephesus, and that Cyril subverted the distinction between the two natures of Christ. The propagation of the Nestorian doctrines was still more successful after the introduction of those doctrines into the celebrated Persian school, which had for some time flourished at Edessa; for the teachers in this school not only taught Nestorian principles to their pupils, but likewise translated from Greek into Syriac the writings of Nestorius and his master, Theodorus of Mopsuestia, as well as of Diodorus of Tarsus; and spread them throughout Assyria and Persia.[4]

Immanuel, Christ, Jesus, Son, Only begotten, Lord 20. Nestorius admitted that the Scriptures attribute to Christ both divine and human attributes and acts; and he states this rule for interpreting them: Every attribute and act which the Scriptures ascribe to Christ, must be understood indeed of the one person, yet not of both his natures; but the sublime and God-befitting must be referred to the divine nature, and the inferior to the human nature. 21. In the writings of Nestorius important passages occur relating to expressions which denote the participation or communication of attributes and which are indicative of his real sentiments on the subject. They may be divided into two classes. To the first class belong the expressions by which the properties and changes of the human nature are referred to Christ in his divine nature, or (according to the customary phrasecology of those times) to the Word that was God. The first expression is that of being born. It is undeniable that Nestorius (though not likewise his friends, a few only excepted) rejected the use of the term, mother of God, as also the expression, Mary bore the Deity, or what was born of Mary was God. Yet it is equally undeniable that Nestorius did not reject the term, mother of God, nor indeed the other expressions utterly and perseveringly, except under the limitation being so and so understood; otherwise he acknowledged and professed the correctness and harmlessness of them. 22. The next expression is, the sufferings, the death and burial of Christ. Nestorius did not deny that it was God, or man in union with God, *i.e.* one Christ, that was crucified, suffered, died, and was buried. But he did deny that Christ, in so far as he was God, was the subject of these changes, because he was in his divine nature unchangeable, and incapable of suffering and dying. 23. The third expression is resurrection. On this, his views were the same as on the preceding. As he had borrowed the word temple from John ii. 19, &c. he insisted that Christ there distinguishes the temple from him who raises it up. Yet this distinction he would understand to imply not a division of persons, but only a difference of natures. 24. To the second class belong such as relate to the doctrine of a communication of the properties of the divine nature to the human. And here Nestorius did not deny that the man Christ possessed divine properties, but only that he possessed them of himself and not by virtue of the union. 25. He conceded that to Christ as to his human nature, the divine names and titles were pertinent, but with the limitation again, not of himself, but on account of the union. 26. He admitted that to the man Christ divine worship belonged; but again, not for his own sake, but on account of the union. 27. The species of communication of attributes which our theologians call *apotelesmatic* (attributing the mediatorial acts of the Redeemer in his official capacity, either to the complex person or to either of his natures indiscriminately) Nestorius fully recognised; and it is not true that he regarded the work of redemption as the work solely of the human nature. 28. Hence it follows that Nestorius understood well and expressed distinctly, the unity of the person of Christ, and also the diversity and union of the two natures, with its consequences; yet that he was always anxious for excluding the use of such expressions as obscured and rendered undiscernible the distinction of the two natures. Hence, when he spoke of Christ, he preferred using a name expressive of his complex person. Thus he would rather say Χριστοτόκος, *mother of Christ*, than say Θεοτόκος, *mother of God*; or if the latter could not be avoided, he would add something to qualify it, as *mother of the God-Man*.—Walch is one who thinks the whole controversy between Nestorius and his accusers was a mere dispute about words and phrases. But Hofmann, in a dispute at Wittemberg, A.D. 1725, maintained that the Nestorian controversy was not mere logomachy.—*Schl.*

[1] The title, mother of God, applied to the virgin Mary, is not perhaps so innocent as Mosheim takes it to be. To the judicious and learned it can present no idea at all, and to the ignorant and unwary it may present the most absurd and monstrous notions. The invention and use of such mysterious terms as have no place in Scripture, are undoubtedly pernicious to true religion.—*Mucl.*

[2] See Salig, *De Eutychianismo ante Eutychen*, p. 243, &c. [and Walch's *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. v. p. 619, &c.—*Schl.*

[3] The Roman provinces in which Nestorianism most prevailed were the two Syrias, the two Cilicias, Bithynia, Mœsia, Thessaly, Isauria, and the second Cappadocia.—*Mur.*

[4] See Asseman, *Biblio. Orient. Clement. Vatic.* tom. i. p. 351, &c. tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 69; from which with other passages we should correct the account of the early history of Nestorianism given by Renaudot (*Liturg. Oriental.* tom. ii. p. 99, &c.) and by others.

11. To no one of all its friends is the Nestorian faith more indebted than it is to Barsumas. Ejected from the school of Edessa with his associates, and created in the year 435 bishop of Nisibis, he laboured from the year 440 to the year 485 with incredible assiduity and dexterity, to procure for Nestorianism a permanent establishment in Persia. Maanes, bishop of Ardaschir, was his principal coadjutor. His measures were so successful that all the Nestorians in Chaldea, Persia, Assyria, and the neighbouring countries, deservedly venerate him to this day as their only parent and founder. He persuaded the Persian monarch Pherozes to expel the Christians who adhered to the opinions of the Greek fathers, and not only to admit Nestorians in their place, but to allow them to make the first cities in Persia, Seleucia, and Ctesiphon, their primary seat, which their patriarch or Catholic has occupied down to our times. He also erected the famous school at Nisibis, from which issued those who, in this and the following century, carried the Nestorian doctrines into Egypt, Syria, Arabia, India, Tartary, and even to China.[1]

12. Before this sect became fully formed and established, there was some difference of opinion in it. Some said that the manner in which the two natures in Christ were combined was wholly unknown, but others denied any other connexion than that of will, operation, and dignity.[2] But this disagreement wholly disappeared from the time that the Nestorian community became duly consolidated; for it was decreed by synods assembled at Seleucia that there were in the Saviour of mankind two persons or ὑποστάσεις, namely a divine, that of the Word, and a human, that of Jesus; yet that both persons constituted but one Aspect, or as they (following Nestorius) expressed it, one Barsopa, that is, πρόσωπον; that this union of the Son of God with the Son of man took place at the moment of conception and would never end, but that it was not a union of natures or persons, but only of will and affection; Christ therefore must be carefully distinguished from God, who dwelt in Christ as in his temple (as Nestorius had said), and that Mary should never be called the mother of God, but only the mother of Christ. They reverence Nestorius as a holy man, and worthy of everlasting remembrance; but they maintain that his doctrine was much more ancient than he, being de-

See also Theodorus Lector, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. p. 558. [Some additional materials have been furnished by the researches of Cardinal Mai, towards enabling us to form more correct ideas of the history of this sect. In the tenth and last volume of his valuable collection, he has given in Latin and Syriac the canons of the Nestorian churches, as compiled by Ebedjesu, metropolitan of Nisibis and Armenia in the commencement of the 14th century; and at the end of the same volume he has printed, also in Syriac and Latin, the same bishop's *Liber Margaritæ* which appears to be a defence of the Nestorian tenets.—*R.*

1 All these transactions are well illustrated by the before mentioned Asseman, *Biblio. Orient. Clement. Vatic.* tom. iii. pt ii. p. 77, &c. [The Nestorians are not called by this name in the East (for they regard their doctrines as apostolic, and they never had any connexion with the person of Nestorius) but are generally called Chaldaic Christians (because their principal or head church is in the ancient Chaldea), and in some part of the East Indies, St. Thomas Christians, because they suppose they received Christianity from the apostle Thomas.—They constitute a large Christian community which has no connexion with others, have their own forms of worship, their own bishops, and their own ecclesiastical councils. Their church extends through all Asia and exists partly in the Persian, partly in the Turkish, and partly in the Mogul empires. The patriarch resides in a monastery not far from Mosul, and has a great many bishops under him. The enmity of the Persians and afterwards of the Muhammedans and Saracens against the Romans, contributed much to further the spread of this sect; for they received all refugees from the Roman empire, and extended full protection to such Christians as were not tolerated in the Roman provinces, and whom of course they could not suspect of any understanding with the Romans. Ibas, bishop of Edessa, was one of the greatest defenders of Nestorius among the orientals; and on that account his epistle to Marin, the Persian bishop of Ardaschir, was rejected by some councils; but the chief persons among them were Barsumas and his assistant Maanes. After the death of Barsumas, the archbishop of Seleucia, Babacus became the head of the party, and from this time onward the patriarchs (*catholici* or *jacelich*) resided at Seleucia, until under the caliphs Bagdat and Mosul were selected for that purpose. This Babacus held a council in the year 499, in which not only the whole Persian church professed itself to belong to the Nestorian community, but regulations were also made that all bishops and priests must be married, and second marriages of the clergy were not merely permitted but declared to be necessary. (See Asseman, *Biblio. Orient.* tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 177.) The Nestorians differ from other Christians in the following particulars; that they will not call Mary the mother of God, and wholly reject the expressions, God was crucified and died; that they admit no natural and personal, but only a friendly union of the Word that was God (for so they speak) with the man Jesus; that they teach there are in Christ two natures and two substances, each of which has its own personality; that thay reject the council of Ephesus, execrate Cyril as being a wicked wretch, and venerate Nestorius and Theodorus of Mopsuestia as being saints; that they worship no images, and perform their worship, which is very simple, in the Syriac language. Together with baptism, which they generally administer on the fortieth day after the birth, and the Lord's supper, in which they use leavened bread, they make the consecration of priests to be a sacrament. They also practise anointing with oil as a ceremony of worship, and likewise in slight diseases and even in commencing journeys, as a sort of consecration. See Baumgarten's *Geschichte der Religionspartheyen*, p. 586.—*Schl.* [Much valuable information on the present condition of the Nestorians in the East, is given in Wolff's *Journal;* in Grant's *Nestorian Christians settled in Ooroomia, Koordistan*, &c. Lond. 1841; in Perkins' *Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians*, Andover (U. S.), 1843, 8vo, a very interesting work by an American missionary; and in Wingard's *Review of the Present State of the Church of Christ*, translated from the Swedish, Lond. 1845, 12mo, p. 56. Since these works were written, the Nestorians have suffered much from the Kurds; and in 1846 numbers are reported to have been massacred in the mountains of Kurdistan.—*R.*

2 Leontius Byzantinus, *Adv. Nestorianos et Eutychianos;* in Canisius, *Lectiones Antiq.* tom. i. 537, and Basnage, *Prolegom. ad Canisium*, tom. i. cap. ii. p. 19, &c.

rived from the earliest ages of the church, and therefore they do not wish to be called Nestorians. And it appears in fact that Barsumas and his associates did not inculcate on their followers the precise doctrines taught by Nestorius, but they in some measure polished his imperfect system, enlarged it, and connected with it other doctrines which Nestorius never embraced.[1]

13. While avoiding the fault of Nestorius many ran into the opposite extreme. The most noted of these was Eutyches, abbot of a certain convent of monks at Constantinople, from whom originated another sect directly opposite to that of Nestorius, but equally troublesome and mischievous to the interests of Christianity; and which, like that, spread with great rapidity throughout the East, and acquired such strength in its progress that it gave immense trouble both to the Nestorians and to the Greeks, and became a great and powerful community. In the year 448 Eutyches now far advanced in years, in order more effectually to put down Nestorius, to whom he was a violent foe, explained the doctrine concerning the person of Christ in the phraseology of the Egyptians, maintaining that there was only one nature in Christ, namely, that of the the Word, who became incarnate.[2] Hence he was supposed to deny the humanity of Jesus Christ, and was accused by Eusebius of Doryleum before a council called by Flavianus perhaps in this very year at Constantinople. And as Eutyches refused to give up his opinions at the bidding of this council, he was cast out of the church and deprived of his office; and not acquiescing in this decree, he appealed to a general council of the whole church.[3]

14. The emperor Theodosius therefore convoked at Ephesus in the year 449 such a council as Eutyches had requested, and placed at the head of it Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, a man as ambitious and restless as Cyril, and as hostile to the bishop of Constantinople. In this council the business was conducted with the same kind of fairness and justice as by Cyril in the council of Ephesus against Nestorius; for Dioscorus, in whose church nearly the same things were taught as Eutyches had advanced, so artfully managed and controlled the whole of the proceedings, that the doctrine of one nature incarnate was triumphant, and Eutyches was acquitted of all error. On the contrary, Flavianus was severely scourged and banished to Epipa, a city of Lydia, where he soon after died.[4]

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1 On the whole of this Nestorian controversy the student would do well to consult the section (section 88) devoted to this subject, with its valuable references and extracts, in Gieseler, *Lehrbuch*, &c. Davidson's Transl. vol. i. p 389, &c. He should also compare with it the Roman Catholic view of the same controversy and of the respective tenets of Nestorius and Cyril, as given by a recent historian of that church, Döllinger, *History of the Church* translated by Cox, vol. ii. p. 148, &c.—*R.*

2 That Cyril had so expressed himself, and had appealed to the authority of Athanasius to justify the phraseology, is beyond controversy. But whether Athanasius actually used such language is doubtful, for many think the book in which it occurs was not a production of Athanasius. See Le Quien, *Diss.* ii. *in Damascenum*, p. 31, &c and Salig, *De Eutychianismo ante Eutychen*, p. 112, &c. That the Syrians used the same phraseology before Eutyches' times and without offence, is shown by Asseman, *Biblio. Orient.* tom. i. p. 219.—We are yet in want of a solid and accurate history of the Eutychian troubles, which however Salig left in manuscript. [This has not yet been published, but Walch has given a very elaborate and full history of the Eutychian and Monophysite sects, filling the whole sixth, seventh, and eighth volumes of his *Hist. der Ketzer*. Lips. 1773, 76—78. 8vo, and Schroeckh has treated the subject well in his *Kirchengesch.* vol. xviii. pages 433—636, Lips. 1793, 8vo.—The points in controversy between Eutyches and his friends on the one part and their antagonists on the other, during the first period of the contest or till the council of Chalcedon in 451, according to Walch (*ubi supra*, vol vi pages 611—619) were in amount as follows. Both held alike—1, the perfect correctness of the Nicene Creed. And of course, 2, both held the doctrine of a trinity of persons in the Godhead; 3, that God, the Word, was made flesh; 4, that Christ was truly God and truly man united; and 5, that after the union of the two natures he was one person. But Eutyches maintained, 6, that the two natures of Christ after the union did not remain two distinct natures, but constituted one nature; and therefore, 7, that it was correct to say Christ was constituted of or from two natures, but not that he existed in two natures. For 8, the union of the two natures was such that, although neither of them was lost or was essentially changed, yet together they constituted one nature, of which compound nature and not of either of the original natures alone, must thenceforth be predicated each and every property of both natures. He accordingly denied, 9, that it is correct to say of Christ that, as to his human nature, he was ὁμοούσιος (*of the same nature*) with us. It is to be remembered that Eutyches was solicitous chiefly to confute Nestorius, who kept the two natures almost entirely distinct, and seemed to deny any other union than that of purpose and co-operation; and in particular he disliked all phrases which predicated the acts and sufferings of the human nature, of the divine nature; and to enable him to overturn this error he so blended the two natures that they could not afterwards be distinguished.—*Mur.*

3 This was an occasional council assembled for other purposes, before which Eusebius appeared and accused Eutyches. The council peremptorily required him to give up his opinions, and on his refusal proceeded at once to excommunicate him. See the Acts of this council in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. ii. p. 70, &c. See also Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer*. vol. vi. pages 108—158. —*Mur.*

4 See Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. i. p. 82, &c.; Liberatus, *Breviarium*, cap. xii. p. 76; Leo Magn. *Epist.* xciii. p. 625; Nicephorus, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. xiv. cap. xlvii. p. 550, &c. [Walch, *Hist. der Kirchenversamm.* p. 301, &c. and *Hist. der Ketzer*. vol. vi. pages 175—264; Bower's *Lives of the Popes* (Leo), vol. ii. pages 42—48, 4to. The aged emperor Theodosius II. was managed by the Eutychians, and therefore he called such a council as would accomplish their wishes. In the council, Eutyches offered a confession of faith which did not touch the point in debate, and this was accepted without allowing his accusers to be heard. By acclamation the doctrine of two natures in the incarnate Word was condemned. Dioscorus then proposed to condemn Flavianus and Eusebius. Here opposition was made, and Dioscorus called on the imperial commissioners, who threw open the doors of the church; a band of soldiers and an armed mob rushed in. The terrified bishops no longer resisted. Every member (in

The Greeks call this Ephesine council σύνοδον λῃστρικὴν, an Assembly of robbers, to signify that everything was carried in it by fraud and violence. This name indeed would be equally applicable to many councils of this and the subsequent times.

15. But the scene changed soon after. Flavianus and his adherents engaged Leo the Great, the Roman pontiff, on their side—a course which was commonly taken in that age by those who were foiled by their enemies—and also represented to the emperor that an affair of such magnitude demanded a general council to settle it. Theodosius however could not be persuaded to grant the request of Leo, and call such a council; but on his death Marcian, his successor, summoned a new council at Chalcedon in the year 451, which is called the fourth general council.[1] In this very numerous assembly the legates of Leo the Great (who had already publicly condemned the doctrine of Eutyches, in his famous Epistle to Flavianus) were exceedingly active and influential. Dioscorus therefore was condemned, deposed, and banished to Paphlagonia, the Acts of the Ephesine council were rescinded, the Epistle of Leo was received as a rule of faith, Eutyches, who had already been divested of his clerical dignity and exiled by the emperor, was condemned though absent, and not to mention the other decrees of the council, all Christians were required to believe, what most to this day do believe, that in Jesus Christ there is but one person yet two distinct natures no way confounded or mixed.[2]

16. This remedy, which was intended to heal the wounds of the church, was worse than the disease; for a great part of the Oriental and Egyptian doctors, though holding various sentiments in other respects, agreed in a vigorous opposition to this council of Chalcedon and to the Epistle of Leo the Great, which the council had adopted, and contended earnestly for one nature in Christ. Hence arose most deplorable discords and civil wars almost exceeding credibility. In Egypt the excited populace, after the death of the emperor Marcian [A.D. 457] murdered Proterius, the successor of Dioscorus, and appointed in his place Timotheus Ælurus, a defender of the doctrine of one incarnate nature. And although Ælurus was expelled from his office by the emperor Leo, yet under the [second succeeding] emperor, Basiliscus, he recovered it. After his death [A.D. 476] the friends of the council of Chalcedon elected Timotheus, surnamed Salophaciolus, and the advocates for one nature chose Peter Moggus. But Salophaciolus being dead, in the year 482 Moggus, by order of the emperor Zeno and by the influence of Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, obtained full possession of the see of Alexandria, and John Talaia, whom the Chalcedonians had elected, was removed.[3]

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all one hundred and forty-nine) signed the decrees. Flavianus was deposed and banished. Eusebius of Doryleum, Theodoret of Cyprus, Domnus of Antioch, and several others were also deposed. The decisions of this council were ratified by the emperor, and ordered to be everywhere enforced.—*Mur.*

1 This is the last of the *four* great œcumenical councils, whose determinations on the fundamental doctrines of the Trinity and the person of Christ are universally received, not merely by the Greek and Roman churches, but by Protestant churches, on the ground of their being consonant with Scripture. Hooker in his *Eccles. Polity* (book v. sec. 54) has made the following pithy observations on these councils, which distinctly set forth the purport of their respective decisions:—"There are but FOUR things which concur to make complete the whole state of our Lord Jesus Christ—his *deity*, his *manhood*, the *conjunction* of both, and the *distinction* of the one from the other being joined in one. FOUR principal heresies there are which have in those things withstood the truth: *Arians*, by bending themselves against the deity of Christ; *Apollinarians*, by maiming and misinterpreting that which belongeth to his human nature; *Nestorians*, by rending Christ asunder and dividing him into two persons; the followers of *Eutyches*, by confounding in his person those natures which they should distinguish. Against these there have been FOUR most famous ancient general councils: the council of *Nice* [325], to define against *Arians*; against *Apollinarians*, the council of *Constantinople*, [381]; the council of *Ephesus* [431], against *Nestorians*; against *Eutychians*, the *Chalcedon* council [451]. In FOUR words—ἀληθῶς, τελέως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀσυγχύτως, *truly, perfectly, indivisibly, distinctly;* the first applied to his being God; and the second to his being man; the third to his being of both, one; and the fourth to his still continuing in that one, both."—*R.*

2 See the Acts of this council in all the Collections of Councils; *e.g.* Harduin, tom. ii. p. 1, &c. See also Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. ii. iv.; Cave, *Hist. Liter.* vol. i. pages 482—487; Walch, *Hist. der Kirchenversamm.* pages 307—314; and *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. vi. pages 293—489; Bower, *Lives of the Popes* (Leo I.), vol. ii. pages 56—100, 4to; Münscher, *Dogmengesch.* iv. 96; Gieseler's Text-book by Cunningham i. 240. The exposition of faith in the 5th action of this council, was designed to guard against both Eutychian and Nestorian errors. After recognising the Nicene and Constantinopolitan creeds, with Leo's letter to Flavianus, &c. they say:—"Following therefore these holy fathers, we unitedly declare that one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, is to be acknowledged as being perfect in his Godhead and perfect in his humanity; truly God and truly man with a rational soul and body; of like essence (ὁμοούσιος) with the Father as to his Godhead, and of like essence (ὁμοούσιος) with us as to his manhood; in all things like us, sin excepted; begotten (γεννηθεὶς) of the Father from all eternity as to his Godhead; and of Mary the mother of God (θεοτόκου) in these last days, for us and for our salvation as to his manhood; recognised as one Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten; of two natures, unconfounded, unchanged, undivided, inseparable (ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως); the distinction of natures not all done away by the union, but rather the peculiarity (ἰδιότης) of each nature preserved, and combining (συντρεχούσης) into one substance (ὑπόστασιν); not separated or divided into two persons (πρόσωπα), but one Son, Only-begotten, God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ; as the prophets before [taught] concerning him, so he the Lord Jesus Christ hath taught us, and the creed of the fathers hath transmitted to us."—*Mur.*

3 See Liberatus, *Breviarium Hist.* cap. xvi. xvii. xviii.; Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. viii. lib. iii cap. iii.: Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* tom. ii. p. 410, &c.

17. In Syria the abbot Barsumas (a different person from Barsumas of Nisibis, who established the Nestorian sect) having been condemned by the council of Chalcedon, went about propagating the doctrine of Eutyches. He also spread this doctrine among the neighbouring Armenians about the year 460 by means of his disciple Samuel; yet the Syrians are commonly represented as afterwards giving up this harsher form of the Eutychian doctrine, under the guidance of Zenaias or Philoxenus, the bishop of Mabug [or Hierapolis], and the famous Peter [the Fuller] Gnapheus in Greek and Fullo in Latin; for these men denied what Eutyches is said to have taught, that the human nature of Christ was absorbed in the divine, and simply inculcated that Christ possessed one nature, which yet was a twofold or compound one. Still, as this doctrine was equally inconsistent with the decrees of the council of Chalcedon, the believers in it most stedfastly rejected that council.[1]

18. Peter, who was surnamed the Fuller, because while a monk he pursued the trade of a fuller, got possession of the see of Antioch; and although he was often ejected and condemned on account of his opposition to the council of Chalcedon, yet in the year 482 he obtained a full establishment in it by authority of the emperor Zeno, through the influence of Acacius, bishop of Constantinople.[2] This man, who was formed to promote discord and controversy, occasioned new contests, and was thought to aim at establishing a new sect called the Theopaschites, because he recommended to the eastern churches an addition to the hymn called Trisagium, by inserting after the words O Holy God, Holy Almighty, Holy Eternal, the clause—who wast crucified for us. He undoubtedly made this addition with sectarian views, intending to establish men more firmly in his favourite doctrine, that of but one nature in Christ. But his adversaries, especially Felix of Rome and others, perverted his meaning, and maintained that he intended to teach that all the three persons in the Godhead were crucified, and therefore such as approved this form of the hymn were called Theopaschites. The consequence of this dispute was, that the western Christians rejected this form of the hymn, which they understood to refer to the whole Trinity, but the oriental Christians continued to use it constantly, even down to modern times, without offence, because they refer the hymn to Christ only, or to but one person in the Trinity.[3]

19. To settle these manifold dissensions, which exceedingly disquieted both church and state, the emperor Zeno, in the year 482, by the advice of Acacius the bishop of Constantinople, offered to the contending parties that formula of concord which is commonly called his Henoticon. This formula repeated and confirmed all that had been decreed in the councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, against the Arians, Nestorians, and Eutychians, but it made no mention of the council of Chalcedon;[4] for Zeno had been led by Acacius to believe that the opposition of the disaffected was, not to the doctrine of the council of Chalcedon but to the council itself. This formula of concord was subscribed by the leaders of the Monophysite party, Peter Moggus, bishop of Alexandria, and Peter Fullo, bishop of Antioch. It was likewise approved by Acacius of Constanti-

[1] Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. ii. p. 1—10, and his Diss. *De Monophysitis* prefixed to this volume, p. 2, &c. [According to Walch, the parties were continually coming nearer together in doctrine, so that the theological dispute was sinking fast into a mere logomachy. But several questions of facts or acts of the parties became the subjects of lasting dispute and contention. See Walch's *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. vi. p. 796, &c. 825—832.—*Mur.*

[2] Valesius, *Diss. de Petro Fullone et de Synodis adversus eum collectis*, annexed to his *Scriptores Histor. Eccles.* tom. iii. p. 173, &c.

[3] See Noris, *De uno ex Trinitate carne passo*, in his *Opp.* tom. iii. Diss. i. cap. iii. p. 782; Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. i. p. 518, &c. tom. ii. p. 36, 180, &c. [and Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. vii. p. 237, &c. 329, 330, &c.—*Mur.*

[4] Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. cap. xiv; Liberatus, *Breviarium Hist.* cap. xviii. [in both of which the *Henoticon* is given. Mosheim's description of this famous decree is very imperfect. In it the emperor explicitly recognises the creed of the Nicene and Constantinopolitan councils, as the only established and allowed creed of the church, and declares every person an alien from the true church who would introduce any other. This creed he says was received by that council of Ephesus which condemned Nestorius, whom with Eutyches the emperor pronounces to be heretics. He also acknowledges the twelve chapters of Cyril of Alexandria to be sound and orthodox, and declares Mary to be the *mother of God* and Jesus Christ to possess *two natures*, in one of which he was ὁμοούσιος *of like substance* with the Father, and in the other, ὁμοούσιος with us. Thus he fully recognised the doctrines of the council of Chalcedon, without alluding at all to that body, and affirming that these doctrines were embraced by all members of the true church, he calls upon all Christians to unite on this sole basis, and "anathematizes every person who has thought or thinks otherwise, either now or at any other time, whether at Chalcedon or in any other synod whatever, but more especially the aforesaid persons, Nestorius and Eutyches, and such as embrace their sentiments," and concludes with renewed exhortations to a union on this basis. This formula of union was happily calculated to unite the more considerate of both parties. It required indeed some sacrifice of principle on the part of the Monophysites, or at least of their favourite phraseology; but it also required the dominant party to give up the advantage over their foes which they had obtained by the general council of Chalcedon. In Egypt, the *Henoticon* was extensively embraced, but the bishops of Rome were opposed to it, and were able to render it generally inefficient.—*Mur.* [See a dissertation on this subject, *De Henotico Zenonis* in Jablonski, *Opuscula*, Ed. Te Water, vol. iv. p. 332. See also Millman's Gibbon's *Decl. and Fall*, vol. viii. p. 315, &c.—*E.*

nople and by all the more moderate of both parties; but the violent on both sides resisted it, and complained that this Henoticon did injustice to the council of Chalcedon.[1] Hence arose new controversies as troublesome as those which preceded.

20. A considerable part of the Monophysites or Eutychians considered Peter Moggus as having committed a great crime by acceding to the Henoticon, and therefore they united in a new party, which was called that of the Acephali, because they were deprived of their head or leader.[2] Afterwards this sect became divided into three parties, the Anthropomorphites, the Barsanuphites, and the Esianists; and these sects were succeeded in the next age by others, of which the ancients make frequent mention.[3] Yet the inquirer into the subject must be informed that some of these Eutychian sects are altogether imaginary, that others differed not in reality but only in terms, and that some were distinguished, not by their sentiments but by some external rites and other outward circumstances. And they were likewise of temporary duration; for in the next century they all became extinct, through the influence especially of Jacobus Baradæus.[4]

21. The Roman pontiff, Felix III. with his friends attacked Acacius, the bishop of Constantinople, who had favoured the Henoticon, as a betrayer of the truth, and excluded him from church communion. To justify this hostility Felix and his successors taxed Acacius with favouring the Monophysites and their leaders, Peter Moggus and Peter Fullo, with contempt for the council of Chalcedon, and with some other things. But in reality, as many facts demonstrate, Acacius became thus odious to the Roman pontiffs, because he denied by his actions the supremacy of the Roman see, and was extremely eager to extend the jurisdiction and advance the honour of the see of Constantinople. The Greeks defended the character and memory of their bishop against the aspersions of the Romans. This contest was protracted till the following century, when the pertinacity of the Romans triumphed, and caused the names of Acacius and Peter Fullo to be struck out of the sacred registers, and consigned as it were to perpetual infamy.[5]

22. The cause of so great a series of evils appears to be a very small matter. It is said that Eutyches believed that the divine nature of Christ absorbed his human nature, so that Christ consisted of but one nature, and that the divine; yet whether this was the fact or not is not sufficiently clear. This sentiment however together with Eutyches, was abandoned and rejected by the opposers of the council of Chalcedon, who were guided by Xenias and Peter Fullo, and therefore they are more properly called Monophysites than Eutychians; for all who are designated by this name hold that the divine and human natures of Christ were so united as to constitute but one nature, yet without any conversion, confusion, or commixture; and that this doctrine may not be understood differently from their real meaning, they often say there is but one nature in Christ, yet it is twofold and compound.[6] With Eutyches they disclaimed all connexion, but they venerate Dioscorus, Barsumas, Xenias, and Peter Fullo, as pillars of their sect, and reject the decrees of the council of Chalcedon, together with the epistle of Leo the Great. The doctrine of the Monophysites, if we may judge from the language they used, appears to differ from the doctrine established by the council of Chalcedon, not substantially, but only in the mode of stating it;[7] yet if we attend carefully to the metaphysical arguments

[1] See Facundus Hermianensis, *Defensio trium Capitulorum*, lib. xii. cap. iv.

[2] Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. cap. xiii.; Leontius Byzant. *De Sectis*, in Canisius, *Lection. Antiq.* tom. i. p. 537; Timotheus Presbyter, in Cotelier's *Monum. Eccles. Græ.* tom. iii. p. 409. [From the time of the council of Chalcedon the Eutychians gradually receded from the peculiar views of Eutyches, and therefore discarded the name of Eutychians and assumed the more appropriate one of Monophysites, which indicated their distinguishing tenet, that the two natures of Christ were so united as to constitute but *one nature*. The whole party therefore having long renounced Eutyches as their leader, when some of them also renounced Peter Moggus, they were indeed Acephali, *without a head*. Yet all the branches of this sect continued to bear the name of Monophysites till late in the sixth century, when Jacobus Baradæus raised them up from extreme depression through persecution, and they assumed the name of Jacobites, a name which they bear to this day.—*Mur.*

[3] These sects are enumerated by Basnage, *Prolegom. ad Canisii Lection. Antiq.* cap. iii. and Asseman, *Diss. de Monophysitis*, p. 7, &c.

[4] For an account of Jacobus Baradæus and his labours in resuscitating the fallen sect of the Monophysites, see Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. viii. pages 481—491.—*Mur.*

[5] Valesius, *Diss. de Synodis Romanis in quibus damnatus est Acacius*, subjoined to the third volume of his *Scriptores Hist. Eccles.* p. 179, &c.; Basnage, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, tome i. p 301, 380, 381, &c.; *Nouveau Diction. Hist. Crit.* tome i. art. *Acacius*, p. 75, &c.; Blondell, *De la Primauté dans l'Eglise*, p. 279, &c.; *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. iii. Februarii, p. 502, &c. [Bower's *Lives of the Popes* (Felix III.) vol. ii. p. 198, &c. 4to.—*Mur.*

[6] See the quotations from works of Monophysites, by that excellent and at times sufficiently ingenuous writer, Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. ii. p. 25, 26, 29, 34, 117, 133, 135, 277, 297, &c.

[7] Many learned men consider this controversy as a mere strife about words. Among the Monophysites Gregory Abulpharajus, the most learned of the sect, was of this opinion. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. ii. p. 291. Add the *Biblioth. Italique*, tom. xvii. p. 285; La Croze, *Hist. du Christianisme des Indes*, p. 23; and *Hist. du Christ. d' Ethiopie*, p. 14, &c. Even Asseman (*ubi supra*, p. 297), though living at Rome, came near to avowing this opinion.

and subtleties by which they supported their views,[1] perhaps we shall conclude that their controversy with the Chalcedonians was not wholly a strife about words.

23. Other troubles from the West invaded the church in this century, and continued down through subsequent ages. Pelagius[2] and Cœlestius,[3] the former a Briton and the latter an Irishman, both monks living at Rome and in high reputation for their virtues and piety, conceived that the doctrines of Christians concerning the innate depravity of man and the necessity of internal divine grace in order to the illumination and renovation of the soul, tended to discourage human efforts, and were a great impediment to the progress of holiness, and of course ought to be rooted out of the church. They therefore taught that what was commonly inculcated and believed, respecting a corruption of the human nature derived to us from our first parents, was not true; that the parents of the human race sinned only for themselves and not for their posterity; that men are now born as pure and innocent as Adam was when God created him; that men therefore can, by their natural power, renovate themselves and reach the highest degree of holiness; and that external grace is indeed needful to excite men to efforts, but that they have no need of any internal divine grace.[4] These

[1] See the subtle disputation of Abulpharajus in Asseman, *ubi supra*, tom. ii. p. 288.

[2] Pelagius, the heresiarch, was probably a Welchman whose real name it is said was Morgan or Marigena, which was translated Πελάγιος, Pelagius. He was a British monk, went to Rome about the year 400, imbibed the opinions of Origen, and began to publish his heretical sentiments concerning original sin and free grace about A.D. 405. In the year 408, when the Goths were laying waste Italy, he and Cœlestius retired to Sicily, and in 411 to Africa. Cœlestius remained there, but Pelagius proceeded on to Egypt to visit the monks of that country. In 415 he removed to Palestine, where he enjoyed the protection of John, bishop of Jerusalem. Orosius (now in the East) impeached him, but he so far purged himself before the council of Diospolis in 417, as to be acquitted. But the next year he was condemned by the councils of Carthage and Milevi, as well as by the popes Innocent and Zosimus, and the emperor Honorius ordered him and his adherents to be expelled from Rome. Theodotus of Antioch now held a council which condemned him. His subsequent history is unknown.—He was a man of distinguished genius, learning, and sanctity, yet he was accused of dissembling as to his real sentiments. He wrote *Commentaries* on Paul's Epistles (perhaps the work published among those of Jerome and ascribed to that father); also an Epistle to Demetrius, *De Virginitate*, A.D. 413 (falsely ascribed both to Jerome and to Augustine, and published as theirs); a *Confession of his Faith*, addressed to Innocent, bishop of Rome A.D. 417. His last works are *De Fide Trinitatis, Liber εὐλογιῶν sive Testimoniorum* (Collections from Scripture in support of some doctrines); *De Libero Arbitrio, De Natura*, and several Epistles. See Cave's *Hist. Liter.* i. p. 381, &c.—*Mur.* [See Wiggers, *Versuch einer Pragmatischen Darstellung des August. und Pelagian.* Berlin, 1821, translated with additions by Professor Emerson, Andover (U. S.), 1840.—*R.*

[3] Cœlestius, of honourable birth, was a student at Rome when Pelagius arrived there. Embracing the views of his fellow islander, he accompanied him to Sicily in 408, and to Africa in 411, where he remained some years. In 412 he was accused before the bishop of Carthage for heresy, and condemned by a council there. He appealed to the bishop of Rome, but went to Ephesus, where he became a presbyter. He now disseminated his errors widely in Asia and the islands. In 416 he went to Constantinople, and the next year to Rome, when he so far satisfied Zosimus as to obtain from him a recommendation to the bishops of Africa to restore him. But in 418 he was condemned by a synod at Rome, and was banished from the empire by the emperor. He now concealed himself in the East. In 429 the emperor forbade his coming to Constantinople. In 430 a synod at Rome condemned him, and also the council of Ephesus in 431. From that time we hear no more of him. He wrote a confession of his faith, several Epistles, and some short pieces; but none of his works have reached us entire, except his Confession of faith and perhaps some Epistles among those of Jerome. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. i. p. 384, &c. *Mur.* [That Cœlestius was an Irishman is evident from Jerome (*Prol. ad lib. prim. et tert. Comment. in Jerem.*) who calls him a Scot, which in the language of that century means a native of Ireland. This is also the opinion of Ussher (*Brit. Ecc. Primordia*, p. 208, 786) Noris (*Hist. Pelag.* lib. i. cap. iii.) and Jerome's editor, Martianay (*Note ubi supra.*)—*R.*

[4] According to Walch (*Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. iv. p. 735, &c.) as abridged by Schlegel, the system of Pelagius was as follows. 1. Men as they now come into the world are, in respect to their powers and abilities, in the same state in which Adam was created. 2. Adam sinned, but his sinning harmed no one but himself. 3. Human nature therefore is not changed by the fall, and death is not a punishment for sin; but Adam would have died had he not apostatized. For death is inseparable from our nature, and the same is true of the pains of child-birth, diseases, and outward evils, particularly in children. 4. Much less is the guilt of Adam's sin imputed to his offspring, for God would be unjust if he imputed to us the actions of others. 5. Such imputation cannot be proved by the fact that Christ has redeemed infants; for this redemption is to be understood of their heirship to the kingdom of heaven, from which an heirship to another's guilt will not follow. 6. Neither does the baptism of infants prove such an imputation: for they thereby obtain the kingdom of heaven, which Christ has promised only to baptized persons. 7. When children die without baptism they are not therefore damned. They are indeed excluded from the kingdom of heaven, but not from eternal blessedness. For the Pelagians held to a threefold state after death; damnation for sinners, the kingdom of heaven for baptized Christians who live a holy life and for baptized children, and eternal life for unbaptized children and for unbaptized adults who live virtuous lives. 8. Much less is human nature depraved in consequence of the fall of Adam. There is therefore no hereditary sin. 9. For though it may be granted that Adam is so far the author of sin, as he was the first that sinned and by his example has seduced others, yet this is not to be understood of a propagation of sin by generation. 10. This supposed propagation of sin is the less admissible, because it would imply a propagation of souls, which is not true. 11. Neither can such a propagation be maintained without impeaching the justice of God, introducing unconditional necessity, and destroying our freedom. 12. It is true there are in men sinful propensities, in particular the propensity for sexual intercourse, but these are not sins. 13. If sin was propagated by natural generation, and every motion of the sinful propensities and every desire therefore were sinful, then the marriage state would be sinful. 14. As man has ability to sin, so has he also not only ability to discern what is good, but likewise power to desire it and to perform it. And this is the freedom of the will, which is so essential to man that he cannot lose it. 15. The grace which the Scriptures represent as the source of morally good actions in man, Pelagius understood to denote various things. For he understood the word (a) of the whole constitution of our nature and especially of the endowment of free will; (b) of the promulgation of the divine law; (c) of the forgiveness of past sins without any influence on the future conduct; (d) of the

doctrines and those connected with them the above-mentioned monks secretly disseminated at Rome; but in the year 410, on account of the invasion of the Goths, they retired from Rome, and going first to Sicily and thence to Africa they more openly advanced their opinions. From Africa Pelagius went to Egypt, but Cœlestius continued at Carthage, and solicited a place among the presbyters of that city; but his novel opinions being detected, he was condemned in a council at Carthage A.D. 412, and leaving the country he went to Asia. From this time Augustine, the famous bishop of Hippo, began to assail with his pen the doctrines of Pelagius and Cœlestius, and to him chiefly belongs the praise of suppressing this sect at its very birth.[1]

24. Pelagius was more fortunate in the East; for under the patronage of John, bishop of Jerusalem, who considered the doctrines of Pelagius as concurring with the opinions of Origen, to which John was attached, Pelagius freely professed his sentiments and gathered disciples. And although he was impeached in the year 415 by Orosius, a Spanish presbyter, whom Augustine had sent into Palestine, yet a convention of bishops at Jerusalem dismissed him without censure, and a little after, in a council held at Diospolis in Palestine, he was entirely acquitted of crime and error.[2]

example of Christ's holy life, which he called the grace of Christ; (e) of the internal change in the understanding whereby the truth is recognised, which he called grace and also the assistance of the Holy Spirit; (f) and sometimes grace with him was equivalent to baptism and blessedness. 16. Man is as capable of securing salvation by the proper use of his powers, as of drawing on himself damnation by the misuse of them. 17. And therefore God has given men a law, and this law prescribes nothing impossible. 18. God requires from men a perfect personal obedience to his law. 19. Actions originating from ignorance or forgetfulness are not sinful. 20. So also natural propensities or the craving of things sinful is not of itself sinful. 21. Therefore perfect personal obedience to the law on the part of men is practicable, through the uncorruptness of the powers of nature. 22. And by grace (consisting in external divine aids, the right use of which depends on men's free will) good works are performed. They did not deny all internal change in men by grace, but they confined it solely to the understanding, and controverted all internal change of the will. They also limited the necessity of this grace by maintaining that it was not indispensable to all men, and that it only facilitated the keeping of God's commandments. 23. This possibility of performing good works by the free use of our natural powers they endeavoured to prove, by the existence of virtuous persons among the pagans; and likewise—24. From the saints mentioned in the Old Testament, whom they divided into two classes—the first from Adam to Moses, who like the pagans had only natural grace; the second, from Moses to Christ who had the grace of the law. Some of the saints who had the law were all their lifetime without sin, others sinned indeed, but being converted they ceased to sin and yielded a perfect obedience to the law. 25. The grace whereby perfect obedience becomes possible, is a consequence of precedent good works; 26, and such obedience is absolutely necessary to salvation. 27. Sins originating from a misuse of human freedom and continued by imitation and by custom were forgiven, under the Old Testament solely on account of good works, and under the New Testament through the grace of Christ. 28. Their idea of the way of salvation then was this: A man who has sinned converts himself—that is, he leaves off sinning and this by his own powers. He believes on Christ—that is, he embraces his doctrines. He is now baptized, and on account of this baptism all his previous sins are forgiven him, and he is without sin. He has the instructions and the example of Christ, whereby he is placed in a condition to render perfect obedience to the divine law. This he can do if he will, and he can either withstand all temptations or fall from grace. 29. Moreover they admitted conditional decrees, the condition of which was either foreseen good works or foreseen sin.—*Mur.*

[1] The history of the Pelagians has been written by many persons; as by Abp. Ussher, in his *Ecclesiar. Britan. Primordia;* Joh. a Lact. a Netherlander; Vossius; Noris; Garnier, in his Supplement to the works of Theodoret; Jansen, in his *Augustinus*, and others. The French Jesuit De Longueval left a MS. *Historia Pelagiana.* See his Preface to the ninth vol. of his *History of the Gallican Church*, p. iv. But among so many writers, no one yet has exhausted the whole subject or shown himself free from undue partiality. [This partiality is to be attributed to the renewal of these controversies. In all ages there have been some in the Christian church who coincided either wholly or partially with Pelagius, and who opposed the doctrine of Augustine. On the other hand, the scholastics adopted the greatest part of Augustine's sentiments, and these two parties have never been at rest. The affair with Gotteschalcus and the contests between the Thomists and the Scotists kept up these disquietudes; and in the times of the reformation, the commotions were increased when Luther and Erasmus came upon the Arena, and the council of Trent made a considerable part of the Pelagian system to be articles of faith. From that period onward the Protestants have maintained that the Catholic church holds, not what Augustine taught but what Pelagius, or at least the semi-Pelagians inculcated; and the Catholic doctors endeavour to maintain the contrary. The Dominicans and the Jesuits and also the Jesuits and Jansenists, have likewise stirred up controversies within their own church respecting Pelagianism and the opinions of Augustine; and among the Protestants, the charge of Pelagianism has been brought against the Arminians and against various individual doctors. No wonder therefore if all these learned writers of the Pelagian history are often betrayed into errors by the prejudices of their party.—*Schl.* [Walch's account is full and candid, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. iv. pages 519—846, and for the semi-Pelagians, vol. v. pages 3—228. Münscher's statement of the opinions of the different parties is lucid and well vouched, *Dogmengeschichte*, vol. iv. pages 122—262.—*Mur.* [The following works ought also to be carefully consulted in reference to this important controversy:—Milner's *Hist. of the Church*, cent. v. chap. iii. and iv.; Gieseler's *Lehrbuch*, &c. the whole of the section 87 with its accompanying notes and quotations; Davidson's Transl. vol. i. p. 373, &c.; Hagenbach, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Buch s transl. (in Clark's *For. Theol. Libr.*) vol. i. p. 295, &c.; and more especially Wiggers's *Versuch einer pragmatischen Darstellung d. August. u. Pelagian.* translated by Prof. Emerson, which may be said to exhaust the subject. The same learned German published in 1833 a similar work on semi-Pelagianism, which has not yet been translated into English.—*R.*

[2] See Daniel, *Hist. du Concile de Diospolis* among the shorter works of this eloquent and learned Jesuit, published, Paris, 1724, 3 vols. 4to in tom. i. pages 635—671. [Our whole information respecting these councils is derived from the opposers of Pelagius, Orosius, Augustine, &c. The first was held at Jerusalem in the month of July, 415. It was merely an assemblage of presbyters, with bishop John for president. Pelagius and the council spoke Greek, but Orosius the accuser, Latin only. This gave great advantage to Pelagius. Orosius stated what had been done in Africa; Pelagius said he had no concern with those councils. Orosius was called upon to make his charges specific against Pelagius. He then stated that he had heard Pelagius affirm, that a man may become sinless if he will, and that it is an easy thing to obey the law of God perfectly. Pelagius explained that he meant it should be under-

The controversy being removed to Rome, Zosimus (who was made pontiff in the year 417), misled partly by the ambiguous and apparently sound confession of faith which Cœlestius, then residing at Rome offered, and partly by the flattering and insidious letters and protestations of Pelagius, pronounced sentence in favour of these monks, and decided that wrong had been done to these men of correct sentiments by their adversaries.[1] But the Africans, led on by Augustine, continued perseveringly to assail them with councils, books, and letters. Zosimus therefore being better informed changed his opinion, and severely condemned those whom he had before extolled. Afterwards, that Ephesine council which hurled its thunders against Nestorius also condemned them; and now the Gauls, the Britons, and the Palestinians, by their councils, and the emperors, by their laws and penalties, crushed the sect in its commencement.[2]

25. These unhappy contests produced, as is often the case, other dissensions equally hurtful. As Augustine did not at first state with sufficient uniformity and clearness his opinions respecting the divine grace necessary to salvation, and the decrees of God in regard to the future condition of individual men, he gave occasion to certain monks of Adrumetum and to some persons in Gaul to believe, that God had predestinated the wicked not only to suffer eternal punishment, but also to commit sin and incur the guilt which will merit that punishment, and of course to believe, that both the good and the sinful actions of men were, from all eternity, divinely predetermined and fixed by an inevitable necessity. These persons were called Predestinarians. Yet this doctrine did not spread far, for Augustine more clearly explained his views, and the councils of Arles and Lyons publicly rejected it.[3] There are, however, very learned men who deny that such a sect of Predestinarians ever had existence, and who maintain that the followers of Augustine inculcated his doctrines truly and correctly, and were slanderously reproached by the semi-Pelagians with such serious errors as these.[4]

stood, with the aids of divine grace. The council were satisfied with this explanation. The second council which sat at Diospolis or Lydda in December 415, was composed of fourteen bishops. The accusers were two Gallic bishops, Heros and Lazarus, but neither of them present. They sent in a long list of errors, which they said Pelagius and his followers had taught. Pelagius replied that these were not his opinions, that he anathematized them, and that he believed what the Catholic church had always held. With this the council were satisfied. But the sentence of the Africans still remained in force, and therefore Pelagius and Cœlestius both sought the interference of the bishop of Rome.—*Mur.*

[1] See Frick, *Zosimus in Clemente XI. redivivus*, Ulm, 1719, 4to [and Bower, *Lives of the Popes* (Zosimus), vol. i. p. 334, &c. 4to.—*Mur.*

[2] See Vossius, *Hist. Pelagiana*, lib. i. cap. lv. p. 130. There are also some learned remarks on this controversy in the *Bibliothèque Italique*, tome v. p. 74, &c. The writers on both sides are enumerated by Buddeus, *Isagoge ad Theol.* tom. ii. p. 1071. Wall has likewise given a neat and learned though imperfect history of the Pelagian contest, in his *History of Infant Baptism*, vol. i. chap. xiii. [pages 192—282, ed. Lond. 1705] which his learned translator [into Latin, J. L. Schlosser] has enriched with excellent remarks.

[3] See Sirmond, *Hist. Prædestinatiana*, tom. iv. of his *Opp.* p. 271, &c.; Basnage, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, tome ii. liv. xii. chap. ii. p. 698; Petavius, *Dogmat. Theol.* tom. vi. p. 168, 174, &c. [According to Münscher, *Dogmengeschichte*, vol. iv. p. 164, &c. 215, &c. all the fathers before Augustine taught a conditional election, that is, an election founded on the foreseen good works of men. So Basil the Great, Gregory Nyssen, Chrysostom, Hilary of Poictiers, Ambrose, Jerome. They likewise held that Christ died for all men, and were strangers to the idea of an atonement made only for the elect. So Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, Basil the Great, Gregory Nyssen, Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Jerome. They also held that the saints may and do fall from grace and perish. So Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, and Hilary. Even Augustine himself, in the earlier part of his ministry, held election to be conditional. But as early as the year 397, he discovered that such an election was inconsistent with man's entire dependence on grace for ability to perform good works, a doctrine which he held most firmly. He therefore advanced the new theory that God's electing some to everlasting life, depended upon his mere good pleasure in view of reasons known only to himself; that God from eternity predestinated some to repentance, faith, good works, and ultimately to salvation, while others he left to go on in sin and perish everlastingly; that the number of the elect is fixed unalterably and for ever; that this election of some to salvation through grace, while others are left without grace and perish in their sins, is no injustice on the part of God, because all men deserve to be left in their sins. He denied that God really wills the salvation of all men, and he justified preaching the Gospel to all, on the ground that *we* know not who are elected and who are not. When this theory was advanced by Augustine it met with opposition, and it was not always stated as guardedly by those who embraced it as it was by its author. Hence those opposed to it drew the frightful picture of it, which has been called Predestinarianism. This system as stated by Münscher (*ubi supra*, p. 257) embraced the following positions—namely, that the wicked are predestinated not only to punishment but also to commit sin, that baptism does not remove all sin, that the godliness of the righteous does not profit them, nor will the wicked be damned on account of their sins, that in general God will not judge men according to their deeds, that it is useless to address exhortations either to saints or sinners. Münscher subjoins: All these were consequences drawn from the doctrine of unconditional decrees taught by Augustine, but they were consequences which he expressly rejected.—*Mur.*

[4] See Mauguin, *Fabula Prædestinatiana Confutata*, which he subjoined to his *Collect. var. Scriptorum. qui Sæc.* ix. *de prædestinatione et gratia scripserunt*, tom. ii. p. 447, &c. Paris, 1650, 4to. [Mauguin was a French statesman, who with much theological and historical learning maintained with the Jansenists against the Jesuits, that there never were any Predestinarians.—*Schl.*] Spanheim, *Introduct. ad Hist. Eccles.* in his *Opp.* tom. i. p. 993; Basnage, *Adnot. ad Prosperi Chronicon*, and *Præfat. ad Faustum Regiensem;* Canisius, *Lection. Antiq.* tom. i. p. 315, 348. The author of the Life of Launoi in his Works, tom. iv. pa. ii. p. 343—namely, Granet, informs us that Sirmond encouraged Launoi to undertake a refutation of Mauguin; but Launoi having examined the subject fell in with the opinions of Mauguin. [Father Sirmond was a champion against the Jesuits, who were charged by the Jansenists with departing from the opinions of Augustine; and he hoped to confute this charge if he could only demonstrate, incontrovertibly, that there really was a sect of Predestinarians existing in the times of Augustine. Sirmond had published an ancient book

26. On the other hand, John Cassianus, a monk who came to Marseilles in France from the East and established a monastery there, and certain others about the year 430, endeavoured to modify in some measure the system of Augustine.[1] Many persons falling in with their views, a sect arose, which its adversaries have called that of the semi-Pelagians. The sentiments of the semi-Pelagians are represented differently by those who oppose them. The greater part however represent them as holding that men do not need internal, preventing grace, but that every man by his natural powers can commence the renovation of his soul, and can have and exercise faith in Christ and a purpose of living a holy life; yet that no man can persevere in the course thus commenced unless he is constantly supported by divine assistance and grace. The disciples of S. Augustine in Gaul contended warmly with this class of men, but they could not vanquish them;[2]

at Paris, 1643, bearing the title *Prædestinatus sive Prædestinatorum Hæresis, et libri S. Augustino temere adscripti refutatio.* The work consists of three books. The first contains a list of heresies, of which that of the Predestinarians is the ninetieth. The second book bears the superscription, *Liber secundus, sub nomine Augustini confictus, nonagesimum hæresin continens, quæ asserit, Dei prædestinatione peccata committi.* The third book contains a refutation of the supposed tract of Augustine. This work is certainly ancient, and most probably to be ascribed to the younger Arnobius. But the credibility of its statements is much impaired by the fact, that its author was a semi-Pelagian and wrote more as a polemic than as a historian.—*Schl.*] This petty dispute, whether there was in ancient times a sect of Predestinarians, when thoroughly examined will perhaps turn out to be a contest about terms. [To the question, whether there existed in the fifth and sixth centuries a sect of Predestinarians, some of the learned have answered yes, and others no. Those who answer in the latter manner believe the sect of Predestinarians was a fiction of the semi-Pelagians, who used this name in order to bring odium on Augustine and his followers. This opinion was embraced by the Jansenists, the Reformed, and among the Lutherans by Semler in his History of religious doctrines, prefixed to the third volume of Baumgarten's *Polemic Theology.* Those who answer the question affirmatively are divisible into two classes. They admit directly that there were Predestinarians, who were condemned by the orthodox church; yet they deny that Augustine taught what they admit to have been the errors of this sect. Of this opinion were the Jesuits and the early Lutheran divines.] Others while they admit all this, add that the opposers of the sect were principally semi-Pelagians, who aimed at bringing contempt on Augustinian doctrine. They hold that only a few individual persons, as a few monks of Adrumetum and Lucidus fell into these errors; and therefore they never constituted a distinct sect or heretical community. This opinion has been defended by Noris and Graveson among the Catholics, by the two Basnages among the Reformed, and in the Lutheran church by Pfaff, Buddeus, the elder Walch, and Bernhold in a disputation at Altdorf, 1737: and it is admitted by the younger Walch in his *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. v. p. 280, &c. Among those who regard the whole question respecting the existence of a Predestinarian sect as a contest about words, besides Mosheim, may be reckoned Weismann, in his *Memorabil. Hist. Eccl.* tom. i. p. 410, &c. And in fact there is something like a contest about words, in the dispute whether there was really a Predestinarian sect. For very much depends on the definition of the word sect or heresy. If the term is used to denote a society of persons who have a particular mode of worship, then a Predestinarian sect never had existence. But if the term denote a set of religious opinions, embraced and defended by individual persons here and there, but who never separated from the general church; then it may be said there was a sect of Predestinarians. When we view the controversy in all its extent, we can by no means regard it as a controversy about words. See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. v. pages 218–288.—*Schl.*

[1] The views of Cassian are exhibited in his *Collatio* xiii. *Patrum, Opp.* p. 491, &c. and are well abridged by Münscher (*Dogmengesch.* vol. iv. p. 246, &c.) as follows. As Cassian is the only writer of those times who has exhibited a connected view of the doctrines of the so-called Massilians, from his works alone can the deviations of these teachers from the opinions of Augustine be derived. His primary object was to exhibit the true worth and the necessity of divine grace, but without overthrowing the freedom of the human will. Man, said he, needs at all times divine aid, and he can do nothing to secure his salvation without it. But he must not be inactive on his part. All men have indeed original sin, and are subject to death, but a knowledge of God and their free will they have not lost. It can neither be maintained that the commencement of what is good in us always originates from God, nor that it always originates from ourselves. Sometimes it is of God, who first excites good thoughts and purposes in us. But sometimes it is the man who takes the first step, and whom God then meets with his assistance. In either case, it is God who, when he sees the spark of goodness glimmering in the soul, or has himself lighted it up by his own working, cherishes and sustains this spark. God's unchangeable will is that all men may be saved, and when any one is lost, it is contrary to his designs. At all times therefore the grace of God is co-operating with our will, and strengthens and defends it, yet so that he sometimes waits for, or requires from us some efforts to choose what is good, that he may not seem to confer his gifts on the indolent and inactive. The grace of God however is always unmerited, as it bestows on the weak and worthless efforts of men such valuable favours and such unfading glory. The ways in which God brings men to possess goodness are manifold and incomprehensible; but he always treats each individual according to his character and desert. Yet this is not to be understood as if grace was imparted to each one according to his merits. On the contrary, the grace of God far transcends all human deserts and sometimes transcends the unbelief of men (*i.e.* brings the unbelieving to have faith). From these propositions (which are arranged differently from what they are by the author but are expressed in almost his own words) it appears that Cassian rejected unconditional election, the inability of man to do good, irresistible grace, and the Augustinian idea of the saints' perseverance. Münscher adds that the principal point in which the Massilians departed from Augustine's adherents lay in this, that man has in his freedom of will some power to do good, by exerting which he does not indeed merit the grace of God, yet he makes himself fit to receive it; and that God in view of these human efforts has determined to bestow his grace and eternal bliss. The evidence by which the Massilians supported their opinions was various. Their chief argument was this, that in the Scriptures faith and virtue are sometimes required of men, and sometimes represented as the gift of God; and these different passages cannot be reconciled unless it be allowed that faith and virtue come principally from God, and yet that free will has some part in them. This doctrine moreover they said coincided with the standing belief of the church; while the opposite doctrine was new and also objectionable, because it annihilated human freedom, introduced an unavoidable necessity in human actions, and by holding up the idea that a man's own efforts were of no avail, encouraged men to remain inactive.—*Mur.*

[2] Basnage, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, tome ii. liv. xii. chap. i.; *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome ii. pref. p. ix. &c.; Vossius, *Hist. Pelagiana*, lib. vi. p. 538, &c.; Irenæus Veronensis, *i.e.* Scipio Maffei, *De Hæresi Semipelagiana*, in the *Opuscoli Scientifici* of Angelo Calogera, tom. xxix. p. 399, &c. [As soon as Augustine was informed by Prosper and Hilary of the existence of

for as their doctrines coincided with the modes of thinking of the majority of people, and particularly of the monks, and were approved by the most respectable authors, especially among the Greeks; and as Augustine himself and his friends did not venture utterly to reject and condemn them as pernicious and impious, no efforts could prevent them from spreading far and wide.

27. From this time therefore commenced those knotty controversies concerning the nature and the mode of that divine agency or grace which men need in order to salvation, which have unhappily divided Christians in every subsequent age, and which are still protracted to the grief of all pious and good men. Many in all ages have followed the system of Augustine, who ascribed everything to the grace of God, and nothing to human sufficiency; yet they differed in the manner in which they explained this system. But a still greater number have agreed with Cassian, whose system, though differently explained, has spread from the schools of the Gallic monks over all the nations of Europe. The Greeks and the other orientals held the same views with Cassian, nor have they departed from them to this day. The opinions of Pelagius appeared to most persons too bold and loose, and therefore were never openly avowed by large numbers. Yet in every age some may be found who ascribed to man, as it is said Pelagius did, full power by his own strength to keep the whole law of God.

these opposers of his system at Marseilles, he wrote his two pieces designed to confute them, *De Prædestinatione Sanctorum*, and *De Dono Perseverantiæ*, both addressed to Prosper and Hilary. Soon afterwards A.D. 430 Augustine died, and Prosper and Hilary carried on the controversy. In 431 they visited Rome and obtained the patronage of Cœlestine the pontiff; but not succeeding by means of councils and popes, Prosper applied himself to writing against the errorists. His strictures on Cassian's 13th Collation is a valuable performance. The work *De Vocatione Gentium* (*i.e.* on the universality of the call to embrace the Gospel salvation), seems not to be his, for it does not come up fully to his views as expressed in his reply to Cassian. Though it concedes more to the semi-Pelagians than Augustine and Prosper did, still it was on the same side. The majority in France as well as nearly all the Greeks were in sentiment with the semi-Pelagians. About the year 472 one Lucidus, a presbyter, having avowed pure Augustinianism, Faustus, bishop of Reiz in Gaul, wrote him a letter, and afterwards accused him before the council of Arles, A.D. 475. The council disapproved the sentiments of Lucidus, who retracted; and they encouraged Faustus to write his two books, *De Libero Arbitrio*, in opposition to Augustine's views. A few months after, a synod at Lyons also decided in favour of semi-Pelagian sentiments. But early in the following century Cæsarius of Arles came out a zealous Augustinian, and with the aid of some Scythian monks and some others, he caused that doctrine to spread and to gain the ascendency. The synods of Orange and Valence, A.D. 529, declared in favour of it. The opposers of Augustinianism were in that age denominated Pelagians, from their leaning towards the sentiments of Pelagius; also Massilians, from the residence of their principal writers at (Massilia) Marseilles. It was the school-men of after ages who denominated them semi-Pelagians. According to Walch, they admitted original sin, but probably confined its effects to our liability to temporal death. They supposed all the posterity of Adam have ability to discern what is right, and freedom of will to choose it; yet that none can be saved but by grace through Christ, by means of his blood and a Christian baptism; that Christ died for all men; that God wills the salvation of all, and therefore proffers his grace to all, so that all men may be saved if they will. The way of salvation they suppose is to believe, to practise virtue, and to persevere in it to the end. Faith is believing that God has determined to save all that obey the gospel. This faith originates altogether from our free will. From the same source, and from the use of our natural powers, originate the beginnings of a right temper, the desiring, seeking, and knocking. Yet neither this faith nor these beginnings of a right temper are good works, that is, they have no proper efficacy to merit the assistance of God, or that grace which is necessary to the performance of good works, and yet they may induce God to impart his grace. Thus it is God who gives the grace by which faith is strengthened and good works performed, yet its due influence must be allowed to free will, and not everything be ascribed to grace. The connexion and co-operation of both are very necessary, for grace only helps or assists. True faith may be lost, its retention depends solely on man's free will, and it is not true that divine grace imparts to man a special gift of perseverance in goodness. God has a twofold decree respecting man's salvation; first, his general desire that all may be saved, and secondly, his design actually to save those who shall persevere in holiness to the end. Augustine's doctrine of predestination is very objectionable; it wholly subverts man's freedom, makes God the author of sin, and renders it vain to exhort sinners to repent or saints to persevere in religion. Election to salvation is conditional, depending on the foreseen conduct of men in regard to obedience to the divine commands. To the puzzling question of their opposers, what becomes of so many baptized children who die before they are competent to exert their free will, and of so many adults who never were favoured with a knowledge of the Gospel; they replied, first, that baptized children dying in infancy are saved, on the ground that God foresaw they would persevere in religion if their lives had been prolonged; and secondly, that so many children as die without baptism are deprived of that ordinance, and so many adults as are deprived of a knowledge of the Gospel (both being doomed to damnation) suffer these privations, because God foresaw that the former would not live virtuously, and that the latter would not embrace the Gospel if they had an opportunity. See Walch's ample account of this religious party in his *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. v. pages 3—218.—*Mur.*

CENTURY SIXTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS OF THE CHURCH.

1. It is evident from the historical records of the Greek empire, that several barbarous tribes, particularly some residing near the Black Sea, were converted to Christianity by the efforts of the Greek emperors and the bishops of Constantinople. Among these were the Abasgi, a barbarous nation inhabiting the shores of the Euxine Sea and as far as Mount Caucasus, who embraced Christianity under the emperor Justinian.[1] The Heruli who dwelt along the other side of the Ister [or Danube], became Christians under the same reign;[2] also the Alani, the Lazi, and the Zani, and some other tribes, whose residence is not definitely known at the present day.[3] But there is abundant evidence that nothing was required of these nations except externally to profess Christ, cease from offering victims to their gods, and learn to repeat certain forms like a charm; the imbuing of their minds with religion and piety was not even thought of. It is certain that after their conversion they retained their rude and savage manners, and were famous for rapines, murders, and every species of iniquity. In most provinces of the Greek empire and even in the city of Constantinople, many idolaters were still lurking in concealment. A great multitude of these were baptized during the reign of Justin, by John, bishop of Asia.[4]

2. In the West, Remigius bishop of Rheims, who has been called the *Apostle of the Gauls*, laboured with great zeal to convert idolaters to Christ; and not without success, especially after Clovis, the king of the Franks, had embraced Christianity.[5] In Britain, Ethelbert king of Kent, the most distinguished of the seven Anglo-Saxon kings among whom the island was then divided, married near the close of this century a Christian wife named Bertha, the daughter of Cherebert, king of Paris; and she, partly by her own influence and partly by that of the ministers of religion whom she brought with her, impressed her husband favourably towards Christianity. The king being thus prepared, Gregory the Great, at the suggestion undoubtedly of the queen, sent forty Benedictine monks, with one Augustine at their head, into Britain in the year 596, to complete the work which the queen had begun. This Augustine, with the queen's assistance, converted the king and the greatest part of the inhabitants of Kent to Christian worship, and laid the foundation of the modern British church.[6] Among the Picts and

[1] Procopius, *De Bello Gothico*, lib. iv. cap. iii. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1351, &c. [Their adoration (like that of the ancient Germans) had been previously given to forests and lofty trees. The emperor Justinian sent priests among them, and erected a church for them dedicated to the Virgin Mary; and he rendered the people more inclined to become Christians, by prohibiting their king from carrying on a shameful traffic in eunuchs. See Procopius, *ubi supra*, Neander, *Kirchengesch.* vol. ii. part i. p. 247.—*Mur.*

[2] Procopius, *ubi supra*, lib. ii. cap. xiv.

[3] See Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. xx. xxii. xxiii. All these conversions took place near the commencement of the reign of Justinian, about A.D. 430.—*Mur.*

[4] Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 85.

[5] *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iii. p. 155, &c.

[6] Bede, *Hist. Eccles. Gentis Anglor.* lib. i. cap. xxiii. p. 55, &c. ed. Chiflet.; Rapin, *Hist. d' Angleterre*, tome i. p. 222, &c. *Acta Sanctor.* tom. iii. Februar. p. 470, where is an account of Ethelbert, king of Kent. [The marriage of Bertha is said to have been consummated A.D. 579. It had been stipulated that she should enjoy her own religion and worship. She therefore had her private chaplain and a small church. Gregory the Great, before he was made pope, was so captivated with the beauty of some English youth offered for sale at Rome as slaves, that he wished to go himself as a missionary to England; but the Roman people restrained him. He was created pontiff in 590; and in 596, persuaded Augustine, abbot of St. Andrews at Rome, to undertake the conversion of the English nation. Augustine with a small retinue of monks set forward; but he scarcely reached France before the courage of the whole party failed, and Augustine returned to obtain leave to abandon the enterprise. Gregory however would not give it up; he exhorted Augustine to proceed, assigned him more assistants, gave him letters of introduction to bishops and princes on the way, and dismissed him. Augustine now proceeded through France, crossed the Channel, and landed with his forty

Scots, Columba, an Irish monk, began the work of administering Christian baptism.[1] In Germany, the Bohemians, the Thuringians, and Bavarians, are said to have received Christianity;[2] which to many however appears extremely doubtful. Of these holy enterprises among the heathen, no one will form a high opinion, when he shall have learned from the writers of this and the following centuries, that these nations still retained a great part of their former paganism, and they so worshipped Christ as to reject his instructions by their lives, their deeds, and their allowed practices.[3]

monks on the isle of Thanet in Kent. There king Ethelbert met him, learned his object, gave him access to the country, promised him protection and sustenance, but refused to embrace the new religion till after further examination. Augustine and retinue now marched to Canterbury the capital, with a waving banner and a silver crucifix, chanting: "*O Lord, we beseech thee, in thy great mercy, to remove thy fury and thy wrath from this city, and from thine house, for we have sinned: hallelujah.*" For a considerable time Augustine and his monks worshipped in the queen's chapel; and fasted and prayed, and chanted hymns almost constantly. The next year, A.D. 597, the king had his mind made up, was baptized, and allowed, but did not compel any of his subjects to follow his example. In a short time however all Kent was nominally Christian. Having been so successful, Augustine this year went to Gaul, and was ordained archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England; and returned with a fresh accession of monks. In the year 598, he sent two monks, Laurentius and Peter, to Rome, to inform Gregory of the prosperous state of the mission. Gregory exulted in its success, and sent back the messengers with additional labourers, the pall for the new archbishop, numerous presents for the cathedral, including holy relics, letters to the king and queen, &c. He confirmed Augustine's jurisdiction over all England, exhorted him to proceed with his work, advised him not to demolish the pagan temples, but to convert them into churches, purifying them with holy water; for the pagans would love to worship in the places long held sacred, yet the idols must be destroyed. He also advised that the people be allowed on festal days to assemble around the churches, erect booths, and there feast themselves, much as during their pagan state; yet without sacrificing to their idols. Gregory likewise answered several questions of Augustine, advising him and his associates to continue to live in monasteries, to use such a liturgy as should seem best suited to the country, and instructing him how thieves should be treated, how many bishops must concur in the ordination of a bishop, how he must demean himself among the Gallic bishops, and what was to be thought of some ceremonial impurities. In 602, Augustine built his cathedral at Canterbury, and he erected a monastery in which to train men for the ministry. In the year 604, he attempted to bring under his jurisdiction and to a conformity with his churches, all the clergy and churches of the ancient Britons, whom the Saxons had conquered and driven chiefly into Wales. A council was held for the purpose. But as Augustine was quite bigotted and somewhat overbearing, nothing was effected. In the mean time, the conversion of the Saxons beyond the kingdom of Kent proceeded successfully; and several bishops were ordained, particularly a bishop for London and another for Rochester. St. Paul's church in London was now founded, and the next year *the West monastery* (Westminster), adjoining London. In the year 607, Augustine died, and was succeeded in the see of Canterbury by Laurentius. See Bede, *Hist. Eccles. Brit.* lib. i. cap. xxiii. &c. and lib. ii. cap. ii. iii. Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. i. ann. 596—607. The legendary history of Augustine both in a larger and a smaller form by Goscelin, a monk of the eleventh century, may be found in Mabillon, *Acta. Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. i. p. 485—543. —*Mur.* [In addition to the earlier church histories of Stillingfleet, (*Origin. Britan.* 1685, fol.) and Collier (*Eccles. Hist. of Great Britain*, 1708-14, 2 vols. fol.) and the general histories of England, the modern works on the introduction of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons are, Lingard's *Hist. and Antiq. of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, Newcastle, 1806, third ed. Lond. 1845, 2 vols. 8vo, presenting the Roman Catholic view; and Soames's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, Lond. 1835, furnishing the Church of England view of this event. More impartial than either is Lappenberg's account in his excellent work translated and enlarged by Mr. Thorpe, entitled *Hist. of England under the Anglo-Saxon kings*, Lond. 1845, 2 vols. 8vo, vol. i. p. 131, &c. The student would do well to read attentively Milner's account of the same transactions, taken from a different point of view than any of the preceding, in his *Hist. of the Church of Christ*, century vi. chap. vii. in vol. iii. p. 69.—*R.*

[1] Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. cap. iv. p. 134. [Some rays of light had penetrated the southernmost counties of Scotland at an earlier period. Ninian was bishop of Whithern [or Candida Casa], on the borders of Scotland, in the year 400; and his successors sometimes extended their labours as far north as Glasgow. Indeed Kentingern is said to have actually removed his chair from Whithern to Glasgow before the arrival of Columba, and to have invited this Irish missionary to visit him there. It was in the year 563, that Columba, with twelve other monks, removed from the north of Ireland to Iona, Hii, I. or I-colmkill, an islet on the outer shore of Mull, one of the larger of the Hebrides or Western isles. The Scottish king of Argyle, Brude, or Bride, favoured his enterprise; and Aidan, a successor of Brude, paid him the highest reverence. Columba had the sole jurisdiction of his little island, which became covered with cloisters and churches, and was the residence of a numerous and learned body of monks. For several centuries Iona was the centre of the Scottish church, and the place where most of her clergy were educated. There also the Scottish kings for many generations were interred. Columba died in the year 597. His memorable acts were recorded by Cummeneus Albus (abbot of Iona from 657 to 669), and may be seen in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* tom. i. p. 342, &c. and his life at large, was written by Adamnanus, who presided at Iona from 679 to 704. See Ussher, *Britan. Eccles. Primordia*, cap. xv. p. 687—709.—*Mur.* [For the best account of the introduction of Christianity into Scotland, see Chalmers's *Caledonia*, v. i. p. 314, &c. Columba, the apostle of the Northern Picts, must not be confounded with Columbanus, another Irish monk of the latter part of the sixth century, the founder of the celebrated monastery of Bobbio in the Appenines, mentioned in part ii. chap. ii. page 221, below. The lives of Columba, referred to in the preceding part of this note, are quite worthless in a historical point of view; they contain nothing but a provoking detail of alleged prophecies and miracles which none but the most credulous can receive as true. Other lives of this devoted missionary are given by Colgan in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, 1647, and a digest of these has been given by the late Dr. Smith of Campbelton in his *Life of St. Columba*, Edin. 1788, 8vo. No work of Columba is extant, if we except a few hymns in Latin and Irish preserved by Colgan, two or three of which are translated in Smith's *Life*. But it is very singular that there are still preserved in Ireland, a copy of the Gospels and another of the Psalms said to be in his own hand-writing. The former is known by the name of *the book of Durrow* in the library of Trinity College, Dublin; and the latter is called the Cattach, in the possession of the Royal Irish Academy. The copy of the gospels called the *book of Kells*, is believed by some to be also in the hand-writing of Columba.—*R.*

[2] Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iii. par. ii. p. 208. Aventinus, *Annal. Boiorum*, and others.

[3] As to the Franks, the Benedictine monks express themselves ingenuously, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tome iii. introd. p. 8, 11, 13. As to the Anglo-Saxons, see what Gregory the Great himself allowed of, *Epistol.* lib. ix. ep. 76. *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 1176, ed. Benedict. Among other things, he permitted the people on festal days to offer to the saints such victims as they had before offered to their gods. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Britan.* tom. i. p. 18, &c.

3. A great many Jews in various places undoubtedly made a profession of Christianity. In the East, Justinian persuaded the Jews resident at Borium, a city of Libya, to acknowledge Christ.[1] In the West, many Jews yielded to the zeal and efforts of the kings of Gaul and Spain, and to those of Gregory the Great and Avitus [bishop of Clermont]. But it should be added, that far more were induced to make an external profession of Christianity by the rewards offered by the princes, and by the fear of punishment, than by the force of argument. In Gaul, during the reign of Childeric, the Jews were compelled to receive baptism; and the same thing was done in Spain.[2] But Gregory the Great wished this practice to be discontinued.[3]

4. If full credit could be given to the writers of this age, this conversion of barbarous nations to Christianity must be ascribed principally to prodigies and miracles. But a knowledge of the converted nations will forbid our believing these statements; for had these nations seen so many wonderful deeds with their own eyes, they would have had a stronger faith in Christianity, and would have more religiously obeyed its precepts. With the majority, the example and influence of their kings presented the chief argument for changing their religion. Nor were more solid reasons much needed; for the first preachers of Christianity among them required of them nothing very difficult, or very repugnant to their inclinations; they were only to worship the images of Christ and of holy men, instead of those of their gods, and for the most part with the same ceremonies; and to commit to memory certain Christian formulas. Some preachers moreover, as might easily be proved, deemed it lawful and right to delude the senses of the ignorant people, and to palm on them natural events for divine interpositions.

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS AND OCCURRENCES.

1. ALTHOUGH the imperial laws ordained that no public office should be held by any one who would not abjure paganism, yet there were many learned and respectable men who followed the old religion in the midst of the Christians. The illustrious compiler of the Civil Law, Tribonianus,[4] is thought by some to have been averse from the Christian religion. Of Procopius,[5] the celebrated and intelligent historian, the same suspicion is entertained by not a few. And it is still more certain, that Agathias[6] of Smyrna, an advocate at the bar and also a historian, was an idolator. Indeed, as is commonly the case everywhere, the rigour of the laws fell only on those who had neither birth, nor wealth, nor the favour of the great to protect them.

2. It is still more strange that the Platonists, who were universally known to be hostile to Christianity, should have been allowed publicly to instil their principles, which were totally inconsistent with our

[1] Procopius, *de Ædificiis Justiniani*, lib. vi. cap. 2.

[2] Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Francorum*, lib. vi. cap. xviii. Launoi. *de Veteri More Baptizandi Judæos et Infideles*, cap. i. in his *Opp.* tom. ii. par. ii. p. 700, 704. [All these Jewish conversions were a victory of the Christians which did them little credit. Avitus, for instance, the bishop of Clermont, baptized five hundred Jews. But the circumstances were these: a Jew, having voluntarily received baptism, was proceeding home in the customary white robe, when meeting with some Jews, one of them poured some fetid oil on his white robe. The people soon kindled into a rage, and pulled down the synagogue; and the bishop sent word to the Jews, that they must all submit to be baptized or must quit the place. In this dilemma, five hundred preferred receiving baptism, and the rest removed to Marseilles. See Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Francor.* lib. v. chap. xi.—*Schl.*

[3] See his Epistles, lib. i. ep. xlvii. in his *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 541, ed. Benedict. [or the extract from it in Baronius, *Annal.* ad. ann. 591, tom. viii. pag. 26, 27, ed. Antw. 1600. Gregory commends the intentions of the Gallic bishops, but thinks that as such converts seldom persevered, and therefore exposed themselves to a heavier punishment in the other world than if they had never been baptized, charity to them required that they should not be compelled to receive baptism.—*Mur.*

[4] Tribonianus was a native of Side in Pamphylia, flourished about A.D. 530, and died about A.D. 546. Richly furnished with Greek and Roman literature, he applied himself especially to the study of law. He was advanced to various civil offices, and was in high favour with Justinian, on account of his eminent talents and his obsequiousness. The *Codex Justinianus* was the joint work of Tribonianus and others; but the compilation of the *Pandects* and *Institutes* was committed to him as chief, with others to assist him. Tribonianus was avaricious and irreligious. He had been accused of atheism and paganism. The truth probably was, that he had no fixed religious principles. See Hermann, *Hist. Juris Romani et Justiniani*, lib. ii. cap. i. sec. 27, &c. and Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. xliv.—*Mur.* [Vol. viii. p. 42, &c. Milman's Edition.—*R.*

[5] Procopius of Cæsarea (different from Procopius of Gaza), was a rhetorician, senator, and historian. He was secretary to the famous general Belisarius from 533 to 542, during his campaigns in Asia, Africa, and Italy; and afterwards being made a Roman senator, resided at Constantinople, and devoted himself to writing the civil history of his own times; viz. *De Bello Persico, De Bello Vandalico*, and *De Bello Gothico*. His narration is elaborate and exact, and the style not unacceptable. He also wrote *De Ædificiis Justiniani*, in which he displays the munificence and greatness of that emperor; likewise, *Anecdota sive Historia Arcana*, in which he describes the vices and crimes of Justinian and his empress Theodora. Procopius was alive in the year 562. Some accuse him of leaning towards paganism. He was probably a man of no religion, but externally a conformist to Christianity. His works were published, Greek and Latin, by Maltrel, Paris, 1662. 2 vols. fol. See Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 510.—*Mur.*

[6] Agathias, an advocate at Smyrna, continued the history of Procopius from the year 553 to A.D. 559, written in an easy but florid style. He also wrote eighty epigrams. His works were published, Gr. and Lat. Paris, 1660, fol. His history and that of Procopius are both in the *Corpus Historiæ Byzantinæ Scriptorum*. See Lardner, *Works*, vol. ix. p. 85.—*Mur.* [See his life in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biog.* vol. i. p. 62. The writer considers him a Christian.—*R.*

religion, into the minds of the youth both in Greece and Egypt. This class of men affected indeed a high degree of moderation, and for the most part so qualified their expressions as to make the pagan idolatry appear not very remote from Christianity. This is evident from the examples of Chalcidius[1] and Alexander of Lycopolis.[2] Yet there were some among them who did not hesitate openly to attack the Christian religion. Damascius in his life of his master Isidore and elsewhere, casts many reproaches on the Christians.[3] Simplicius in his Expositions of Aristotle not obscurely carps at the Christian faith.[4] The *Epicheiremata xviii. contra Christianos*, written by Proclus,[5] were in everybody's hands, and therefore received a confutation from John Philoponus.[6] So much licence would not have been allowed to these men, had there not been among the magistrates many who were Christians in name and outward appearance, rather than in reality.

3. The Christians in some places had occasion even in this century, to complain of the barbarity and cruelty of their enemies. During the greater part of it the Anglo Saxons, who had seized upon Britain, brought every kind of calamity and suffering upon the former inhabitants of the country who were Christians.[7] The Huns having made an irruption into Thrace, Greece, and other provinces, during the reign of Justinian treated the Christians with cruelty;[8] yet they appear to have been influenced not so much by a hatred of Christianity, as by hostility to the Greek empire. A great change in the state of Italy took place about the middle of this century under Justinian I. This emperor by Narses his general overturned the kingdom of the Ostrogoths in that country, after it had stood ninety years, and annexed Italy to his empire. But under the emperor Justin the Lombards, a very warlike German tribe under their King Alboin, and accompanied by some other German people, broke into Italy from Pannonia in the year 568; and having possessed themselves of the whole country, except Rome and Ravenna, founded a new kingdom at Pavia. Under these new lords, who were not only barbarians but averse from Christianity, the Italian Christians for a time endured immense evils and calamities. But their first rage gradually subsided and the Lombards became more civilized. Autharis, their third king, made a profession of Christianity in the year 587, but he embraced the Arian creed. His successor Agilulph, however, was induced by his queen, Theodelinda, to

[1] Concerning the religion of Chalcidius I have spoken in my notes on Cudworth's *Intellectual Syst.* vol. i. p. 732. [Chalcidius flourished about A. D. 330 and wrote his Latin translation of Plato's *Timæus* with a Commentary, at the suggestion (as is reported) of Hosius of Corduba. Some make him to have been archdeacon of Carthage. See above, cent. iv. pt. i. chap. i. sec 18, with note 7, p. 123; and Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 199. —*Mur.* [These is a brief notice of him by Professor Ramsay in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biog.* vol. i. p. 679. The question of his being a Christian has been keenly discussed, and learned men have taken different sides. The best account of the controversy may be seen in Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. iii. p. 472–485. —*R.*

[2] The treatise of this philosopher *contra Manichæos* in Greek, was published by Combefis, *Auctarium Noviss. Bibloth. Patrum*, tom. ii. Concerning his religion, Beausobre has given a critical dissertation, *Histoire de Manichée et du Manichéisme*, pt. ii. *Discours. Prélim.* sec. 13, p. 236, &c. [Alexander of Lycopolis in Thebais in Egypt flourished probably about A. D. 350. Fabricius supposes (*Biblioth. Gr.* tom. v. p. 290), that he was first a pagan and a Manichee, and afterwards a catholic Christian. Cave is of the same opinion (*Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. *de Scriptor. incertæ ætatis*). Beausobre (*ubi supra*) thinks he was a mere pagan. Lardner (*Works*, vol. iii. p. 384; vol. viii. p. 349, &c.) thinks he was a Gentile but well acquainted with the Manichees and other Christians; that he had some knowledge of the Old and New Testaments to which he occasionally refers. He speaks with respect of Christ and the Christian philosophy, and appears to have been a learned and candid man.—*Mur.*

[3] Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. ccxlii. p. 1027. [Damascius was a native of Damascus, but studied and taught philosophy both at Athens and Alexandria. From the latter he fled to Persia during the persecution of the pagan philosophers by the emperor Justinian, about the year 530. His subsequent history is unknown. He wrote the lives of Isidorus and others, Commentaries on Plato, and four books on extraordinary events, all of which are lost. Photius calls him εἰς ἄκρον δυσσεβῆς, *superlatively irreligious* (*Codex* clxxxi.), and gives an epitome of his life of Isidore, *Cod.* ccxlii.—*Mur.*

[4] Simplicius, a native of Cilicia, a disciple of Damascius and an eclectic philosopher, was one of those who fled into Persia about the year 530. He returned a few years after, and wrote commentaries on some of the philosophical and physical works of Aristotle; also a Commentary on the *Encheiridion* of Epictetus, both edited, Greek and Latin, by Wolf, Leyden, 1640, 4to. —*Mur.*

[5] Proclus was born at Constantinople A. D. 410, studied at Alexandria and at Athens, and became head of the philosophical school in the latter place in the year 450. He died A. D. 485 He was a man of much philosophical reading, a great enthusiast, a bold and whimsical speculator, and a most voluminous writer. His eighteen Arguments against the Christians are so many proofs that the world was eternal. This work with the confutation of John Philoponus was published in Greek, Venice, 1535, fol.; and in Latin, Lyons, 1557, fol.—*Mur.*

[6] See Fabricius, *Biblio. Græ.* vol. iii. p. 522, &c. [and Brucker, *Historia Crit. Philos.* tom. iii. p. 491, with Hamberger's *Zuverlässige Nachrichten*, tom. iii. p. 391.—*Schl.*

[7] Ussher, *Index Chronolog. Antiq. Eccles. Britan. ad ann.* 508, p. 1123 [and still more to the purpose, *ad ann.* 511, p. 1125, and *ad ann.* 597, p. 1151, &c. At the beginning of this century the Saxons held only Kent and Sussex, embracing about three counties in the south-east part of England; all the rest of the country was inhabited by Christian Britons. But during this century the Saxons gradually extended their conquests; and before the century closed the Britons were shut up among the mountains of Wales and Cornwall, except a few in Cumberland on the borders of Scotland, or were driven to take refuge beyond seas. Over all the rest of England paganism reigned; the churches were demolished or converted into idolatrous temples, and the public worship of the true God had ceased.—*Mur.* [See the works referred to in note 6, p. 214, above.—*R.*

[8] Procopius, *de Bello Persico*, lib. ii. cap. iv.

abandon the Arian sect, and join the Catholics of the Nicene creed.[1] Chosroes, the king of Persia, exceeded all others in barbarity, for he publicly declared that he would make war, not upon Justinian, but upon the God of the Christians; and he cut off an immense number of Christians by various modes of execution.[2]

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

1. EVERY one knows that the irruption of the fierce and barbarous nations into most of the provinces of the west, was extremely prejudicial to literature and to every species of learning. All the liberal arts and sciences would have become wholly extinct, had they not found some feeble protection among the bishops and monks. To most of those churches which are called cathedrals, schools were annexed, in which either the bishop himself or some one appointed by him instructed the youth in the seven liberal arts, as a preparation for the study of the sacred books.[3] The monks and nuns were nearly all required by the founders of their houses, to devote some portion of every day to the reading of the works of the ancient fathers of the church, who were supposed to have exhausted the fountains of sacred knowledge.[4] It was therefore necessary that libraries should be formed in the monasteries, and that books should be multiplied by being transcribed. This labour of transcribing books was generally assigned to the more feeble-bodied monks, who were unable to encounter severe labour. To these establishments we owe the preservation of all the ancient authors which have come down to us, both sacred and profane. Moreover in most of the monasteries schools were opened, in which the abbot or some one of the monks instructed the children and youth who were devoted to a monastic life.[5]

2. But not to mention that many of the bishops and others who had control over the monks were inattentive to their duty, and that others had strong prejudices against learning and science, which they apprehended to be hazardous to piety—a fault commonly attributed to Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome, who it is said wished to have many of the ancient authors committed to the flames[6]—not to mention also that some of the bishops, of set purpose, cultivated ignorance and barbarism, which they confounded with Christian simplicity;[7] to pass over these considerations, it remains to be stated, that the branches of learning taught in these schools were confined within

1 Paulus Diaconus, *De Gestis Longobardorum*, lib. ii. cap. ii.; and cap. xxvii. p. 219, 231, ed. Lindenbrog; Muratori, *Antiq. Italicæ*, tom. i. p. 14; tom. ii. p. 297, &c.; and *Annales Italici*. Giannone, *Hist. de Naples*, [liv. iv. chap. iii.] tom. i. p. 292, &c.

2 Procopius, *de Bello Persico*, lib. ii. cap. xxvi.

3 Fleury, *Discours sur l'Hist. Ecclés. depuis l'an.* 600, &c.; sec. 21, &c. in his *Hist. Eccles.* tome xiii. p. 56; *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tome iii. Introd. sec. 32, p. 12, &c.; Conringius, *Antiquit. Academicæ*, pages 66—167. ed. Heumann. [Gregory of Tours, lib. vi. cap. xxxvi.—*Schl.*

4 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia Regularum*, lib. ii. p. 55, 64, 75, 77, 80, 100, lib. iii. p. 16—41, &c. ed. Menard; Mabillon, *Præf. ad Sæcul.* i. *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* p. 44, &c.

5 Benedict, *Concordia Regular.* lib. ii. p. 232; Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict*, tom. i. p. 314, &c. [And yet it is certain that these monkish schools kept aloof from the sources of real learning—I mean the ancient classic authors; and that the best interpreters of Scripture among the fathers, such as Origen and Theodorus of Mopsuestia, were left to moulder in the dust. On the contrary the young monks were occupied with reading and transcribing the most silly fables and legends, by which their understandings and their imaginations were injured past recovery. In the Rule of Isidore it is expressly stated: *Libros gentilium, hæreticorum, legere vetas.*—*Schl.*

6 Liron, *Singularités Histor. et Littér.* tome i. p. 166, &c. [That Gregory was opposed to all secular learning appears incontrovertibly from his conduct towards Desiderius, bishop of Vienne. This bishop was a man of great merit, virtues, and learning. But he instructed some of his friends in grammar and the fine arts, and read with them the pagan poets. Gregory looked upon all this as horrible wickedness; and therefore hesitated about sending him the pall, and reproved him very sharply in an epistle which is still extant. (Gregory, *Epist.* lib. ix. ep. xlviii.) "Because (says the honest pope who esteemed it no wrong to praise extravagantly the greatest villains and the cruelest murderers) the praises of Christ and those of Jupiter cannot have place in the same mouth. And consider how enormous a crime it is for a bishop to *sing!* which would be unbecoming even in a religious layman. The more horrible this is in a priest, the more earnestly and faithfully should it be inquired into. If it should hereafter appear clearly that the reports which have reached me are false, and that you do not study vanities and secular literature (nec vos nugis et secularibus literis studere); I shall praise God who has not permitted your heart to be defiled with the blasphemous praises of the horrible ones." But whether it be true, as John of Salisbury states (*De Nugis Curialium*, lib. ii. cap. xxvi.; and lib. viii. cap. xix.) that he caused the Palatine or Capitoline library to be burned, or as Antoninus of Florence tells us (see Vossius, *De Historicis Latinis*, p. 98) that he committed to the flames Livy's History must be considered uncertain, as the witnesses are so modern. Yet it would not be improbable in a man of such flaming zeal against the pagan writers.—*Schl.*

7 Mabillon, *Præf. ad Sæculum I.* [*Acta Sanct. Ord. Benedicti*, p. xlvi.

very narrow limits,[1] and that the teachers were ignorant and incompetent. Greek literature was almost everywhere neglected; and those who professed to cultivate Latin, consumed their time on grammatical subtilties and niceties, as is manifest from the examples of Isidorus and Cassiodorus. Eloquence had degenerated into rhetorical blustering, made up of motley and frigid figures and barbarous phraseology, as is shown by those who composed with most elegance, such as Boëthius, Cassiodorus, Ennodius, and others. The other liberal arts, as they were called, contained nothing elevated and liberal, but consisted of only a few precepts, and those very dry.

3. Philosophy was wholly excluded from the schools which were under the direction of the clergy; for nearly all supposed that religious persons could do very well without it, or rather ought never to meddle with it. The most eminent, and indeed almost the only Latin philosopher of this age, was the celebrated Boëthius, privy counsellor to Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths in Italy. He embraced the Platonic system;[2] but like most of the younger Platonists, approved also the precepts of Aristotle, and illustrated them by his writings. He is therefore not improperly regarded as the man whose labours brought the Aristotelian philosophy into higher repute among the Latins, than it had hitherto been.

4. Among the Greeks, the liberal arts were cultivated with more zeal in several places; and some of the emperors encouraged all branches of learning with honours and rewards:[3] yet the number of the men of genius is much smaller than in the preceding century. When this century commenced, the younger Platonism was flourishing in full splendour. The schools of Alexandria and Athens were under masters of high credit, Damascius, Isidore,[4] Simplicius, Eulamius, Hermias, Priscian, and others. But when the emperor Justinian, by an express law, forbade the teaching of philosophy at Athens[5] (which is undoubtedly to be understood of this species of philosophy), and manifested peculiar displeasure against those who would not renounce idolatry, all these philosophers took up their residence among the Persians, the enemies of the Romans.[6] They returned indeed in the year 533, on the restoration of peace between the Persians and the Romans;[7] but they were never able to recover their former credit, and they gradually ceased to keep up their schools. Such was the termination of this sect, which had been a most troublesome one to the church for many centuries. On the contrary, the Aristotelian philosophy gradually emerged from its obscurity, and received explanations, particularly from the commentaries of John Philoponus. And it became necessary for the Greeks to acquaint themselves with it, because the Monophysites and the Nestorians endeavoured to confute the adherents to the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, by arguments suggested by this philosophy.

5. For the Nestorians as well as the Monophysites, who lived in the East, kept their eye upon Aristotle; and to enable their adherents to be good disputants, translated his principal works out of Greek into their vernacular tongues. Into the Syriac language, Sergius Rasainensis, a Monophysite and a philosopher, translated the writings of Aristotle.[8] In Persia, one Uranius, a Syrian, propagated his doctrines, and even instilled them into the mind of Chosroes, the king, who was studious of such matters.[9] Another, who was doubtless of the Nestorian sect (for no other in this age prevailed in Persia, the Greeks being excluded), pre-

[1] See M. Aurelius Cassiodorus, *Liber de septem Disciplinis* among his *Opera*.

[2] This will be evident to any one who with some knowledge of the views of the younger Platonists, takes up his books *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*. See also Vallinus, *Notes*, pages 10, 50. Holstenius, *De Vita Porphyrii*, p. 7, ed. Cantab.; likewise, Mascov, *Hist. Germanorum*, tom. ii. p. 102, &c. [Brucker. *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. iii. p. 524, &c.; and Hamberger's *Zuverlässige Nachrichten*, vol. iii. p. 317, &c.—*Schl.* [See also his life in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biog.* vol. i. p. 495, where the question of his being a Christian is carefully considered.—*R.*

[3] See the *Codex Theodos.* tom. ii. lib. vi. p. 113, &c. Conringius, *De Studiis urbis Romæ et Constantinop.* annexed to his *Diss. de Antiquit. Academicis.*

[4] See Brucker's account of Isidore, in his *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. ii. p. 341. Isidore was called Gazæus from his native place, Gaza in Palestine; and this discriminated him from Isidore Mercator, Hispalensis, and Peluslota.—*Schl.*

[5] Johannes Malala, *Historia Chronica*, par. ii. p. 187, ed. Oxon. Another testimony to the same point derived from I know not what unpublished *Chronicon*, is adduced by Alemannus, *Ad Procopii Historiam Arcanam*, cap. xxvi. p. 377, ed. Venetæ. [Also Agathias, cap. ii. and Suidas, art. πρεσβὺς, tom. iii. p. 171, seem to refer to this event by saying: Damascius, Simplicius, Eulalius, Priscianus, Hermias, Diogenes, and Isidorus, retired to Persia, because they could not live according to their inclinations.—*Schl.*

[6] Agathias, *De Rebus Justiniani*, lib. ii.; *Corpus Byzant.* tom. iii. p. 49, ed. Venetæ.

[7] Consult the excellent Wesselingius, *Observat. Variar.* lib. i. cap. xviii. p. 117.

[8] Abulpharajus, *Historia Dynastiar.* pages 94, 172, ed. of Pocock.

[9] Agathias, *De Rebus Justiniani*, lib. ii. p. 48. That this Uranius accommodated the precepts of Aristotle to the Eutychian controversies appears from this, that Agathias represents him as disputing about the *passibility* and *immiscibility* of God, καὶ τὸ παθητὸν καὶ ἀξύγχυτον. [Uranius was in so high esteem with King Chosroes, that he had him constantly at his table. He wished to be accounted a sceptic, but may more justly be ranked among the Nestorians than among the proper philosophers.—*Schl.*

sented the same king with a Persian translation of Aristotle.[1] Yet there were among these Christians some who, rejecting both Plato and Aristotle, chose to philosophize or speculate according as their own genius led them. Such was the Nestorian Cosmas, called Indicopleustes, whose opinions were quite peculiar, and more consentaneous with those of the orientals than with those of the Greeks.[2] Such also was the writer, from whose Exposition of the Octateuch, Photius has preserved some extracts.[3]

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS IN THE CHURCH.

1. In the constitution of the Christian church there was no important change. But the two prelates who considered themselves and were regarded by others as standing at the head of the whole church, the bishops of Rome and Constantinople, were incessantly contending for priority and about the extent of their territories and jurisdiction. The bishop of Constantinople not only claimed the primacy in the eastern churches, but maintained that his see was in no respect inferior to that of Rome. The pontiffs of Rome were exceedingly disturbed at this, and contended that their see held a rank and pre-eminence above that of Constantinople. In particular the Roman pontiff, Gregory the Great, did so in the year 587; when John of Constantinople, surnamed the Faster on account of the austerity of his life, had by his own authority assembled a council of eastern bishops at Constantinople, to decide on charges brought against Peter [Gregory] bishop of Antioch; and on this occasion had arrogated to himself the title of œcumenical or universal bishop.[4] For although the bishops of Constantinople had long used this title, which was capable of a harmless interpretation, yet Gregory concluded from the time and the occasion on which it was now used, that John was aiming at a supremacy over all Christian churches; and he therefore wrote letters to the emperor and to others, in which he vehemently inveighed against this title. But he could effect nothing, and the bishops of Constantinople continued to assume it, though not in the sense which Gregory supposed.[5]

2. The bishop of Rome persevering in his opposition excited commotion everywhere, in order to bring the Christian world under his own control. And he was in some degree successful, especially in the west; but in the east scarcely any would listen to him, unless actuated by hostility to the bishop of Constantinople, who was always in a condition to oppose his ambitious designs in that quarter. How greatly the ideas of many had advanced respecting the powers of the bishop of Rome, cannot better be shown than by the example of Ennodius, the insane flatterer of Symmachus, who, among other extravagant expressions, said the pontiff judges in the place of God.[6] But on the other hand, there are numerous proofs that the emperors, as well as some

[1] Agathias, *De Rebus Justiniani*, lib. ii. p. 48, ed. Venetæ.

[2] Montfaucon, *Præf. ad Cosman*, p. 10, &c. in his *Collectio Nov. Patr. Græcorum*. [This Cosmas was an Egyptian monk. In early life he was a merchant, and trafficked through the whole length of the Red Sea and quite to India; whence he got the name of *Indicopleustes*, an *Indian Navigator*. After many years spent in this manner he took up his residence in a monastery in Egypt, and devoted himself to composing books. His chief work is *Topographia Christiana sive Christianorum opinio de mundo*. It is his great aim to prove the earth not spherical but a vast oblong plain; the length, east and west, being double the breadth. He argues from Scripture, reason, testimony, and the authority of the fathers. But while pressing his main point he introduces much valuable geographical information, which he had collected in his voyages. He flourished and probably wrote about A.D. 535. The best edition is that of Montfaucon, Greek and Latin, in *Collect. Nov. Patr. Gr.* tom. ii. Paris. 1706. See Cave's *Hist. Litt.* tom. i. p. 515, &c.—*Mur.*

[3] Photius, *Biblioth.* cod. xxxvi. pages 22, 23.

[4] Mosheim here confounds dates, names, and transactions. Gregory (not Peter) bishop of Antioch, being accused of incest and other crimes appealed from the tribunal of the governor of the East to the Emperor Mauricius; and the emperor (not the patriarch John) called a council or appointed a court of Commissioners at Constantinople in 587, composed of patriarchs (or their delegates), Roman senators, and metropolitans, to hear and decide the case. (See Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. cap. vii. Evagrius was Gregory's counsellor at the trial, and has given us nearly all the information which has reached us respecting this council.) On this occasion it is said John, the patriarch of Constantinople, was honoured with the title of *universal bishop*—a title which had for some time been used by the bishops of that see. The decisions of this council being sent to Pelagius II. (not to Gregory the Great) bishop of Rome, Pelagius confirmed the acquittal of Gregory of Antioch, but remonstrated strongly against the title given to John. His letters on the occasion are lost, but they are mentioned by his successor. In the year 590 Pelagius died, and was succeeded by Gregory the Great; and he finding that John continued to use this title, took up the business in earnest about the year 595, and for some years laboured by entreaties and threats, and continued applications to the emperors and to the other eastern patriarchs, to divest the Constantinopolitan patriarchs of a title which he maintained to be *profane, anti-christian*, and *infernal*, by whomsoever assumed. See Gregory the Great, *Epistol.* lib. iv. ep. xxxvi. xxxviii. and lib. vi. ep. xxxix. &c. Bower's *Lives of the Popes* (Pelagius II.), vol. ii. p. 459, and (Gregory) vol. ii. pages 505, 511, 517; Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles.* sæcul. vi. cap. ii. art. xii. xiii. tom. x. p. 18, 25, &c. ed. Paris, 1743.—*Mur.*

[5] Gregory the Great, *Epistol.* lib. iv. v. vi. All the passages in these epistles relating to this important subject are collected and illustrated by Launoi, *Assertio in Privilegium S. Medardi, Opp.* tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 266, &c. See le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 67, &c. Pfaff, *Diss. de Titulo Œcumenici*; in the *Tempe Helvetica*, tom. iv. p. 99, and the authors there mentioned. [The full title of Pfaff's dissertation is, *De titulo Patriarchæ Œcumenici, pomo eridos inter Græcam et Latinam ecclesias*; it is very necessary to be consulted in studying this contest.—*R.*

[6] See his *Apologeticum pro Synodo*, in the *Biblioth. Mag. Patr.* tom. xv. p. 248, ed. Paris.

whole nations, would not patiently bear this new yoke.[1] The Gothic kings in Italy would not allow the bishop of Rome to domineer excessively there; nor would they allow any one to be considered as pontiff whom they had not approved, and they wished to have his election controlled by their decisions.[2] These kings also enacted laws relative to religious matters, arraigned the clergy before their tribunals, and summoned ecclesiastical councils.[3] And the pontiffs themselves paid homage to these sovereigns and afterwards to the emperors in a submissive manner; for they had not yet become so lost to all shame as to look upon temporal sovereigns as their vassals.[4]

3. The clergy were previously in possession of high privileges and great wealth, and the superstition of this century added considerably to both. For it was supposed that sins might be expiated by munificence to churches and to monks; and that the prayers of departed saints, which were most efficacious with God, might be purchased by presents offered to them, and by temples dedicated to their names.[5] This increase of wealth and privileges was accompanied with an equal increase of the vices usually attendant on affluence, in the clergy of all ranks from the highest to the lowest;[6] as is manifest even from the laws enacted by councils and by the emperors to regulate the lives and morals of the clergy.[7] For what need was there of guarding the morals of these men with such ramparts of laws, if they manifested some degree of love for virtue and piety? Yet the efficacy of these laws was slight; for so great was the reverence for the clergy, that their most atrocious offences were visited with the gentlest chastisements; and this emboldened them to perpetrate any iniquity.

4. What sort of men the bishops of Rome were, who wished to be thought the chiefs and fathers of the whole Christian church, and also the body of the clergy under them at Rome, best appears from the long and violent contest between Symmachus and Laurentius; which broke out in the year 498, and was at length settled by the Gothic king Theodoric. Each maintained that he himself was the regularly constituted pontiff, and each accused the other of the most abominable crimes, and not without an appearance of truth. Three councils assembled at Rome were not able to terminate the fierce quarrel; in the fourth, Theodoric having taken up the business, soon after the commencement of the century, Symmachus was at length pronounced innocent. But the adverse party continued to deny that justice had been done them by this decision; and this led Ennodius of Pavia to write his Apology for the Council and for Symmachus.[8] From this treatise, which

1 See particularly respecting Spain, Mich. Geddes, *On the Papal Supremacy*, chiefly with relation to the ancient Spanish church; published among his Miscellaneous Tracts, vol. ii. p. 1, &c.

2 See Mascov, *Hist. Germanorum*, tom. ii. note, p. 113.

3 Basnage, *Hist. des Eglises Réformées*, tome i. p. 381, &c. [Thus, e. g. Theodoric assembled the Italian bishops at Rome, to settle the contested election of Symmachus to the papal chair. (Walch, *Hist. der Kirchenversam.* p. 347.) The council of Orleans in 511 was held by order of Clovis (ibid. p. 351); another at Orleans in 533 by order of Childebert (ibid. p. 367); and in the year 549 (ibid. p. 375); and at Clermont by order of Theudebert (ibid. 368).—*Schl.*

4 See the collections from Gregory the Great, by Launoi, *De Regia Potestate in Matrimon. Opp.* tom. i. par. ii. p. 691, &c. and *Assertio in Privilegium S. Medardi, Opp.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 275; Giannone, *Histoire de Naples*, tome ii. p. 282, &c.; and livr. iii. chap. vi. sec. 6.—*Mur.*

5 Thus, *e. g.* Gregory (in cap. xv. Jobi, lib. xii. cap. xxiii.) says: "Whenever, after committing a crime we give alms, we do as it were compensate for our wicked actions." So also in his epistles (lib. ix. ep. xxxviii.): "The intercessions in heaven of him whose body you have covered on earth will protect you from all sins," &c.—*Schl.*

6 Theophanes (on the second year of Justinian's reign) states that Esaias, bishop of Rhodes, and Alexander, bishop of Diospolis in Thrace, were for the crime of sodomy deprived of their offices, and castrated by order of the emperor; and then carried about as a show with a herald proclaiming: "All ye bishops beware of disgracing your venerable office." So in the epistles of Gregory the Great many proofs occur of impure conduct among the clergy: e. g. lib. viii. ep. xi.; lib. iii. ep. xxvi. and ix.; lib. i. ep. xviii. xlii.—*Schl.*

7 Thus, e. g. in the council of Agde in Gaul (can. 41), it was enacted, that a clergyman who should get drunk, should be excluded the church for thirty days, or undergo corporeal punishment; and (can. 42) the clergy were forbidden to exercise the art of fortune-telling. Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. ii. p. 1002. Other laws forbid simony, concubinage, perjury, usury, and gaudy dress, in the clergy. In Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 529, mention is made of many nuns, at the head of whom were two princesses, Chrotildis and Basine, who broke from the nunnery at Poictiers, and a part of whom were found pregnant, and also committed the most shameful acts of violence. And in page 531, he mentions one Ægidius, bishop of Rheims, who used forged documents before the council of Mets; and for treasonable practices was removed from office. See Fleury, *Hist. Ecclésiast.* liv. xxxv. sections 5—8.—*Schl.*

8 This apology is extant in the *Bibbioth. Magn. Patr.* tom. xv. p. 248, &c. [And in most of the Collections of Councils.—This contest may be worth describing more fully.—On the death of the pontiff Athanasius, in the year 498, not only the clergy but the people and the senate of Rome, were divided about a successor. Symmachus, a deacon, and Laurentius, the archpresbyter, were both chosen on the same day by their respective partisans; and so eager were both parties to carry their point, that the whole city was in an uproar, and many battles and much bloodshed took place in the streets and in the public places. To end the dire contest, the leading men on both sides agreed to refer the contested point to the decision of Theodoric, the Arian king, resident at Ravenna. He decided, that the one who should be found to have had most votes, and to have been elected at the earliest hour, should be considered the legal pontiff. This secured the election of Symmachus. The king likewise ordered the bishops to make regulations for the election of future popes, which should prevent the recurrence of similar difficulties. This was done in the year 499. But the party of Laurentius were not yet quiet. In the year 500 they accused Symmachus of several heinous crimes before the king; and the tumults and civil wars of Rome were renewed with increased violence. Some senators in-

abounds in rhetorical colouring, we may clearly learn that the foundations of that exorbitant power which the pontiffs afterwards obtained, were already laid; but not that Symmachus had been inconsiderately and unjustly accused.

5. The progress of monkery was very great both in the East and in the West. In the East, whole armies of monks might have been enrolled, without any sensible diminution of the number anywhere. In the West, this mode of life found patrons and followers almost without number in all the provinces; which is apparent from the various rules drawn up by different individuals for regulating the lives of monks and nuns.[1] In Great Britain, one Congal is said to have persuaded an immense number to abandon active life and spend their days in solitude, according to a rule which he prescribed.[2] His disciples filled Ireland, Gaul, Germany, Switzerland, and other countries with convents of monks. The most famous of them was Columbanus, who has left us a rule of his own, distinguished for its simplicity and brevity.[3] The whole monastic order abounded with fanatics and profligates. In the eastern monasteries there were more fanatics than knaves. In the western there were more knaves than fanatics.

6. A new order of monks, which in time absorbed all the others in the West, was established at mount Cassino, in the year 529, by Benedict of Nursia, a devout and a distinguished man according to the standard of that age. His *Rule* is still extant, and it shows that it was not his aim to bring all monks under his regulations, but rather to found a new society, more stable, of better morals, and living under milder rules than the other monks; the members of which should lead a retired and holy life spent in prayers, reading, manual labour, and the instruction of youth.[4] But his followers

formed the king of the state of Rome, and requested him to send a visitor thither, with full power to settle all the difficulties. Peter, bishop of Altino, was appointed. He repaired to Rome, and at once suspended Symmachus, and took the goods of the church into his own hands. This enraged the partisans of Symmachus to madness, and prostrated all order and subordination. Being apprised of the state of things, the king now repaired to Rome in person, and spent six months in tranquillizing that distracted city. He ordered all the bishops of Italy to meet in council, and decide on the charges against Symmachus. The council held several meetings in that and the following years. Symmachus, when sent for, set out to go to the council attended by a mob; a battle ensued in the streets, several were killed, Symmachus himself was wounded, turned back, and refused to appear before the council. The council, after some delay, proceeded in his absence; decreed that the witnesses, being slaves, were incompetent to prove anything; and therefore dismissed the complaint. The friends of Laurentius protested against the decision. The council met again, and adopted as their own the apology for them drawn up by Ennodius. See Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, (Symmachus) vol. ii. pages 248—261. Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. ii. p. 961, &c. 975, 983, 989.—*Mur.*

1 Most of these rules are extant in Holstenius, *Codex Regularum*, par. ii. published at Rome, 1661, in 3 vols. 4to. Add Martene and Durand, *Thesaurus novus Anecdotorum*, tom. i. p. 4.

2 Ussher, *Primor. Eccles. Britan.* pages 132, 441, 911. [Comgallus or Congellus was an Irish monk who founded several monasteries; the most important of which was that of Banchor or Bangor (on the south shore of Carrickfergus bay in the north-easterly part of Ireland), erected about A.D. 530. Congal is said to have ruled over three thousand monks living in different monasteries and cells. See Ussher, *ubi supra.*—*Mur.* [See also Lanigan's *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, 2d edition, Dub. 1829, vol. ii. p. 62, &c.—*R.*

3 Ussher, *Sylloge Antiq. Epist. Hibernic.* pages 5—15; Holstenius, *Codex Regular.* tom. ii. p. 48, &c.; Mabillon, *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* Sæcul. ii. p. iv. [St. Columbanus (a different person from Columba, the apostle of Scotland, mentioned p. 214, above) was born in Leinster, Ireland, about the year 559. After a good education in the literature of that age, he became a monk in the monastery of Bangor, under Congal. In the year 589, with twelve companions, he passed through England into Gaul; and settled in Burgundy, where he built the monastery of Luxeuil, or Luxovium; and there he spent about twenty years with great reputation. But in the year 610, having offended Theodoric the king by reproving his vices, he was banished that territory; and after wandering a few years in different parts of Gaul and Germany along the Rhine, and spending three years near Bregentz in Helvetia, he went into Italy, was received kindly by Agilulph the Lombard king, built the monastery of Bobbio near Pavia, presided over it one year, and then died about A.D. 615. He was a man of superior genius and possessed vast influence. His works yet remaining are his monastic rule, his monastic discipline, some poems and epistles, and seventeen discourses, which were published at Louvain in 1667 by Patrick Fleming, an Irish monk. His life, written by Jonas, an abbot of Bobbio, while several cotemporaries of Columbanus were yet living, is extant in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. ii. p. 2—26.—*Mur.* [See a full account of this Columbanus in Lanigan's *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 63, &c.; and a brief notice of him and his works in Bähr, *Gesch. der Römis. Liter.* Suppl. vol. part ii. p. 464. Fleming's work is exceedingly rare; it is entitled, *Collectanea Sacra, seu S. Columbani*, &c. *Acta et Opuscula*; but its contents are republished with additions, in Gallandius, *Biblio. Vet. Patrum*, vol. xii. p. 319, &c. At this ancient monastery at Bobbio one of the most valuable of the mediæval libraries was early collected. We have a curious catalogue of its contents as they stood in the 10th century (though imperfect), preserved by Muratori in his *Antiq. Italicæ*, vol. iii. Diss. 43, p. 818: and another compiled in the year 1461, which is printed entire in the Appendix to Amad. Peyron, *M. T. Ciceronis Fragm. Inedita*, Stut. &c. 1824, 4to. To this work is prefixed a very interesting dissertation, *De Biblio. Bobiensi*, a collection of books or rather manuscripts which, dispersed as it now is among the libraries of Milan, Turin, Parma, and the Vatican, has yielded some important additions both to classical and theological learning. In it were preserved, in addition to the *Fragmenta* above referred to, Cicero *De Republica*, the *Epistles* of Fronto, and other works published by Cardinal Mai.—*R.*

4 See Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. i. and *Annales Ord. Benedict.* tom. i.: Helyot [*Histoire des Ordres monastiques, religieux et militaires*, &c. in 8 vols. 4to, Paris, 1714-19], and the other historians of the monastic orders. [Benedict was born of reputable parents at Nursia in Italy, A.D. 480. At the age of fourteen he was sent to Rome for education; but disgusted with the dissipations of the city and the school, he soon ran away and concealed himself three years in a cave at Sublacum [Subiago], about forty miles from Rome. At length he was discovered and his cell became much frequented. He was now chosen abbot of a monastery in the vicinity; but the rigour of his discipline gave offence, and he relinquished the office and returned to Sublacum, where he continued till about the year 529. Many monks here joined him, and he

departed widely from the principles of their founder; for after they had acquired immense riches from the liberality of princes and pious individuals, they gave themselves up to luxury, idleness, and every vice; became involved in civil affairs and the cabals of courts; were intent on multiplying vain and superstitious rites, and most eager to advance the authority and power of the Roman pontiffs. None of these things were enjoined or permitted by St. Benedict, whose Rule, though still highly extolled, has for many ages ceased to be observed.[1] Yet the institution of Benedict changed the state of monkery in the West in various respects, not the least important of which was, that the profession and engagement made by the monks bound them for ever to observe his rules; whereas previously, the monks changed the rule and regulations of their founders at pleasure.[2]

had twelve cells each containing twelve monks under *his* jurisdiction. Many of the first Roman families placed their sons under his instruction, and his reputation for piety and for miracles procured him almost unbounded respect. But his fame excited the envy of some clergymen, and led to plots against his life. After twenty-five years spent at Sublacum he retired to mount Cassino, about fifty miles south of Sublacum and about as far from Naples. Here he converted a body of pagan mountaineers and turned their temple into a monastery, in which he spent the remainder of his days in quietude and honour. He died about A.D. 543. His life was written by Pope Gregory the Great, and constitutes the second book of his Dialogues; it is also inserted in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Ben.* tom. i. p. 1—25. According to the *Rule* of Benedict the monks were to rise at 2 A.M. in winter (and in summer at such hours as the abbot might direct), repair to the place of worship for vigils, and then spend the remainder of the night in committing psalms, private meditation, and reading. At sunrise they assembled for matins, then spent four hours in labour, then two hours in reading, then dined and read in private till half-past two P.M. when they met again for worship; and afterwards laboured till their vespers. In their vigils and matins twenty-four Psalms were to be chanted each day, so as to complete the Psalter every week. Besides their social worship, seven hours each day were devoted to labour, two at least to private study, one to private meditation, and the rest to meals, sleep, and refreshment. The labour was agriculture, gardening, and various mechanical trades, and each one was put to such labour as his superior saw fit; for they all renounced wholly every species of personal liberty. They ate twice a day at a common table, first about noon, and then at evening. Both the quantity and the quality of their food were limited. To each was allowed one pound of bread per day and a small quantity of wine. On the public table no meat was allowed, but always two kinds of porridge. To the sick flesh was allowed. While at table all conversation was prohibited, and some one read aloud the whole time. They all served as cooks and waiters by turns of a week each. Their clothing was coarse and simple, and regulated at the discretion of the abbot. Each was provided with two suits, a knife, a needle, and all other necessaries. They slept in common dormitories of ten or twenty, in separate beds, without undressing, and had a light burning and an inspector sleeping in each dormitory. They were allowed no conversation after they retired, nor at any time were they permitted to jest or to talk for mere amusement. No one could receive a present of any kind, not even from a parent, nor have any correspondence with persons without the monastery, except by its passing under the inspection of the abbot. A porter always sat at the gate which was kept locked day and night, and no stranger was admitted without leave from the abbot, and no monk could go out unless he had permission from the same source. The school for the children of the neighbourhood was kept without the walls. The whole establishment was under an abbot whose power was despotic. His under-officers were a prior or deputy, a steward, a superintendent of the sick and the hospital, an attendant on visitors, a porter, &c with the necessary assistants, and a number of deans or inspectors over tens, who attended the monks at all times. The abbot was elected by the common suffrage of the brotherhood; and when inaugurated, he appointed and removed his under-officers at pleasure. On great emergencies he summoned the whole brotherhood to meet in council, and on more common occasions only the seniors; but in either case after hearing what each one was pleased to say, the decision rested wholly with himself. For admission to the society a probation of twelve months was required, during which the applicant was fed and clothed, and employed in the meaner offices of the monks, and closely watched. At the end of his probation if approved, he took solemn and irrevocable vows of perfect chastity, absolute poverty, and implicit obedience to his superiors in everything. If he had property he must give it all away, either to his friends or the poor or the monastery; and never after must possess the least particle of private property nor claim any personal rights or liberties. For lighter offences a reprimand was to be administered by some under-officer. For greater offences after two admonitions, a person was debarred his privileges, not allowed to read in his turn, or to sit at table, or enjoy his modicum of comforts. If still refractory he was expelled the monastery, yet might be restored on repentance. See the Rule at large in Hospinian, *Opp. tom.* iv. (*De Monachis*, libri vii.) p. 202—222, ed. Genev. 1669, fol. and as abridged by Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* liv. xxxii. sec. 14—19. Yet it is questionable whether the rule, as there laid down, was precisely what Benedict prescribed.—*Mur.* [On this rule of Benedict see also Bähr, *Gesch. der Römis. Liter.* Suppl. vol. part ii. p. 424.—*R.*

[1] The modern Benedictines are themselves obliged to admit that the Rule of their founder is no longer fully obeyed. But they resort to a convenient distinction. The Rule, say they, has its essential and its accidental parts. That the monks should labour, earn their own bread, and live frugally, belongs to the accidental part. The essential parts are the vows, which we observe religiously, a few faults excepted. We admit freely that the order is richer than in the days of its founder. Father Benedict would be amazed should he rise out of his grave, and instead of the miserable huts which he erected on mount Cassino, find there a palace in which kings and princes might reside; and see the abbot transformed into a prince of the empire, with a multitude of subjects and an income of five or six hundred thousand ducats.—*Schl.*

[2] See Mabillon, *Præf. ad Sæcul.* iv. par. i. (*Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* tom. v.) p. xviii. &c. Benedict changed the state of monkery, especially by restraining the instability of the monks and rendering their vows irrevocable. It was not strange that the order spread far and wide. His *Rule* was better calculated for Europeans than any other; and the first Benedictines were virtuous, upright, and useful people. Wherever they came they converted the wilderness into a cultivated country; they pursued the breeding of cattle and agriculture, laboured with their own hands, drained morasses, and cleared away forests. These monks—taking the word Benedictines in its largest extent, as embracing the ramifications of the order, the Carthusians, Cistersians, Præmonstratensians, Camaldulensians, &c.—were of great advantage to all Europe and particularly to Germany. By them Germany was cultivated and rendered a fruitful country. They preserved for us all the books of antiquity, all the sciences and learning of the ancients. For they were obliged to have libraries in their monasteries, because their rule required them to read a portion of each day. Some individuals were occupied in transcribing the books of the ancients, and hence came the manuscripts which still exist here and there in the libraries of monasteries. The sciences were cultivated nowhere but in their cloisters. They kept up schools there for the monks, and for such as were destined to be monks. And without their cloisters they had also schools, in which the people of the world were instructed. From these monasteries proceeded

7. Only a short time elapsed before this new order of monks was in a most flourishing state in all the western countries. In Gaul it was propagated by St. Maurus; in Sicily and Sardinia by Placidus and others; in England by Augustine and Mellitus; in Italy and in other parts by Gregory the Great, who is reported to have lived some time in this order.[1] In Germany Boniface afterwards caused it to be received.[2] This rapid progress of their order the Benedictines ascribe to the miracles of St. Benedict and his disciples, and to the holiness and superiority of the rules which he prescribed. But those who more critically examine the causes of events, have very nearly all united in the opinion, that the favour shown by the Roman pontiffs, to whose glory and exaltation this whole order was especially devoted, contributed more than all other causes to its wide extension and grandeur; yet it was not till the ninth century that all other rules and societies became extinct, and the Benedictines alone reigned.[3]

8. Among the Greek and oriental Christians the most distinguished writers of this century were the following. Procopius of Gaza expounded some books of the bible not unhappily.[4] John Maxentius, a monk of Antioch, besides some books against the sects of his times, wrote *Scholia on Dionysius the Areopagite*.[5] Agapetus procured himself a place among the wise men of the age by his *Scheda Regia*, addressed to the emperor Justinian.[6] Eulogius, a presbyter of Antioch, was ardent and energetic in opposing the heresies of the times.[7] John, bishop of Constantinople, called the Faster on account of the austerity of his life, distinguished himself by some small treatises, and particularly by his *Pœnitential*.[8] Leontius of Byzantium has left us a book against the heretics and some other writings.[9]

men of learning who were employed in courts, as chancellors, vice-chancellors, secretaries, &c. and these again patronized the monasteries. Even the children of sovereign princes were brought up among the Benedictines, and after they came to their thrones retained attachment and reverence for the Order, to whom they were indebted for their education. The Benedictines were esteemed saints, and their prayers were supposed to be particularly efficacious. All this rendered the Order powerful and rich. But as soon as they became rich they became voluptuous and indolent, and their cloisters were haunts of vice and wickedness. In the seventeenth century this Order began to revert back to its original designs, especially in France; and it performed essential service to the republic of learning, in particular by publishing beautiful editions of the Fathers.—*Schl.*

[1] See Mabillon, *Diss. de Vita Monastica Gregorii Magni*, annexed to Valesius, *Analect. Veter.* tom. ii.; and Mabillon, *Præf. ad Sæcul.* i. [*Acta Sanctor. Ord.*] *Benedict.* p. xxix. &c. Yet some deny this, as Gallonius [*De Monachatu Gregorii*, &c.] on whose book see Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tome iii. p. 63. [Yet the monkery of Gregory the Great after the investigations of Mabillon seems no longer liable to doubt. He established six monasteries in Sicily, and assigned them out of his great riches as much landed estate as was necessary for their support. A seventh monastery he founded at Rome in his own house, dedicated to St. Andrew, which still exists and is in the hands of the Camaldulensians. See Fleury, *Hist. Ecclés.* liv. xxxiv. sec. 34.—*Schl.*

[2] Altessera, *Origines Rei Monasticæ*, lib. i. cap. ix. p. 33. On the propagation of the Benedictine Rule in the various countries of Europe, Mabillon has a particular treatise, *Præf. ad Sæcul.* i. [*Acta Sanctor. Ord.*] *Benedicti.* and *Præf. ad Sæcul.* iv. par. i. [*Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* tom. v.] p. lxii. &c. [St. Maurus, whose name a distinguished congregation still bears, was one of the most famous disciples of Benedict, though some have questioned his existence. Placidus was an historian of this order. Of Augustine notice has already been taken. Mellitus preached to the east Saxons, and was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, and very active in propagating the order. The great and rapid dissemination of this order was wonderful. Many particular and new orders, distinguished from each other by their dress, their caps, and forms of government, originated from it. The Carthusians, Cistersians, Cælestines, Grandimontensians, Præmontensians, Cluniacensians, Camaldulensians, &c. were only branches growing out of this principal stock. The most respectable and renowned men were trained up in it. Volaterranus enumerates two hundred cardinals, sixteen hundred archbishops, four thousand bishops, and fifteen thousand seven hundred abbots and men of learning who belonged to this order.—*V. Einem.*

[3] L'Enfant, *Hist. du Concile de Constance*, tome ii. p. 32, 33.

[4] See Simon, *Critique de la Biblioth. Ecclés. de M. du Pin*, tome i. p. 197. [Procopius, a teacher of eloquence at Gaza in the reign of Justinian, A.D. 520, &c. has left us several Commentaries on the Scriptures, which are chiefly compilations from earlier writers, viz. on the Octateuch (extant only in Latin); on the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, Greek and Latin, Lugd. Bat. 1620, 4to; on Isaiah, Greek and Latin, Paris, 1580; on Proverbs and the twelve minor Prophets, never published. Also many neat Epistles, published by Aldus.—*Mur.*

[5] John Maxentius was a Scythian monk and a presbyter of Antioch, who flourished about the year 520. Several of his epistles and tracts, defending the doctrine that one of the Trinity was crucified, and opposing the Pelagian errors, are extant in Latin in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, tom. ix. His scholia on Dionysius the Areopagite are published, Greek and Latin, with that author. —*Mur.*

[6] Agapetus, a deacon in the great church at Constantinople, flourished A.D. 527; in which year he composed his *Instructions* for a prince, addressed to the emperor Justinian then recently invested with the purple. The book contains seventy-two heads of advice, displaying good common sense but not profound. It has been often published; as Venice, 1509, and with a commentary, Franeker, 1608; Frankf. 1659, 4to; Lips. 1669 and 1733, 8vo.—*Mur.* [It appears to have been translated into English by Th. Paynell, London, 1550, 12mo.—*R.*

[7] Eulogius of Antioch was made bishop of Alexandria in the year 581. A homily of his is extant, Greek and Latin, in Combefis, *Auctar. Novum*, tom. i. and large extracts from some other works of his against various parties are in Photius, *Biblioth.* Codex, No. clxxxii. ccvii. ccxxv.—ccxxvii.—*Mur.*

[8] John the Faster was a native of Cappadocia, and bishop of Constantinople from 585 to 596. The title of universal bishop given him in the council of 589, involved him in trouble with Pelagius II. and Gregory I. bishops of Rome. Two of his Homilies are extant, Greek and Latin, among those of Chrysostom, and his *Pœnitential* (or rules for treating penitents), and a discourse on confessions and penitence are published, Gr. and Lat. by Morin, *De Pœnitentia*, Appendix, p. 77—92.—*Mur.*

[9] Leontius of Byzantium was first an advocate, and then a monk in a monastery in Palestine, and flourished A.D. 590 and onwards. Cyril (in his life of St. Sabas, cap. lxxii.) says he was accused of Origenism. Vossius (*De Hist. Gr.* lib. iv. cap. viii.) thinks he was the same as Leontius bishop of Cyprus. He wrote *De Sectis*, Greek and Latin, in *Auctarium, Biblioth. Patrum*, Paris.

Evagrius Scholasticus has furnished us with an *Ecclesiastical History*, but it is disfigured with fabulous tales.[1] Anastasius of Sinai is generally supposed to be the author of a well-known but foolish book, entitled *Hodegus contra Acephalos* (a Guide against the Acephali.)[2]

9. Among the Latin writers, the most distinguished were the following. Gregory the Great, Roman pontiff, a man of good

1624, tom. i. p. 493; likewise several controversial pieces extant in Latin, *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. ix.; an Oration on the man blind from his birth, Greek and Latin, in Combefis, *Auctar. Novum*, tom. i.; and some other tracts never published.—*Mur.* [There were several persons of this name and designation, and there is consequently much confusion in regard to the works attributed to each. See Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biog.* vol. ii. p. 756, &c.—*R.*

[1] Evagrius Scholasticus was born at Epiphania in Syria, A.D. 536. At four years of age he was sent to school; after grammar he studied rhetoric, and became an advocate at the bar in Antioch. He was much esteemed, especially by Gregory, bishop of Antioch, whom he often assisted in difficult cases. The emperor Tiberius made him a quæstor, and Maurice, an honorary præfect. His only work which has reached us is his *Ecclesiastical History*, in six books. It is a continuation of the histories of Socrates and Sozomen, from the council of Ephesus in 431 to the year 594. Its chief fault is that of the age—credulity and an over-estimation of monkish legends and other trash. It was published, Greek and Latin, by Valesius, among the other Greek Ecclesiastical Historians, and has been translated into English, Cambridge, 1683, fol.—*Mur.* [The best edition of the Greek text is that contained in Reading's *Greek Ecclesiastical Historians*, Greek and Latin, Cambr. 1720, 3 vols. fol. It is also translated in Bagster's *Greek Ecclesiastical Historians*.—*R.*

[2] See Simon, *Critique de la Biblioth. Eccles. de M. du Pin*, tome i. p. 232, and Barat, *Biblioth. Choisie*, tome ii. p. 21, &c. [There were three persons called Anastasius Sinaita. The first, after being a monk in the monastery on mount Sinai, was made patriarch of Antioch, A.D. 561, but was banished in the year 570 for opposing the edict of Justinian respecting the incorruptibility of Christ's body. He was restored in 592 and died in 599. He was a learned and orthodox man, and a considerable writer. The second of this name was the immediate successor of the first in the see of Antioch, from A.D. 599 to A.D. 609, when he was murdered by the Jews. He translated the works of Gregory the Great on the Pastoral office from Latin into Greek, but the translation is lost. The third Anastasius flourished about A.D. 685. He was a mere monk of mount Sinai. He wrote a compendious account of heresies, and of the councils which condemned them, from the earliest times to the year 680, which still exists in MS. The Ὁδηγὸς, or *Guide to shun the Acephali*, is a rhapsody, without method and without merit. It has been ascribed to the third Anastasius, because it contains several allusions to events posterior to the times of the first two of this name. Yet as it relates to controversies in which the first Anastasius is known to have been much engaged, some have supposed it was originally composed by him or from his writings, with subsequent additions or interpolations. It was printed, Greek and Latin, by Gretser, Ingolst. 1604, 4to. The one hundred and fifty-four *Questions and Answers* respecting biblical subjects, ascribed to the first Anastasius, and published, Gr. and Lat. by Gretser, 1617, 4to, also bear marks of a later age. His eleven books of *Contemplations on the Hexaëmeron* were published in Latin, Paris, 1609. Dr. Allix published the twelfth book, Greek and Latin, Lond. 1682, 4to. His five *doctrinal Discourses* (on the Trinity, Incarnation, &c.) together with all the works just enumerated are extant in Latin, *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. ix. Six of his homilies are extant, Greek and Latin, in Combefis, *Auctaritum Novum*, 1641, tom. i. Another tract on the three Quadragesimæ is extant, Greek and Latin, in Cotelier, *Monum. Eccl. Gr.* tom. iii. Various other tracts of his exist only in MS. and a considerable number are lost.—*Mur.*

The following is a catalogue of the Greek and oriental writers of this century omitted by Mosheim:—

Olympiodorus, a deacon at Alexandria, who probably flourished at the commencement of this century. He wrote several commentaries on the Scriptures. His short *Comment on Ecclesiastes* is extant, Greek and Latin, in Fronto le Duc, *Auctarium*, tom. ii. His *Comment on Lamentations*, Lat. Rome, 1598, 4to; and his *Commentary on Job* is preserved almost entire in the *Catena on Job*, published, Greek and Latin, by Patr. Junius, Lond. 1637, fol.

Julian, bishop of Halicarnassus in Caria, a Eutychian, who flourished under Anastasius A.D. 510, and was active in the contests of his times. On the accession of Justin, A.D. 518, he fled to Alexandria; where he advanced the idea that Christ's body was always capable of corruption, and produced a division and a party among the Monophysites. He wrote a *Commentary on Job* which is often quoted in the *Catena on Job*, published Lond. 1637, fol.

Timotheus, bishop of Constantinople A.D. 511—517, distinguished for his hatred of his predecessor Macedonius. He wrote a book on the various heresies, extant, Gr. and Lat. in Combefis, *Auctar. Novum*, tom. ii. and more perfect, in Cotelier, *Monum. Eccles. Gr.* tom. iii p. 377.

Severus, a leading man among the Acephali or Monophysites, was in his youth a pagan and studied in the law school at Berytus; afterwards he became a monk at Gaza, and embracing and propagating Eutychian principles, was expelled the monastery. In the year 513 on the expulsion of the orthodox Flavian, he was made by the emperor Anastasius, who favoured the Eutychians, patriarch of Antioch, subscribed the Henoticon of Zeno, and condemned the council of Chalcedon. He persecuted the orthodox and especially the monks of Palestine, of whom he slew three hundred and fifty, and left their bodies to be consumed by beasts of prey. On the death of Anastasius and accession of Justin to the empire in 518, he was proscribed and fled to Egypt, where he became involved with Timothy patriarch of Alexandria and Gainus his deacon, by asserting that the body of Christ previously to its resurrection was corruptible. He returned to Constantinople and persuaded Anthimus the patriarch to embrace Eutychian principles; and was producing great commotions when two councils condemned him and Anthimus, A.D. 536. His subsequent history is little known. He wrote an immense number of epistles, many homilies and tracts, and extensive Commentaries on Scripture; none of which are published entire, his works having been proscribed and ordered to be burned by authority of the emperor. Yet numerous extracts are preserved, and some whole treatises are supposed to exist still in the East. The *Ritual* for baptism and public worship in the Syrian church which is extant, Syr. and Lat. Antw. 1572, 4to, has been attributed to him. His Commentaries are often quoted in the *Catena Patrum*. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. i. p. 499, &c.

John of Cappadocia, patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 517—520. He condemned Severus of Antioch in 518, and the next year by order of the emperor Justin became reconciled with the Roman pontiffs. Five of his Epistles are extant in the *Concilia*, tom. iv. and v.

Theodorus Lector, flourished at Constantinople A.D. 518. He compiled an Ecclesiastical History from Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, in two books, to which he annexed a Continuation in two additional books. Large extracts from the Continuation by Nicephorus Calistus are preserved and published, Gr. and Lat. among the Greek Ecclesiastical Historians by Valesius [and by Reading.—*R.*

Timotheus III. patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 519—535, a warm Eutychian and protector of Severus and Julian, till he fell out with them respecting the corruptibility of Christ's body. He wrote numerous Sermons and theological tracts, large extracts from which are preserved by Cosmas Indicopleustes.

Epiphanius, patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 520—535. He confirmed the reconciliation between the sees of Rome and Constantinople made by John his predecessor, and approved the council of Chalcedon. Five of his Epistles to Hormisdas, bishop of Rome, are extant in the *Concilia*, tom. iv.

Ephraim, patriarch of Antioch, A.D. 525—546. He was a native of Syria, a civil magistrate, and count of

and upright intentions for the most part, but greatly lacking in judgment, superstitious, and opposed to all learning, as his Epistles and Dialogues show.[1] Cæsarius of Arles composed some tracts on moral

the East when made bishop. He wrote *Pro Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus et Synodo Chalcedonensi*, which is lost, except copious extracts from the two first books in Photius, *Biblioth.* Cod. 228, 229.

Simeon Stylites, junior. In his childhood he mounted his pillar near Antioch, which he occupied sixty-eight years A.D. 527—595. He is often mentioned by Evagrius who knew him well. His fifth Epistle to the emperor Justinian is extant, Gr. and Lat. in the transactions of the second Nicene council, *Actio V. Concilia*, tom. vii. Some other tracts of his exist in MS. in the Vatican library.

Zacharias Scholasticus, archbishop of Mytilene. He was first a lawyer at Berytus, then a bishop, and flourished A.D. 536. While at Berytus he wrote a Dissertation or Dialogue against the philosophers who maintain that the world is eternal, extant Gr. and Lat. Lips. 1654, 4to, and in F. le Duc, *Auctar.* tom. i. He also wrote a disputation against the two first principles of all things held by the Manichæans, extant, Lat. in Canisius, *Antiq. Lection.* tom. v. and both works in *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. ix.

Nonnosus, Justinian's ambassador to the Saracens, the Auxumitæ, and the Homerites, about A.D. 540. He wrote a history of his travels, from which Photius has preserved extracts, *Biblioth.* Cod. 3.

Isaac, bishop of Nineva, who turned monk and travelled as far as Italy. He flourished about the year 540 and wrote eighty-seven ascetic discourses which still exist in MS. A bad Latin translation of fifty-three of them much garbled, was published in the *Biblioth. Magn. Patr.* tom. xi.

Arethas, archbishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, is supposed to have lived about A.D. 540. He compiled from Andreas Cæsariensis an *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, extant, Gr. and Lat. annexed to *Œcumenius*, Paris, 1631.

Gregentius, archbishop of Taphar, the metropolis of the Homerites in Arabia Felix, flourished A.D. 540 and died 552. An account of his dispute with Herbanus, a learned Jew, is extant, Gr. and Lat. Paris, 1586, 8vo, and in F. le Duc, *Auctar.* tom. i. He also compiled a code of civil laws for the Homerites, by order of Abram their king, which still exists in MS.

Barsanuphius, an anchorite of Gaza in the middle of this century, composed a large amount of ascetic writings which still exist but are not thought worth publishing.

Eutychius, a monk and bishop of Constantinople A.D. 553—585. In the year 564 he was deprived of his see and banished by Justinian, for not admitting the incorruptibility of Christ's body while he was on earth; but he was restored in the year 578 and died in 585, aged seventy-three. One epistle of his to pope Vigilius is extant among the Acts of the fifth general council, A.D. 553, *Concilia*, tom. v. p. 425.

Cyril, a monk of Palestine, who flourished A.D. 557. He composed the lives of several monks as of St. John the Silentiary, of St. Euthymius, and of St. Sabas; all of which are still extant.

Paul Cyrus Florus, a poet who flourished about A.D. 555. His poetic description of the *church of St. Sophia* at Constantinople built by Justinian, is still extant Gr. and Lat. by Du Fresne, Paris 1670, subjoined to the history of Cinnamus.

John, surnamed Climacus from his book and Sinaita from his residence, also Scholasticus, a monk of Mount Sinai, who flourished about A.D. 564. He wrote *Scala Paradisi* in thirty chapters, each marking a grade of virtue; also *Liber ad Pastorem*, both published Gr. and Lat. by Matth. Rader, Paris, 1633, fol.

John Scholasticus, a presbyter at Antioch, deputy to Constantinople and bishop there A.D. 564—578. He wrote *Collectio Canonum* in fifty titles, and including the eighty-five Canons of the Apostles; also *Nomocanon*, which besides a collection of canons contained an epitome of the civil laws concerning ecclesiastical affairs; likewise *Capita Ecclesiastica*. All these tracts were published, Gr. and Lat. in Justell's *Biblioth. Juris Canon.* tom. ii. p. 499, 603, 660, ed. Paris, 1662.

Theodorus, bishop of Iconium about A.D. 564, wrote the martyrdom of Julitta and her son Cirycus only three years old, in the persecution of Diocletian; published Gr. and Lat. by Combefis, *Acta Martyr. Antiq.* Paris, 1660, 8vo, p 231.

Eustratius, a presbyter of the great church at Constantinople under Eutychius the patriarch about A.D. 578. He wrote a book in confutation of those who say the soul is inactive when separated from the body; published Gr. and Lat. by Leo Allatius in his historical work concerning purgatory, Rome, 1655, 8vo, pages 319—581. He also wrote the *Life of Eutychius* the patriarch, published Gr. and Lat. by Surius and by Papebrochius.

Theophanes of Byzantium, flourished A.D. 580 and wrote a History of the wars of the Romans with the Persians A.D. 567—573, and some other parts of the history of his own times. Only extracts remain.

John Maro, a very prominent man among the Maronites, who flourished about A.D. 580. He wrote Commentaries on the Liturgy of St. James which are still extant in Syriac, and have been much quoted by Abr. Echellensis, Morin, Nairon, and others.

Leontius, bishop of Neapolis or Hagiopolis in Cyprus, who flourished about A.D. 600 and died about A.D. 620 or 630. He wrote an Apology for the Christians against the Jews, of which a large part is preserved in the fourth Act of the second Nicene council; *Concilia*, tom. vii. p. 236. He also wrote some homilies and biographies of saints. But it is not easy to distinguish his writings from those of Leontius of Byzantium.—*Mur.*

[1] His works were published by the French Benedictine, Denys de St. Marthe, in four splendid volumes, fol. Paris, 1705. For an account of him, see the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. Martii, p. 121, &c. [Gregory the Great of senatorian rank was born at Rome about A.D. 540. After a good education being a youth of great promise, he was early admitted to the senate and made governor of the city before he was thirty years old. The death of his father put him in possession of a vast estate, which he devoted wholly to pious and charitable uses. Renouncing public life he became a monk, built and endowed six monasteries in Sicily, and a seventh at Rome, in which he himself lived under the control of the abbot. In 579 he was drawn from his monastery, ordained a deacon, and sent as papal legate to the court of Constantinople, where he resided five years and became very popular. Returning in 584 with a rich treasure of relics, he retired to his monastery and his favourite mode of life. In 590 he was raised to the papal chair much against his will; and for thirteen years and a half was an indefatigable bishop, a zealous reformer of the clergy and the monasteries, and a strenuous defender of the prerogatives of his see. He failed in his attempt to coerce the Illyrian bishops to condemn the *three chapters*; but succeeded in disturbing the harmony between the Orthodox and the Donatists in Africa. He discouraged all coercive measures for the conversion of the Jews; endeavoured to confine the monks to their monasteries and to a more religious life; and attempted to eradicate the prevailing vices of the clergy, simony and debauchery. He was instrumental in converting the Arian Lombards to the orthodox faith, and in restraining the ravages of that warlike people. He interfered in the discipline of foreign churches, remonstrated against an imperial law forbidding soldiers to become monks, laboured to effect a peace between the Lombards and the emperors, and attended to every interest of the church and the people under him. Yet he claimed no civil authority, but always treated the emperors as his lords and masters. In 595 he commenced his long contest with the patriarchs of Constantinople who had assumed the honorary title of universal bishops. This title Gregory maintained to be blasphemous, antichristian, and diabolical by whomsoever assumed. But he could not induce any of the orientals to join with him. In 596 he sent Augustine and other monks to convert the Anglo-Saxons, which they accomplished. In 601 he defended the use of images in churches, allowed the Saxons to retain some of their Pagan customs, and endeavoured to extend the power of Augustine over the ancient British churches. In the same year when Phocas, the usurper, murdered all the imperial family and clothed himself with the purple, Gregory obsequi-

subjects and a *Rule for holy virgins*.[1] Fulgentius of Ruspe, contended valiantly in numerous books against the Pelagians and the Arians in Africa;[2] but his diction is harsh and uncouth, like that of most Africans. Ennodius of Pavia was not contemptible among the writers of this age, either for prose or poetry; but he was an infatuated adulator of the Roman pontiff, whom he exalted to supreme power on earth, maintaining that he was amenable to no human authority.[3] Benedict of Nursia, whose name is immortalized by his Rule for a monastic life, and the numerous families of monks who have followed it.[4] Dionysius, surnamed Exiguus on account of his lowliness of mind, has deserved well of his own age and of posterity, by his collection of ancient canons and his chronological researches.[5] Fulgentius Ferandus,

ously flattered him and submitted to his usurpation. At length worn out with cares and disease, he died in March A.D. 604, having reigned thirteen years and a half. Gregory was exceedingly active, self-denying, submissive to his superiors, and courteous, sympathetic, and benevolent to all; yet he was an enthusiast for monkery and for the honour of his see. His writings are more voluminous than those of any other Roman pontiff. His letters amount to eight hundred and forty, besides which he wrote thirty-five Books on Job, called *Gregory's Morals*; a *Pastoral*, a treatise on the duties of a pastor; twenty-two Homilies on *Ezekiel*; forty Homilies on the Gospels; four books of Dialogues. To him are ascribed also an Exposition of the first book of Samuel, of the seven penitential Psalms, and of the *Canticles*. His best works are his *Pastoral* and his *Morals*. His *Dialogue* is stuffed with monkish tales, and the Exposition of the penitential Psalms breathes the spirit of later times, and has been ascribed to Gregory VII. The best edition [of his works] is said to be that of St. Marthe; but that of De Sousainville, Paris, 1675, 3 vols. fol., is esteemed; the latest edition is that of Gallicciolli, Venice, 1768–76, in 17 vols. 4to. His life by Paulus Diaconus of the ninth century, and another by John, deacon at Rome, about 880, are in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. i. pages 378—484. Among the moderns, besides Du Pin, Bayle, and Oudin, we have Maimbourg's *Hist. du Pontificat de S. Gregoire le Grand*, Paris, 1686, 4to, Denys de St. Marthe, *Hist. de S. Greg. le Gr.* Rouen, 1698, 4to, and in the *Opp. Greg. M.* tom. iv. p. 199—302. See also Bower, *Lives of the Popes* (Gregory I.), vol. ii. pages 463—543; and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xvii. pages 243—371.—*Mur.* [For an ample notice of this eminent ruler and writer and of his varied works, see Bähr, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, Supplem. vol. part ii. p. 197. For the names of many other works on his life and character, see Walch's *Biblio. Patris.* cura Danz. p. 93, &c.; and Saxius, *Onomasticon Literarium*, v. ii. p. 61. See also the view taken of his character and life by Milner in his *Hist. of the Church of Christ*, cent. vi. chap. v.—viii. He is much more favourable to Gregory than he deserves; and his account ought to be corrected by that given by Waddington in his *Hist. of the Church*, vol. i. p. 291, &c. who has more carefully and impartially estimated the faults and excellencies of this pontiff. See also Gibbon's *Decl. and Fall*, &c. Milman's edit. vol. viii. p. 171, &c. Hallam's *Middle Ages*, 8th edit. vol. i. p. 519, &c. The only one of his works which has been translated into English is his *Morals or Homilies on Job*, forming Nos. 18 and 21 of the Oxford *Library of the Fathers*. These volumes comprise only twenty-two out of the thirty-five books, and end with the 31st chapter. A third volume will complete the work.—*R.*

[1] The Benedictines have recently given a learned account of Cæsarius in their *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tome iii. p. 192. [His life written by his pupils, Cyprian, Messian, and Stephan, is extant in Mabillon, *Acta Sanct. Ord. Benedict.* tom. i. p. 636—654. He was born in Gaul A.D. 469. While a boy he ran away and entered the monastery of Lerins, where he lived many years and became the butler. His health failing he retired to Arles; of which place he was made bishop in the year 502. In the year 506 he was falsely accused of treason and banished by Alaric, king of the Visigoths, to Bourdeaux; but soon recalled. In 508 Theodoric, king of the Goths, summoned him to Ravenna to answer a similar charge. Being acquitted he visited Italy and returned to Arles. He presided at the council of Arles in 524; and at that of Valencia in 529, he triumphantly maintained the principle, that a man cannot obtain salvation without *preventing* grace. He died A.D. 542, aged 73. He was zealous for monkery and a strenuous advocate for the doctrines of Augustine respecting free grace and predestination. He has left us 46 Homilies, a rule for monks, another for nuns, a treatise on the ten virgins, an exhortation to charity, an epistle, and his will. He also wrote two books on grace and free will against Faustus, which are lost. His works are printed in the *Biblioth. Patr.* vol. viii. and vol. xxvii. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. i. p. 492.—*Mur.*

[2] See concerning Fulgentius the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. Januarii, p. 32, &c. [He was born at Carthage about A.D. 468. His father who was a senator died while he was young; but his mother gave him an excellent education. While a boy he had all Homer by rote, and could talk Greek fluently. He was early made procurator of the city. But soon weary of public life he retired to a monastery, became a monk and an abbot, changed his monastery, endured persecution from the Arians, went to Syracuse, and thence to Rome in the year 500; returned to Africa again, was elected bishop of Ruspe in 507, was banished to Sardinia by Thrasimund the Arian king of the Vandals, recalled by Hilderic, the succeeding king, and ruled his church till his death in 533. He was one of the most learned, pious, and influential bishops of his age. He wrote a number of works on various topics, with epistles, tracts, and homilies; all of which were published, Paris, 1684, 4to. Among his lost works were seven books on grace and free will addressed to Faustus, and ten books on predestination and grace against Fabian. See Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 493.—*Mur.* [See what Milner has said of "Fulgentius and the state of the African churches in his time," in his *Hist. of the Church of Christ*, cent. ii. chap. i. vol. iii. p. 1. See a notice of his life with a critical estimate of his style and an account of his various works in Bähr, *Gesch. der Röm. Liter.* Suppl. vol. part ii. p. 409.—*R.*

[3] See the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iii. p. 96, &c. [Ennodius was born A.D. 473 of a pro-consular family. He married young, was afterwards deacon of Pavia, and subsequently at Rome, was twice papal legate to the emperor at Constantinople, was made bishop of Pavia in 511, and died in 521. He wrote nine books of *Epistles*, 297 in number unpublished and of little use to the history of his times; a *Panegyric* on Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths; an *Apology* for the Synod of Rome A.D. 503; the life of Epiphanius, his predecessor at Pavia; life of Antony, a monk of Lerins; two books of poems or epigrams; and various other little pieces; all of which were published by Sirmond, Paris, 1611, 8vo.; and in the Works of Sirmond, vol. i. Paris, 1696; also in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. ix.—*Mur.* [See also Bähr, *Geschichte der Römis. Liter.* Suppl. vol. part ii. p. 406.—*R.*

[4] See above, p. 221, sec. 6, and note 4. He has left us nothing in writing except his monastic regulations, two epistles, and two discourses, which are in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. ix. p. 640, &c.—*Mur.*

[5] A monk of Scythian extract who flourished at Rome A.D. 533, and died before A.D. 556. He was intimate with Cassiodorus, who gives him a high character for intelligence and virtue. Being familiar with Greek he collected and translated a body of canons, including the first fifty Apostolic Canons and those of the councils of Nice, Constantinople, Chalcedon, Sardica, and some in Africa; he also made a collection of the decrees of the Roman pontiffs from Siricius to Anastasius II.; both are extant in Justell's *Biblioth. Juris Canonici*, tom. i. He wrote several other works and composed a Paschal Cycle of ninety-seven years commencing A.D. 527, of which only a fragment remains.

an African, procured himself reputation by some small treatises, especially by his abridgment of the canons; but his diction has no charms.[1] Facundus of Hermiane was a strenuous defender of the three chapters, of which an account will be given hereafter.[2] Arator turned, with some success, the Acts of the Apostles into Latin verse.[3] Primasius of Adrumetum wrote Commentaries on the Epistles of Paul, and a book on heresies, which are yet extant.[4] Liberatus, by his Breviarium or concise history of the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies, merits a respectable place among the writers of these times.[5] Fortunatus possessed a happy vein for poetry, which he employed on various subjects; and he is read not without pleasure at the present day.[6] Gregory of Tours, the father of French history, would have been in higher esteem with the moderns, if his *Annals of the Franks* and his other writings did not exhibit so many marks of weakness and credulity.[7] Gildas of Britain is not to be passed over, because he is the most ancient of the British writers, and because his little book *On the Destruction of Britain*, contains many things worthy of being known.[8]

In the last work he proposed that Christians should use the *time of Christ's birth* as their *era*, which proposal was soon followed universally. Hence the Christian era is called the *Dionysian era*. But Dionysius miscalculated the time of Christ's birth, placing it four years (as most writers suppose) too late.—*Mur.* [The best edition of his *Paschal Cycle* is by Janus, *Hist. Cycli Dionysiani cum argumentis Pasch.* &c. Witemb. 1714, 8vo. See Bähr. *Gesch. der Römis. Liter.* Suppl. vol. part ii. p. 415.—*R.*

[1] Fulgentius Ferrandus was a pupil of Fulgentius Ruspensis and a deacon at Carthage. He flourished A.D. 533 and onwards. His abridgment of the canons is a short digest of ecclesiastical law reduced to 232 heads; it is in Justell's *Biblioth. Juris Canon.* tom. i. He also wrote the life of Fulgentius of Ruspe, and seven doctrinal epistles. All his works were published by Chifflet, Dijon, 1649, 4to, and then in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. ix.—*Mur.*

[2] Facundus was bishop of Hermiane in Africa, but spent many years at Constantinople as a representative of the African churches at the imperial court. It was here and in the years 546 and 547, that he composed his twelve books *pro Defensione trium Capitulorum*, which he presented to the emperor Justinian. He also wrote a book against Mutianus Scholasticus, who had inveighed against the African churches for refusing communion with Vigilius. These together with an epistle in defence of the three chapters were published by Sirmond, Paris, 1629, 8vo, and annexed to Optatus of Milevi, Paris, 1675, fol. and thence in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. x p. 1, 109.—*Mur.* [On this subject of the three chapters, see sec. 10, and Note 2, at page 232 below.—*R.*

[3] Arator was first an advocate, then one of the court of king Athalaric, and finally a subdeacon at Rome. He flourished from A.D. 527 to 544; in which latter year he presented his poetic version of the Acts to Vigilius the Roman pontiff. He was much esteemed and honoured both by Athalaric and Vigilius. The poem was first published with a commentary at Salamanca, 1516; and afterwards in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. x. p 125.—*Mur.*

[4] Primasius, bishop of Adrumetum or Justinianopolis in Africa, was a delegate to the court of Constantinople A.D. 550 and 553, and defended the *three chapters*. His *Commentary on the Epistles of Paul* was compiled from Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and others. He likewise composed a *Mystical Exposition of the Apocalypse*. Both are in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. x. He moreover wrote *De Hæresibus*, which is lost, unless it prove to be that published in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxvii. the author of which has been so much disputed. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. i. p. 525, &c.—*Mur.*

[5] Liberatus was archdeacon of the church of Carthage. He was sent twice as a legate to Rome in 534 and 535. His *Breviarium* is esteemed very authentic and correct, though not elegant. It contains the history of that controversy for 125 years, or to about A.D. 553, and was the result of great research and labour. It was published by Garnier, Paris, 1675, 8vo, and in most of the Collections of Councils.—*Mur.*

[6] *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iii. p. 464. [Venantius Honorarius Clementianus Fortunatus was born in Italy and educated at Ravenna. About the middle of the century, having been cured of his diseased eyes by St. Martin of Tours, he determined to visit the tomb of that saint. From Tours he went to Poictiers where he lived to the end of the century, wrote much, became a presbyter, and at last bishop of Poictiers. His poetic works are two books of short poems dedicated to Gregory of Tours; four books on the life of St. Martin; and several other short poems. They are in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. x. and were published by Brower, Mentz, 1603, and 1616, 4to. His prose writings are short Explanations of the Lord's Prayer, and of the Apostles' Creed, and the lives of eight or ten Gallic saints. All these are extant either in Surius's or Mabillon's collections.—*Mur.* [There is a complete and accurate edition of his *Opera* published by Mic. Ang. Lucchi, at Rome, 1786-8, in two volumes, 4to.—*R.*

[7] A particular account of him is given in the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iii. p. 372. For an account of his faults, see Pagi, *Diss. de Dionysio*, Paris, sec. 35, p. 16, annexed to his *Breviar. Pontif. Romanor.* tom. iv. But many of his defects are extenuated by Launoi, *Opp.* vol. i. par. ii. p. 131; &c. [Georgius Florentinus Gregorius was born of noble parentage, at Auvergne A.D. 544. After an education under his bishop, he went to Tours in the year 556, became deacon in 569, and bishop in 573, and died in 595, aged 52. He was much engaged in councils and in theological disputes, and at the same time a great writer. Orthodox, active, and rather indiscreet, he was frequently involved in difficulties, for he was deficient in judgment and acumen. His great work, *Annales Francorum* (sometimes called *Chronica*, *Gesta*, *Historia*, and *Historia Ecclesiastica Francorum*), gives a summary history of the world from the creation to the establishment of the kingdom of the Franks; and afterwards a detailed history to the year 591. He also wrote *De Miraculis*, containing the miracles of St. Martin, on the glory of Martyrs, and on the glory of Confessors. Besides these, he wrote *De Vitis Patrum* (monks), *De Vita et Morte* VII. *Dormientium*, and an Epitome of the history of the Franks, composed before he wrote his *Annales*. All his works collectively were best edited by Ruinart, Paris, 1699, fol. They are also in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xi.—*Mur.*

[8] Concerning Gildas and Columbanus, none have treated more accurately than the Benedictines in the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, vol. iii. pages 279 and 505. [Gildas was surnamed the wise, and also Badonius from the battle of Badon (Bath) about the time of his birth, which was A.D. 520. By these epithets he is distinguished from Gildas Albanius, who lived a little earlier. He was well educated, became a monk of Bangor, and is said to have visited and laboured some time in Ireland. On his return he visited the monastery of Lhancarvan, lately founded by a nobleman of South Wales, whose example Gildas urged others to imitate. He spent some time in the northern part of Britain, visited France and Italy, and returned and laboured as a faithful preacher. He is supposed to have died at Bangor, A.D. 590, though some place his death twenty years earlier. His only entire work now existing, is his *Epistola de Excidio Britanniæ, et Castigatione Ordinis Ecclesiastici;* in which he depicts and laments over the almost total ruin of his country, and the profligacy of manners then prevailing. It was first published by Polydore Virgil in 1525, but the best edition is that of Gale, in the first vol. of his *Historiæ Britannicæ, Saxonicæ, &c. Scriptores quindecim* London, 1691, fol. He also wrote several letters, and perhaps some other

Columbanus of Ireland acquired celebrity by his *Rule for Monks*, some poems, and uncommon zeal for the erection of monasteries.[1] Isidorus of Seville (Hispalensis), composed various grammatical, theological, and historical works; but they evince his deficiency in judgment.[2] The list of Latin authors in this century may well be closed by two very learned men—the illustrious Boëthius, a philosopher, orator, poet, and theologian, who was second to no one of his age for elegance and acuteness of genius;[3] and M. Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator, who was indeed inferior in many respects to the former, yet no contemptible author.[4] Both have left us various productions of their pens.[5]

pieces, of which only extracts remain. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. i. p. 238, &c. [An excellent edition of his work, *De Excidio Britanniæ*, has been lately published under the care of the English Historical Society, by Jos. Stevenson, Lond. 1838, 8vo, and it has been recently translated into English by J. A. Giles, LL.D. Lond. 1841, 8vo. It had been translated by T. Habington, and published in London so early as 1638.—*R.*

[1] For a notice of Columbanus see above, p. 221, note 3.—*Mur.*

[2] Isidorus Hispalensis, or *junior*, was the son of Severian, præfect of Carthagena in Spain, and brother of Fulgentius, bishop of Carthagena, and of Leander, whom he succeeded A.D. 595, as bishop of Seville. He presided in the council of Seville in 619, and in that of Toledo A.D. 633, and died A.D. 636. He was a voluminous writer, and has left us works on history, biography, grammar, and natural history, commentaries on books of Scripture, treatises on moral subjects and epistles. To him is falsely ascribed a collection of councils and decretals. His works were best published, Paris, 1601, fol. and Cologne, 1617, fol.—*Mur.* [According to Danz, the best edition of his works is that by Faust. Arevalus published at Rome, 1797—1803, in 7 vols. 4to. See Professor Ramsay's life of this very eminent father with a full account of his varied writings, in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biog.* vol. ii. p. 627. This is the latest Latin father whose biography is given in this dictionary; yet Gregory the Great, who died in 604, is omitted. See also Bähr, *Gesch. der Römis. Liter.* Suppl. vol. part ii. p. 455, &c.—*R.*

[3] Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boëthius, born of an illustrious family at Rome about A.D. 470, was sent in his childhood to Athens for education, where he spent eighteen years, and then returned to Rome the most learned man of the age. He was consul in the years 510 and 522. Soon after his return to Rome, he was made a patrician and admitted to the senate. When Theodoric king of the Goths entered Rome A.D. 500, Boëthius was appointed by the senate to address him. The king soon after made him one of his council and master of his palace. After faithfully serving the king and his country for more than twenty years, he was in 523 falsely accused of a treasonable correspondence, condemned on suborned testimony, and sent to Pavia, where he was kept in close confinement a year or more, and then privately put to death by order of the king. He was a voluminous writer. Besides more than forty books of translations and commentaries on Aristotle, Porphyry, and Cicero, he wrote on arithmetic, music, geometry, and several tracts against the Eutychians, Nestorians, and other errorists. But his most famous work was *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, written while in prison at Pavia. This was translated into Saxon by Alfred the Great (printed Oxford, 1698); and into English by Chaucer, and by Queen Elizabeth. It was composed partly in verse and partly in prose, and has the form of a dialogue between Boëthius himself and *Philosophy* personified, who endeavours to console him with considerations, derived not from Christianity, but from the doctrines of Plato, Zeno, and Aristotle. The works of Boëthius were publ[i]shed with notes, Basil, 1570, fol. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. i. p. 495, &c. and Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. iii. Gervaise, *Histoire de Boëce*, Paris, 1715, 2 vols. 8vo; and Schröeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xvi. pages 99—121.—*Mur.* [See also Bähr, *Gesch. der Römis. Liter.* sec. 319, and Suppl. vol. part ii. p. 423; Le Clerc, *Vie de Boëce avec la critique de ses ouvrages*, in the *Biblio. Choisie*, v. xvi. p. 194, and J. H. Andreæ, *De Boëthio speciatim de ejus Consol. Philos.* Hild. 1759, 4to. There have been numerous English translations of his *Consolation of Philosophy*, for instance, by Viscount Preston, 1712; by P. Ridpath, 1795, and others. The question whether he was a member of the Christian church is discussed in his life in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biog.* vol. i. p. 495.—*R.*

[4] See Simon, *Critique de la Biblioth. Ecclés. de M. du Pin*, tome i. p. 211, &c. [*Senator* was part of the name not the title of Cassiodorus. This eminent statesman and monk was born of honourable parents at Squillace in the kingdom of Naples, probably before A.D. 470. Odoacer in 491 made him *Comes rerum privatarum* [and afterwards comes] *sacrarum largitionum*. Two years after, Theodoric became master of Italy, and made him his private secretary, and subsequently governor of Calabria; but soon recalled him to court, and made him successively quæstor of the palace, master of the officers, consul, and prætorian prefect. The death of Theodoric in 526 did not deprive Cassiodorus of his high rank; but in 539, being now about seventy years old, he retired to a monastery founded by himself near his native town in Calabria, where he lived more than twenty years in honourable retirement devoted to literature and religion. His works are voluminous; viz. *Epistolæ* (his official letters); *Historia Eccles. Tripartita* (an abridgment from the Latin translations of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, by Epiphanius Scholasticus); *Chronicon ab Adamo usque ad annum* 519; *Computus Paschalis; De Rebus gestis Gothorum* (which we have, as abridged by Jornandes, the original is supposed still to exist in MS.); *Expositio in Psalmos Davidis; Institutio ad divinas lectiones; De Orthographia; De Septem Disciplinis* (on the *seven* liberal arts, viz. the *trivium*, or grammar, rhetoric, and logic; and the *quadrivium*, or arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy); *De Anima; De Oratione et octo partibus Orationis;* short Comments on the Acts, the Epistles, and Revelation (published separately by bishop Chandler, Lond. 1722, 8vo). Most of the other works are in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xi. and all of them were well edited by the Benedictines in two vols. fol. Rouen, 1679. See Cave, *Hist. Litér.* tome. i. p. 501, and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xvi. p. 128—154.—*Mur.* [See his life by Prof. Ramsay in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biog.* vol. i. p. 623; and on his religious writings, see Bähr, *Gesch. der Römis. Liter.* Suppl. vol. part ii. p. 418.—*R.*

[5] The following are the Latin writers omitted by Mosheim:—

Paschasius, deacon of the church of Rome, who took sides with Laurentius in his contest for the pontificate in 498, and died in 512. He has left us an epistle to Eugyppius, and on the Holy Spirit against Macedonius, which are in the eighth vol. of the *Biblioth. Patr.*

Laurentius, bishop of Novara in the north of Italy, flourished about A.D. 507. Two of his homilies on penitence and alms are in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. ix.

Epiphanius Scholasticus, an Italian, who flourished about A.D. 510. He translated the Ecclesiastical Histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, into Latin that Cassiodorus might thence make out his *Hist. Eccles. Tripartita*. The original translations are lost.

Eugyppius, abbot of a monastery near Naples about A.D. 511. He wrote the life of St. Severinus, the apostle of Noricum, published by Surius.

Hormisdas, Roman pontiff, A.D. 514—523, who made peace after a long contest between the oriental and western churches. He has left us eighty epistles and some decretals, in the *Concilia*, tom. iv.

Orentius or Orientius, bishop of Elliberis in Spain A.D. 516. He wrote *Commonitorium fidelibus*, in heroic verse, in two books. The first book is in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. vii. and both, with other short poems, in Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdot.* tom. v. Paris, 1717.

Peter, a deacon, who vigorously aided the deputation of oriental monks at Rome A.D. 520, and wrote *De Incarnatione et Gratia D. N. Jesu Christi*, extant among the works of Fulgentius, and in *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. ix.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THEOLOGY.

1. THE barriers of the primitive simplicity and truth being once violated, the state of theology waxed worse and worse, and the amount of the impure and superstitious additions to the religion of Christ is almost indescribable. The controversialists of the East continued to darken the great doctrines of revelation, by the most subtle distinctions and with the jargon of their philosophy. Those who instructed the people made it their sole care to imbue them more and more with ignorance, superstition, reverence for the clergy, and

Felix IV. Roman pontiff A.D. 526—530. Three *Epistles* in the *Concilia*, tom. iv. are ascribed to him, but the two first are spurious.

Justinian I. emperor A.D. 527—565. Besides the *Corpus Juris Civilis* (viz. *Institutionum*, lib. iv.; *Pandectarum sive Digestorum*, lib. i.; *Codicis*, lib. xii. A.D. 528—535, and *Novellæ*, after A.D. 535) he issued six *Decrees* and *Epistles* relating to ecclesiastical affairs which are in the *Concilia*, tom. v.

Nicetius, of Gallic extract, a monk, abbot, and archbishop of Treves, A.D. 527—568. He was distinguished for piety and the confidence reposed in him. Two of his tracts, *De Vigiliis Servorum Dei*, and *De Bona Psalmodia*, were published by D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. (*ed. nova*, tom. i. p. 221, 223); and two of his letters (to the emperor Justinian and to queen Chlosuinda) are in the *Concilia*, tom. v.

Justus, bishop of Urgel in Catalonia, Spain, flourished A. D. 529 and died about A.D. 540. His *Commentary on the Canticles* is in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. ix. Two *epistles* of his are also extant.

Boniface II. Roman pontiff A.D. 530—532, has left us two *Epistles* in the *Concilia*, tom. iv.

Cogitosus, an Irish monk, grandson of St. Brigid and supposed to have lived about A.D. 530. He wrote *Vita Sanctæ Brigidæ*, which is published by Canisius, Surius, and Bollandus.

Montanus, archbishop of Toledo in Spain during nine years, about A D. 531. He has left us two *Epistles*, extant in the *Concilia*, tom. iv.

John II. Roman pontiff A.D. 532—535. At the request of Justinian he solemnly sanctioned the orthodoxy of the expression—*One of the Trinity suffered crucifixion*. One spurious and five genuine *Epistles* of his are in the *Concilia*, tom. iv.

Marcellinus, *Comes* of Illyricum, flourished A D. 534. His *Chronicon* (from the year 379 where Jerome's closes to the year 534) has been often published, and is in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. ix.

Agapetus, Roman pontiff A.D. 535, 536. Seven of his epistles (one of them spurious) are in the *Concilia*, tom. iv. and one in tom. v.

Vigilius, Roman pontiff A.D. 537—555. He obtained his see by intrigue and duplicity; conspired against his predecessor whom he brought to the grave; and when confirmed in his see showed himself supremely ambitious, and ready to sacrifice consistency, conscience, the truth itself, to promote his own selfish designs. He issued the most solemn declarations both for and against the three chapters. In 547 Justinian called him to Constantinople where he detained him seven years, and compelled him to condemn the three chapters, and himself also for having repeatedly defended them. We have eighteen Epistles and several of his contradictory Decretals in the *Concilia*, tom. v.

Gordianus, a monk of Messina, carried off by the Saracens in the year 539, when they burned and plundered that monastery. Gordian escaped from the Saracens and returned to Sicily, where he wrote the *Life of Placidus*, the Benedictine abbot of Messina, who with many others was slain in the capture of that monastery. It is extant in Surius, and in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i.

Victor, bishop of Capua about A.D. 545. He translated into Latin Ammonius's Harmony of the Four Gospels, falsely ascribed to Tatian, and extant in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. iii. p. 265.

Cyprianus, a Gaul, and pupil of Cæsarius of Arles. He flourished A.D. 546, and wrote the *first book* of the *life and achievements of Cæsarius*. Both books are in Surius, and in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i.

Mutianus Scholasticus flourished A.D. 550. At the suggestion of Cassiodorus he translated thirty-four Homilies of Chrysostom on the Epistle to the Hebrews into Latin; printed at Cologne, 1530.

Rusticus, a deacon at Rome who accompanied Pope Vigilius to Constantinople in 547, and showed more firmness than his bishop. His *Dialogus sive disputatio adversus Acephalos* (in which he inveighs against Vigilius), is extant in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. x.

Junilius, an African bishop who lived about A.D. 550, has left us *De Partibus Divinæ Legis* in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. x. p. 339.

Jornandes, or Jordanus, of Gothic extract, bishop of the Goths at Ravenna. His one book *De Rebus Geticis* or *Historia Gothorum*, from the earliest times to A.D. 540, is an abridgment of the twelve books of Cassiodorus on the same subject. His book *De Regnorum et Temporum successione*, is transcribed from Florus. Both works are extant in Muratori, *Rerum Italicar. Scriptores*, tom. i. 1723.

Eugyppius, an African presbyter and abbot, who flourished about A.D. 553. He compiled from the works of St. Augustine a collection of sentences on various subjects, printed, Basil. 1542.

Victor, bishop of Tunis in Africa, a resolute defender of the three chapters in prisons and banishments, from A.D. 555—565. He wrote a *Chronicon*, from the creation to A.D. 566, but the last hundred and twenty-two years of it are all that remain; published by Scaliger with the *Chronicon* of Eusebius.

Germanus (St. Germain), born at Autun, France, A.D. 496; deacon, 533; presbyter, 536; and bishop of Paris, 555—576. An epistle of his to queen Brunechild, written A.D. 573, is in the *Concilia*, tom. v. His life, written by Venantius Fortunatus, is in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. i. p. 222, &c.

Pelagius I. Roman pontiff A.D. 555—559. He was papal legate at Constantinople, A.D. 535—545, and a strenuous opposer of the three chapters. Sixteen of his Epistles are in the *Concilia*, tom. v.

Martin, a monk born in Pannonia. He travelled in Palestine, preached and became an abbot in Spain, and finally bishop of Braga in Portugal A.D. 563—583. He has left us *Collectio Canonum* (extant in the *Concilia*, tom. v.; and in Justell's *Biblioth. Juris Canon.* tom. i.) *Sententiæ Patrum Ægyptiorum* (in Roswiyd, *De Vitis Patr.*) and *Formula Honestæ Vitæ*, extant in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. x. p. 282.

Pelagius II. Roman pontiff A.D. 579—590. He had much contention with the western bishops who defended the three chapters; and after A.D. 589 with John, bishop of Constantinople, who assumed the title of universal bishop. Ten of his Epistles and six Decrees, are extant in the *Concilia*, tom. v.

Marius, bishop of Avenches in Switzerland for twenty years, flourished A.D. 581. He has left us a *Chronicon* continuing that of Prosper from 455 to 581.

Licinianus, bishop of Carthagena in Spain, A.D. 584. He has left us three Epistles, in De Aguirre, *Collect. Max. Concil. Hispan.* tom. ii.

John, a Spanish Goth, educated at Constantinople, returned to Spain A.D. 584, became an abbot, was persecuted by Leuvigild the Arian king, and died early in the seventh century. He has left a *Chronicon* from A.D. 565 to 590.

Leander, archbishop of Seville (Hispalensis) in Spain, flourished A.D. 583 and died 595. He was a monk, an ambassador to Constantinople, and a principal means of the conversion of the Arian Goths of Spain to the Catholic faith. A monastic *Rule* is all we have of him, unless he was author of the *Missa Mozarabum*.

Dynamius, collector of the revenues of the Romish church in Gaul. He flourished A.D. 593, and wrote the life of St. Maximus, bishop of Reiz, and the life of St. Marius, abbot of Bobbio.

Eutropius, a monk and bishop of Valencia in Spain, flourished A.D. 599. One of his Epistles is preserved by Holstenius, *Codex Regular.* Paris, 1663.—*Mur.*

admiration of empty ceremonies, and to divest them of all sense and knowledge of true piety. Nor was this strange, for the blind—that is, persons for the most part grossly ignorant and stupid—were the leaders of the blind.

2. Whoever wishes to gain more distinct information on this subject need only read what occurs, among other works, in the epistles and other writings of Gregory the Great, respecting the worshipping of images and departed saints, the fire which purifies souls after death, the efficacy of good works, that is, human prescriptions and devices for attaining salvation, the power of relics to remove defects both of soul and body, and other things of the like character. A man of sense cannot help smiling at the generosity of the good Gregory in distributing his relics; but he must feel pity for the simple, stupid people, who could be persuaded that oil taken from lamps burning at the sepulchres of the martyrs possessed uncommon virtues and efficacy, and imparted both holiness and security to its possessors.[1]

3. To give directions for expounding the holy scriptures was the object of Junilius in his two books *On the parts of the divine law*.[2] The treatise consists of a few questions, neither scientifically arranged nor judiciously considered, for the author lacked the learning necessary for his undertaking. Cassiodorus likewise laid down some rules for interpretation in his two books *On the divine laws*. Among the Syrians, Philoxenus translated the books of the New Testament and the Psalms of David into Syriac.[3] The number of interpreters was considerable. Among the Greeks, the best were Procopius of Gaza, rather a pleasing expositor,[4] Severus of Antioch, Julianus, and some others. Among the Latins, the more prominent were Gregory the Great, Cassiodorus,[5] Primasius,[6] Isidorus of Seville,[7] Bellator,[8] and a few others.

4. All these expositors a few only excepted (and particularly the Nestorians in the East, who, following the example of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, searched for the true sense and meaning of the words) are scarcely worthy of the name of interpreters. They may be divided into two classes. Some merely collected the opinions and interpretations of the earlier doctors in works which were afterwards called *Catenæ* (or *Chains*) by the Latins.[9] Such is the Catena of Olympiodorus on Job, that of Victor of Capua on the four Gospels, and the Commentary of Primasius on the Epistle to the Romans, compiled from Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, and others. Nor is Procopius of Gaza to be wholly excluded from this class, although he sometimes followed his own judgment. The others follow the footsteps of Origen, and neglecting wholly the literal meaning, run after allegories and moral precepts, deducing whatever they wish or desire from the sacred books by the aid of an unbridled imagination. Of this class is Anastasius Sinaita, whose *Anagogical Contemplations on the Hexaëmeron* expose the ignorance and credulity of the author; likewise Gregory the Great, whose *Morals on Job* were formerly extolled undeservedly; with Isidorus of Seville, in his *Book of Allegories on Scripture*; and Primasius, in his *Mystic Exposition of the Apocalypse*; and many others.

5. An accurate knowledge of religious doctrines, and a simple and lucid exposition of them, no one will expect from the teachers of these times. Most of them reasoned as blind men do about colours, and thought they acquitted themselves nobly when they had presented their readers with crude and indigested thoughts, and overwhelmed their opponents with mere words. Yet among the writers of this age may be clearly traced some germs and indications of that threefold manner of treating theology which still prevails both among the Greeks and the Latins; for some collected together sentences from the ancient doctors and councils, backed by citations from the Scriptures. Such among the Latins was Isidore of Seville, whose three *Books of Sentences* are still extant; and among the Greeks, Leontius of Cyprus, whose *Loci Communes* (or Common-place book), compiled from the works of the ancients have been commended. From these originated that species of theology which the Latins afterwards called Positive Theology. Others attempted to unfold the nature of religious doctrines by

[1] See the *List of sacred oils* which Gregory the Great sent to queen Theodelinda, in Ruinart, *Acta Martyr. Sincera et Selecta*, p. 619 [and in Muratori, *Anecdota Latina*, tom. ii. p. 194.—*Schl.*

[2] See Simon, *Critique de la Biblioth. de M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 229.

[3] Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 83.

[4] See Simon, *Lettres choisies*, tome iv. p. 120, of the new edition.

[5] On the character of Gregory and Cassiodorus as biblical expositors, see Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics*, p. 157, &c.—*H.*

[6] Simon, *Hist. Crit. des principaux Commentateurs du Nov. Test.* chap. xxiv. p. 337, and *Critique de la Biblio. de M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 226.

[7] Simon, *Critique de la Biblio. de M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 259.

[8] Bellator was a presbyter, a friend of Cassiodorus, and flourished A.D. 550. He wrote numerous Commentaries—viz. on Esther, Tobit, Judith, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Maccabees; all of which are now lost.—*Mur.*

[9] See Le Moyne, *Prolegom. ad Varia Sacra*, p. 53, &c. and Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, lib. v. cap. xvii. or vol. vii. p. 727, &c.

reasoning, which was the method generally adopted by those who disputed against the Nestorians, Eutychians, and Pelagians. These may be fitly called Scholastics. Others again, who believed that all divine truth must be learned by internal feeling and by contemplation, assumed the name of Mystics. This threefold method of treating religious subjects has continued down to the present day. A proper and complete system of theology no one of this age produced, but various portions of it were occasionally illustrated.

6. To explain and inculcate piety and Christian duty, some gave precepts while others employed examples. Those who furnished precepts for a pious life endeavoured to form the Christian character, either of persons engaged in the business of active life, or of those more perfect Christians who retire from the contagious influence of the world. A Christian life in the former case they represented as consisting in certain external virtues and badges of piety, as appears from the *Homilies* and *Exhortations* of Cæsarius, the *Monitory Chapters* of Agapetus, and especially from the *Summary of a Virtuous Life* by Martin of Braga.[1] In the latter case, they aimed to withdraw the soul by contemplation from the intercourse and contagion of the body, and therefore advised to macerate the body by watching, fasting, constant prayer, and singing of hymns; as is manifest from Fulgentius on *Fasting*, Nicetius on the *Vigils of the servants of God*, and on the *Advantages of Psalmody*. The Greeks followed for the most part as their leader in these matters, Dionysius denominated the Areopagite, on whom John of Scythopolis during this century published annotations. How exceedingly defective all these views were, is visible to every one who is acquainted with the Holy Scriptures.

7. To inculcate piety by examples was the aim of all those who wrote *Lives of the Saints*. The number of these writers, both among the Greeks and the Latins, was very considerable. Ennodius, Eugyppius, Cyril of Scythopolis, Dionysius Exiguus, Cogitosus, and others, are well known. Nearly all these entertain their readers with marvellous and silly fables, and propose for imitation none but delirious persons or those of perverted minds, who did violence to nature and adopted austere and fantastic rules of life. To endure hunger and thirst without repining, to go naked about the country like madmen, to immure themselves in a narrow place, to expect to behold with their eyes closed an indescribable divine light[2]—this was accounted holy and glorious. The less any one resembled a man of a rational and sane mind, the more confidently might he hope to obtain an honoured place among the heroes and demi-gods of the church.

8. In efforts to settle theological controversies, many were diligent but none was successful. Scarcely an individual can be named who contended against the Eutychians, Nestorians, or Pelagians, with fairness, sobriety, and decorum. Primasius and Philoponus treated of all the heresies, but time has swept away their works. A book of Leontius on the sects is extant, but it deserves little praise. Against the Jews, Isidore of Seville and Leontius of Neapolis engaged in controversy, with what dexterity may easily be conjectured by those who reflect on the circumstances of the age. It will be better therefore to proceed to a brief account of the controversies themselves which disturbed the church in this century, than to treat in detail of these miserable disputants.

9. Although Origen lay under condemnation by many public sentences and decrees, yet the attachment of many to him, especially among the monks, scorned all limitation. In the West, one Bellator translated various books of Origen into Latin.[3] In the East, particularly in Syria and Palestine which were the principal seats of Origenism, the monks were exceedingly zealous, and they had the approbation of certain bishops, especially of Theodorus of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, in defending the correctness and authority of Origen's sentiments.[4] The subject was brought before the emperor Justinian, and he issued a long and full edict addressed to Mennas, the bishop of Constantinople, in which he strongly condemned Origen and his opinions, and forbade them to be taught.[5] The contest about the three chapters commenced soon after, and Origenism not only revived in Palestine but spread and gathered strength. These commotions were brought

[1] See *Acta Sanctor.* Martii, iii. p. 86, &c. [and *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. x. p. 382.—*Mur.*

[2] Mosheim might have added—to live in the most disgusting filth—as another characteristic mark of ascetic perfection.—*R.*

[3] This is founded on a conjecture of Huet (*Origeniana*, p. 252), who ascribes the Latin translation of Origen's Homilies on Matthew, in particular, to this Bellator.—*Schl.*

[4] See Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabæ*; in Cotelier, *Monumenta Eccles. Græcæ*, p. 370, &c. and Noris, *Diss. de Synodo Quinta*, cap. i. ii. in his *Opp.* tom. i. p. 554.

[5] This decree is extant in Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 243, &c. [It was first published by Baronius, *Annal. Eccl.* ad ann. 538, and thence passed into all the collections of councils.—*Mur.*

to a termination by the fifth [general] council at Constantinople, assembled by Justinian in the year 553, when Origen and his adherents were again condemned.[1]

10. This controversy produced another which was much more lasting and violent, although the subject of it was far less important. The emperor Justinian burned with zeal to extirpate the more strenuous Monophysites who were called Acephali. On this subject he took counsel with Theodorus of Cæsarea, who was a friend to Origenism and also a Monophysite; and he, to procure tranquillity to the Origenists by stirring a new controversy, and to fix some stigma upon the council of Chalcedon and inflict an incurable wound on the Nestorians, persuaded the emperor to believe that the Acephali would return to the church, provided the Acts of the council of Chalcedon were purged of those three passages or three Chapters, in which Theodorus of Mopsuestia, Theodoret bishop of Cyrus, and Ibas of Edessa, were acquitted of error; and provided that certain writings of these men favourable to the Nestorian errors were condemned. The emperor believed this, and in the year 544 ordered those three chapters to be expunged, but without prejudice to the authority of the council of Chalcedon.[2]

[1] See the decree of the council, in Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 283, &c. See also Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. 38, and on this whole subject see Basnage, *Hist. de l' Eglise*, tome i. liv. x. chap. vi. p. 517, &c.; Huet, *Origeniana*, lib. ii. p. 224; Doucin, *Diss.* subjoined to his *Hist. Origeniana*, p. 35, &c. [Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xviii. p. 40–58, but especially Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. vii. p. 618–760. This contest respecting Origen commenced among the Palestine monks about the year 520. One Nonnus, with three other monks belonging to the new Laura (or cluster of cells) were discovered to hold and to be propagating the opinions of Origen. Sabas, abbot of the old Laura and supervisor of all the Palestine monks, opposed the schismatics. They were rejected from the Laura, but were restored again, and in spite of opposition and persecution they brought over many in both Lauras to their views. The commotion became violent, and expulsions, fighting, and bloodshed ensued. Still it was only a contest among a few monks living in two little societies or neighbourhoods in Palestine. Justinian's decree addressed to Mennas was probably issued about the year 540, and it has been supposed that the council of Constantinople, which anathematized fifteen errors of Origen, was an accidental council held about the year 541, and not the general council held in 553. However that may be, the death of Nonnus in the year 546 caused the Origenist party among the monks to become divided, and to fall into a declining state. The fullest enumeration of errors held by the Origenists which has come down to us, is that of the fifteen anathemas by the council of Constantinople. Yet Justinian's decree or letter to Mennas is nearly as full; and it is more precise and lucid, as well as better substantiated by references to the works of Origen. In this decree after a concise introduction the emperor proceeds like a theologian, through ten folio pages, to enumerate and confute the errors of Origen. He then directs the patriarch Mennas to assemble what bishops and abbots could be found at Constantinople, and condemn the subjoined list of Origenian errors, their doings to be afterwards transmitted to all bishops and abbots for their confirmation; so that after this general consent shall be obtained, no bishop or abbot may be ordained without his condemnation of Origenism as well as the other heresies. The list of errors to be condemned is then subjoined as follows: –1. If any one says or believes that human souls pre-existed, *i.e.* were once mere spirits and holy; that having become weary of divine contemplation they were brought into a worse condition; and that because they ἀποψυχεῖσας, *i.e. cooled down* as to the love of God, they were therefore called in Greek ψυχάς, that is, *souls*, and were sent down to inhabit bodies as a punishment; let him be anathema. 2. If any one says or believes that the soul of our Lord pre-existed, and that it was united to God the Word before his incarnation and birth of the Virgin; let him, &c. 3. If any one says or believes that the body of our Lord Jesus Christ was first formed in the womb of the blessed Virgin as those of other men are, and that afterwards God the Word and the pre-existent soul became united with it: let him, &c. 4. If any one says or believes that God the Word was made like to all the celestial Orders, that to the Cherubim he was made a Cherub and to the Seraphim a Seraph, and to all the celestial Virtues one like them; let him, &c. 5. If any one says or believes that in the resurrection the bodies of men will be raised orbicular, and does not confess that we shall be resuscitated erect; let him, &c. 6. If any one says or believes that heaven, the sun, the moon, the stars, and the waters above the heavens, are animated and are a sort of material Virtues: let him, &c. 7. If any one says or believes that Christ the Lord is to be crucified in the future world for the devils, as he was in this for men; let him, &c. 8. If any one says or believes that the power of God is limited, and that he created all things he could comprehend; let him, &c. 9. If any one says or believes that the punishment of devils and wicked men will be temporary and will have an end, or that there will be a recovery and restoration of devils and wicked men; let him, &c. 10. And Anathema to Origen who is called Adamantius, together with his nefarious, execrable, and abominable doctrine, and to every one who believes it or in any manner presumes at all to defend it at any time; in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen. –*Mur.*

[2] This decree is extant in Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 287, &c.; Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. xxxviii. [It is called *Justinian's Creed*, and professes to define the Catholic faith as established by the first four general councils—those of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and to condemn the opposite errors. Mosheim's description of the three Chapters would lead us to suppose that certain chapters, sections, or paragraphs, in the Acts of the council of Chalcedon, were the three things condemned by Justinian. But this was not the fact. His decree does not avowedly condemn anything contained in the Acts of that council; nor does it use the phrase *three Chapters*. The phrase was afterwards brought into use, and denoted three subjects (capitula, κεφάλαια), which were condemned by the decree of Justinian: –viz. 1. The persons and writings of Theodorus, bishop of Mopsuestia, whom the decree pronounced a heretic and a Nestorian; 2. The writings of Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, not universally but only so far as they favoured Nestorianism, or opposed Cyril of Alexandria and his twelve anathemas; and 3. An Epistle said to have been written by Ibas, bishop of Edessa, to one Maris a Persian, which censured Cyril and the first council of Ephesus and favoured the cause of Nestorius. The council of Chalcedon had passed no decree respecting Theodorus; and it had left all the three bishops in good standing, though the Epistle of Ibas and some of the writings of Theodoret received censure. Hence Justinian's decree did not openly and avowedly contravene the decisions at Chalcedon; though virtually and in effect it did so. To understand the contest about the three Chapters, it should be remembered that the Nestorians who separated the two natures of Christ too much, and the Eutychians or Monophysites who commingled them too much were the two extremes; between which the orthodox took their stand condemning both. But the orthodox themselves did not all think alike. Some in their zeal against the Nestorians came near to the Monophysite ground, and these of course felt willing to condemn the three Chapters, others zealous only against the Monophysites were not

But this edict met with opposition from the bishops of the West and of Africa; and especially from Vigilius the Roman pontiff, who maintained that great injury was done by it both to the council of Chalcedon, and to deceased worthies now in heaven.[1] Justinian summoned Vigilius to Constantinople and compelled him to condemn the three Chapters. But the African and Illyrian bishops on the other hand, compelled Vigilius to revoke that condemnation. For none of them would own him for a bishop and a brother until he had approved those three chapters. Justinian again condemned the three chapters by a new edict in the year 551.

11. After various contentions, it was thought best to refer the controversy to the decision of a general council. Justinian therefore in the year 553, assembled at Constantinople what is called the fifth general council. In this council the opinions of Origen[2] as well as the three Chalcedonian Chapters, according to the wishes of the emperor, were declared pernicious to the church; yet it was a decision of the Eastern bishops, for very few from the West were present. Vigilius then at Constantinople would not assent to the decrees of this council. He was therefore treated indignantly by the emperor and sent into banishment; nor was he allowed to return till he acceded to the decrees of this fifth council.[3] Pelagius, his successor, and the subsequent Roman pontiffs in like manner received those decrees. But neither their authority nor that of the emperors, could prevail with the western bishops to follow their example. For many of them on this account seceded from communion with the Roman pontiff; nor could this great wound be healed except by length of time.[4]

12. Another considerable controversy broke out among the Greeks in the year 519; namely, whether it could properly be said that one of the Trinity was crucified. Many adopted this language in order to press harder upon the Nestorians, who separated the natures of Christ too much. Among these were the Scythian monks at Constantinople, who were the principal movers of this controversy. But others regarded this language as allied to the error of the Theopaschites or Eutychians, and therefore rejected it. With these, Hormisdas, bishop of Rome, when consulted by the Scythian monks, coincided; and great and pernicious altercations ensued. Afterwards the fifth council and John II. a successor of Hormisdas, by approving of this language, restored peace to the church.[5]

far from being Nestorians, and these of course defended the three Chapters; for Theodorus, Theodoret, and Ibas had been leading men of this very character. Hence the interest shown by the oriental bishops in this controversy. But in the West, where the Nestorian and Eutychian contests had been less severe, and where the persons and writings of Theodorus, Ibas, and Theodoret were little known, the three Chapters were felt to be of little consequence, except as the condemning them seemed to impair the authority of the decrees of Chalcedon and to asperse characters once held venerable in the church. It was doubtless a most rash thing in Justinian to condemn the three Chapters. But having done it he resolved to persevere in it. The church was agitated long and severely; and at length this precipitate act of the emperor, being sanctioned by the requisite authority, had the effect of shaping the creed of the Catholic church from that day to this. See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. viii. p. 3–468, but especially p. 437, &c. – *Mur.*

[1] Noris, *De Synodo Quinta*, cap. x. &c *Opp.* tom. i. p. 579; Basnage, *Hist. de l' Eglise*, tome i. liv. x. chap. vi. p. 523, &c.

[2] According to the acts of this council as they have come down to us, Origen was no otherwise condemned by it than by having his name inserted in the list of heretics, collectively anathematized in the eleventh anathema. The celebrated fifteen anathemas of as many Origenian errors, said to have been decreed by this council, are found in no copy of its acts, nor are they mentioned by any ancient writer. Peter Lambecius first discovered them in the imperial library at Vienna in an old MS. of Photius' *Syntagma Canonum*, bearing the superscription, "Canons of the one hundred and sixty-five holy fathers of the fifth holy council at Constantinople," and published them with a Latin translation, whence Baluze first introduced them into the Collections of Councils; but Cave, Walch, Valesius, and others suppose they were framed in a council at Constantinople about A.D. 541. See note 1, p. 232 above; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 558; Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. vii. p. 644–761; Valesius, note on Evatrius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap 38.—*Mur.*

[3] See Peter de Marca, *Diss. de Decreto Vigilii pro Confirmatione Synodi Quintæ*, among the *Diss.* subjoined to his work, *De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*, p. 207, &c. [and Bower's *Lives of the Popes* (Vigilius), vol. ii. p. 382–413.—*Mur.*

[4] See, in preference to all others, Noris, *De Synodo Quinta* (*Ecumenica*), yet Noris is not free from partiality; also Lupus, notes on the fifth council, among his *Adnotat. ad Concilia.*

[5] See Noris, *Historia Controversiæ de uno ex Trinitate passo; Opp.* tom. iii. p. 771. The ancient writers who mention this controversy call the monks with whom it originated Scythians; but La Croze, *Thesaur. Epistolar.* tom. iii. p. 189, conjectures that they were Scetic monks from Egypt and not Scythians. This conjecture has some probability. But Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. vii. p. 296, 297, says of this conjecture—"It is not only improbable, but is certainly false." And the documents relative to the controversy (of which he had there just closed the recital) do appear, as Walch affirms, "adequate to prove that these men were really from Scythia." Together with the two modes of expression relative to the Trinity which they advocated, these monks were strenuous opposers of Pelagianism. Having had disagreement with some bishops of their province, particularly with Paternus, bishop of Tomis, a deputation of them went to Constantinople with their complaint. Among these deputies, John Maxentius, Leontius, and Achilles, were the principal. The emperor rather favoured them, but the bishops of the East were not agreed. The emperor obliged the Pope's legates at the court to hear the cause; but they were not disposed to decide it, at least not as the monks wished. A part of them now repaired to Rome, where they stayed more than a year. Hormisdas disapproved their phraseology, but was not very ready to condemn it outright. While at Rome these monks wrote to the exiled African bishops in Sardinia, and by taking part in their controversy obtained their friendship. They certainly had many friends, but the ancient historians have transmitted to us only some slight notices of their history. See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. vii. p. 262–313; Bower, *Lives of the Popes* (Hormisdas), vol. ii. p. 306–309.—*Mur.*

Connected with this question was another; whether it was proper to say Christ's person was compounded, which the Scythian monks affirmed and others denied.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES.

1. IN proportion as true religion and piety from various causes declined in this century, their external manifestations, that is, rites and ceremonies, were augmented. In the East, the Nestorian and Eutychian contests occasioned the invention of various rites and forms, which might serve as marks to distinguish the contending sects. In the West Gregory the Great was wonderfully dexterous and ingenious in devising and recommending new ceremonies. Nor will this appear strange to those who are aware that he was of the opinion that the words of the Holy Scriptures were images of recondite things; for whoever can believe this, can easily bring himself to inculcate all the doctrines and precepts of religion by means of rites and signs. Yet in one respect he is to be commended, namely, that he *would* not obtrude his ceremonies upon others—perhaps it was because he *could* not.

2. This multitude of ceremonies required interpreters. Hence a new kind of science arose both in the East and in the West, the object of which was to investigate and explain the grounds and reasons of the sacred rites. But most of those who deduce these rites from scripture and reason betray their folly, and exhibit rather the creations of their own fancy than the true causes of things. If they had been acquainted with ancient opinions and customs, and had examined the pontifical laws of the Greeks and Romans, they would have taught us much more correctly from what sources many of the rites which the Christians regarded as sacred, were derived.

3. The public worship of God was still celebrated in the vernacular language of each nation; but it was everywhere amplified by the addition of various hymns and other trifling things. The new mode of administering the Lord's supper, magnificently and with a splendid apparatus, or the Canon of the Mass as it is called, was an institution of Gregory the Great; or, if it will be more satisfactory, he enlarged and altered the old Canon. But many centuries elapsed before the other Latin churches could be prevailed on to adopt this Romish form.[1] Baptism, except in cases of necessity, was conferred only on the feast-days, and those also the greater festivals, or of the highest class.[2] As to the Litanies to the saints as they are called,[3] the various kinds of supplications, the stations of Gregory,[4] the formulas of consecration, and other rites invented in this century to captivate the senses with a show of religion, we shall pass over them to avoid prolixity. This subject requires peculiar care and industry.

4. The temples erected in memory and to the honour of the saints, were immensely numerous both in the East and the West.[5] There had long been houses enough erected in which the people might assemble for divine worship, but this century courted the favour of departed saints with these edifices as a kind of presents; nor did they doubt at all that these saints took under their immediate protection and care the provinces, cities, towns, and villages, in which they saw such residences prepared for them.[6]

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[1] See Lillenthal, *De Canone Missæ Gregoriano*, Leyden, 1740, 8vo, and the writers on Liturgies. [Different countries had different Missals. Not only the East differed from the West, but in both there were diversities. In Gaul the old Liturgy continued till the time of Charlemagne. In Milan, the Ambrosian Liturgy (so named from St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan), is not yet wholly abandoned. In Spain, the Mosarabic or ancient Spanish is still used occasionally in certain places, though the Roman canon was introduced partially in the 11th and more fully in the 13th and following centuries. In England, the ancient Britons had one Liturgy, and the Anglo-Saxons received another from Augustine their apostle and his companions, and this not precisely the Roman. See Krazer, *De Liturgiis*, sec. ii. cap. ii.—vi. Gregory the Great introduced the responsive chant, and established a school for church music which was in existence at Rome as late as the 9th century.—*Mur.* [On the Liturgies of France, see Mabillon, *De Liturgia Gallicana*, &c. Par. 1685, 4to; on those of Spain, see Pinius, *Liturgia Mozarabica*, &c. Rome, 1740, fol.; and on those of Britain, see L'Estrange, *The Alliance of the Divine Offices*, Lond. 1659, fol.; and Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ, or Antiq. of the Eng. Ritual*, &c. Oxf. 1839, 3d edition, two volumes, 8vo.—*R.*

[2] Especially Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Whitsuntide, and St. John the Baptist; at least in Gaul. See Gregory of Tours, *De Gloria Confessor.* cap. lxix. lxxvi. and *Hist. Francor.* lib. viii. cap. lx.—*Schl.*

[3] The Litanies, of which there were the larger and the smaller, the common and the special, were in the previous centuries addressed only to God; but superstition now led men to address them to Mary and to the other saints.—*Von Ein.*

[4] Stations denoted in early times fasts; but afterwards the churches, chapels, cemeteries, or other places where the people assembled for worship. See Du Cange, *Glossar. Med. et Infim. Latinit.* sub hac voce. Gregory discriminated the different times, occasions, and places of public worship, and framed a service for each. This is the principal cause of the vast multiplication of liturgical formulas in the Romish church.—*Mur.*

[5] See Procopius, *De Bello Gothico*, lib. iv. and v.; also *De Ædificiis Justiniani*, where many churches erected to the Virgin Mary are mentioned.—*Schl.*

[6] Thus the Lombard queen, Theodelinda, built a church for John the Baptist that he might pray for her and her people. (Paul Diacon. *Hist. Longobard.* lib. iv. cap. vii.) And the French king, Clothaire, built a splendid temple to St. Vincent, because he believed that saint had helped him to vanquish the Goths. (Sieg-bert, *Chronic.*) For the same reason rich presents were made to the churches. Thus Childebert after conquering Alaric gave to the church sixty cups, fifteen dishes, and twenty cases for the holy Gospels; all of the finest

The number of feast-days almost equalled that of the churches. In particular, the list of festivals for the whole Christian church was swelled by the consecration of the day of the purification of the holy virgin Mary, so that the people might not miss their Lupercalia, which they were accustomed to celebrate in the month of February,[1] and by the day of our Saviour's conception,[2] the birth-day of St. John,[3] and some others.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES AND SEPARATIONS FROM THE CHURCH.

1. THE ancient sects, though harassed in numberless ways, did not cease to raise dangerous commotions in various places. Among the Persians, the Manichæans are said to have become so powerful as to seduce the son of Cabades the monarch; but he avenged the crime by a great slaughter of them. They must also have been troublesome in other countries, for Heraclianus of Chalcedon deemed it necessary to write a book against them.[4] In Gaul and Africa, the contests between the semi-Pelagians and the followers of Augustine continued.

2. The Donatists were comfortably situated so long as the Vandals reigned in Africa. But they were less favoured when this kingdom was overturned in the year 534. Yet they not only kept up their church, but near the close of the century or from the year 591, they ventured to defend and propagate it with more courage. These efforts of theirs were vigorously opposed by Gregory the Great, who as appears from his Epistles[5] endeavoured in various ways to depress the sect now raising its head again. And his measures doubtless were successful; for the Donatist church became extinct in this century; at least no mention is made of it after this time.

3. The Arians at the commencement of this century were triumphant in some parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe. Not a few of the Asiatic bishops favoured them. The Vandals in Africa, the Goths in Italy, many of the Gauls, the Suevi, the Burgundians, and the Spaniards, openly espoused their interest. The Greeks indeed who approved of the Nicene council, oppressed and persecuted them wherever they were able; but the Arians returned the like treatment, especially in Africa and Italy.[6] Yet this prosperity of the Arians wholly terminated, when under the auspices of Justinian the Vandals were driven from Africa, and the Goths from Italy.[7] For the other Arian kings, Sigismond king of the Burgundians, Theodimir king of the Suevi in Lusitania, and Reccared king of Spain, without violence and war suffered themselves to be led to a renunciation of the Arian doctrine, and to efforts for its extirpation among their subjects by means of legal enactments and councils. Whether reason and arguments or hope and fear, had the greater influence in the conversion of these kings, it is difficult to say.[8] But this is certain,

gold and set with costly gems. (Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Francor.* lib. iii. cap. x.)—*Schl.*

1 This was instituted in the reign of Justinian and fixed to the second day of February. The Greeks called it ὑπαντὴ or ὑπαπαντὴ, *meeting*, because then Simeon and Anna met the Saviour in the temple. The Latins call it the feast of St. Simeon, the presentation of the Lord, and Candlemass because many candles were then lighted up, as had been done on the Lupercalia, the festival of the ravishment of Proserpine, whom her mother Ceres searched for with candles. See Hospinian, *De Festis Christ.* p. 52, &c. and Baillet, *Vies des Saints*, tome i. Febr. p. 22, &c.—*Mur.*

2 This feast is generally celebrated on the 25th of March, and is called by the Greeks ἡμέρα ἀσπασμοῦ or εὐαγγελισμοῦ, the *day of the salutation* or *of the annunciation*, because on it the angel Gabriel announced to Mary that she should bring forth the Saviour. The Latins absurdly call it the annunciation of Mary. To avoid interrupting the Lent fast the Spaniards celebrated it on the 18th of December, and the Armenians on the 5th of January, the other churches kept it the 25th of March. It is mentioned in the 52d canon of the council in Trullo A.D. 691, as a festival then fully established and known, but at what time it was first introduced is uncertain. See Suicer, *Thesaur. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 1234; and Baillet, *ubi supra*, tom. i. March, p. 315.—*Mur.*

3 I know not what induced Mosheim to place the introduction of this feast in this century. If the superscriptions to the homilies of Maximus of Turin (who lived A.D. 420) are correct, this feast must have been common in the fifth century; for three of these homilies are superscribed as being composed for this feast. Perhaps Mosheim had his eye on the twenty-first canon of the council held at Agde A.D. 506 (Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. ii. p. 1000), where the festival of St. John is mentioned among the greater feasts. Yet as it is there mentioned as one already known, it must have been in existence some years. Moreover heathenish rites were mixed with this feast. The feast of St. John and the dancing around a tree set up, were usages as well of the German and northern nations, as of the Romans. The former had their Noodfyr (on which Joh. Reiske published a book, Francf. 1696, 8vo), and the latter used about this time [the 24th of June] to keep the feast of Vesta, with kindling a new fire amid dances and other sports.—*Schl.* [Baillet (*Vies des Saints*, tome ii. June, p. 296) proves from the sermons of Augustine that this festival was considered as of long standing in the church in the days of that father. Augustine himself has left us seven sermons which he preached on the festival.—*Mur.* [On these festivals, &c. see Bingham's *Orig. Eccles.* Book xx. Works, vol. viii. p. 1, &c.—*R.*

4 See Photius, *Biblioth.* Cod. cxiv. p. 291.

5 See his *Epistol.* lib. iv. ep. 34, 35, p. 714, 715, and lib. vi. ep. 65, p. 841, ep. 37, p. 821, and lib. ix. ep. 53, p. 972, and lib. ii. ep. 48, p. 611, *Opp.* tom. ii. [The emperor Mauricius issued penal laws against them in the year 595. It is a probable conjecture of Witsius (*Hist. Donatist.* cap viii. sec. 9) that the conquests of the Saracens in Africa in the 7th century put an end to the Donatist contest.—*Schl.*

6 Procopius, *De Bello Vandal.* lib. i cap. viii. and *De Bello Gothico*, lib. i. cap. ii.; Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. xv. &c.

7 See Mascovius, *Hist. German.* tom. ii. on the subversion of the Vandalic kingdom, p. 76, on that of the Goths, p. 91. On the accession of the barbarians to the Nicene faith respecting God, see *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. Martii, p. 275, and tom. ii. Aprilis, p. 134.

8 The latter is to me the most probable. The kings of these nations were very ignorant, and made war

the Arian sect was from this time dispersed and could never after recover any strength.

4. The Nestorians, after they had obtained a fixed residence in Persia and had located the head of their sect at Seleucia, were as successful as they were industrious in disseminating their doctrines in the countries lying without the Roman empire. It appears from unquestionable documents still existing, that there were numerous societies in all parts of Persia, in India, Armenia, Arabia, Syria, and other countries under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Seleucia during this century.[1] The Persian kings were not indeed all equally well affected towards this sect, and they sometimes severely persecuted all Christians resident in their dominions;[2] yet generally they showed a marked preference for the Nestorians, rather than for those who adhered to the council of Ephesus; for they suspected the latter to be spies sent among them by the Greeks with whom they agreed as to religion.

5. The sect of the Monophysites was no less favourably situated, and it drew over to its side a great part of the East. In the first place, the emperor Anastasius [A.D. 491—518] was attached to the sect and to the dogmas of the Acephali or more rigid Monophysites;[3] and he did not hesitate, on the removal of Flavianus from the chair of Antioch in 513, to elevate to that see Severus a learned monk of Palestine, who was devoted to that sect, and from whom the Monophysites had the name of Severians.[4] This man exerted all his powers to destroy the credit of the council of Chalcedon in the East, and to strengthen the party which professed but one nature in Christ; and his zealous efforts produced most grievous commotions.[5] But the emperor Anastasius dying in the year 518, Severus was expelled from his see; and the sect which he had so zealously propagated, was restrained and depressed by Justin and the succeeding emperors to such a degree, that it seemed very near being ruined; yet it elected Sergius for its patriarch in place of Severus.[6]

6. When the Monophysites were nearly in despair and very few of their bishops remained, some of them being dead and others in captivity, an obscure man, Jacobus, surnamed Baradæus or Zanzalus, to distinguish him from others of the name, restored their fallen state.[7] This indigent monk, a most indefatigable and persevering man, being ordained bishop by a few bishops confined in prison, travelled over all the East on foot, constituted a vast number of bishops and presbyters, revived everywhere the depressed spirits of the Monophysites, and was so efficient by his eloquence and his astonishing diligence, that when he died in the year 578 at Edessa, where he had been bishop, he left his sect in a very flourishing state in Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Egypt, Nubia, Abyssinia, and other

rather than science their trade. Among such a people conviction of the understanding is little to be expected. Arguments of expediency would have more effect. They were surrounded by orthodox Christians, who would deprive them of their territories on the ground that they were heretics. If therefore they would enjoy peace and quietude, they must make up their minds to embrace the Nicene faith. Many of these conversions also were brought about by ladies; for instance, the conversion of Hermengild, a West Gothic prince, by his French wife Ingunda.—*Schl.*

1 Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographia Christiana*, lib. ii. p. 125, in Montfaucon, *Collectio Nova Patrum Græcor.* of which the Preface, p. 11, &c. is worth reading.

2 Asseman, *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatic.* tom. iii. par. i. p. 109, 407, 411, 441, 449, and tom. iii. par. ii. cap. v. sec. 2, p. lxxxiii. &c.

3 Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. cap. xxx. xliv. &c; Theodorus Lector, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. p. 562. A catalogue of the Works of Severus collected from MS. copies, is in Montfaucon's *Biblioth. Coisliniana*, p. 53, &c. [According to Evagrius, *ubi supra*, Anastasius was not zealous for any party, but was a great lover of peace, and determined neither to make nor to suffer any change in the ecclesiastical constitution; that is, he adhered to the *Henoticon* of Zeno his predecessor. This was taking the middle ground; for the more strenuous Monophysites rejected the Henoticon, and insisted on an explicit condemnation of the council of Chalcedon; while the more rigid Catholics, who also disliked the Henoticon, were for holding fast every tittle of the decisions of Chalcedon. See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer*. vol. vi. p. 930, 946, 947, 948.—*Mur.*

4 See Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 47, 321, &c.; Renaudot, *Hist. Patriar. Alexand.* p. 127, 128, 130, 135, 138, &c. [See a notice of Severus, above, p. 224, note 2.—*Mur.*

5 Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. cap. xxxiii.; Cyrillus, *Vita Sabæ* in Cotelier, *Monumenta Eccles. Græcæ*, tom. iii. p. 312; *Nouveau Diction. Histor. Critique*, tome i. art. *Anastasius.* [There is some ambiguity in Mosheim's statement. Who was this man that exerted all his powers against the council of Chalcedon? Maclaine understood Mosheim to refer to the emperor Anastasius; but other translators preserve the ambiguity. Historical facts show that it was Severus rather than Anastasius who persecuted the Chalcedonians. See Evagrius, *ubi supra*, lib. iii. cap. xxxiii.—*Mur.*

6 See Abulpharajus, *Series Patriarch. Antiochen.* in Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 323. [For a full and minute examination of the Monophysite history, see Walch's *Hist. der Ketzer*, namely, during the reign of Anastasius, vol. vi. p. 936—1054; under Justin, vol. vii. p. 52—128; and under Justinian, ibid. p. 128—362.—*Mur.*

7 See Asseman, *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. ii. cap. viii. p. 62, 72, 326, 331, 414, &c.; Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alexand.* p. 119, 133, 425, &c.; and *Liturgiæ Orientat.* tom. ii. p. 333, 342; Nairon, *Euoplia Fidei Catholicæ ex Syrorum Monumentis*, par. i. p. 40, 41. [Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer*. vol. viii. p. 481—490. Jacobus Baradæus was a Syrian monk and a pupil of Severus, archbishop of Antioch. His ordination is placed by some in the year 545, by others in 551. His death all place in the year 578. Some call him bishop of Edessa; others make him to have been bishop at large. The number of bishops, priests, and deacons ordained by him is reported to be 100,000. That he put an end to the divisions and contests among the Monophysites, as Mosheim asserts, is not stated in any of the authorities quoted by Walch. As the Monophysites all over the East are to this day called Jacobites from this Jacobus Baradæus, so the orthodox Greeks are called Melchites from the Syriac, Melcha, a king, as being adherents to the religion of the imperial court.—*Mur.*

countries.[1] He extinguished nearly all the dissensions among the Monophysites; and as their churches were so widely dispersed in the East, that the bishop of Antioch could not well govern them all, he associated with him a Maphrian or primate of the East, whose residence was at Tagritum on the borders of Armenia.[2] His efforts were not a little aided in Egypt and the neighbouring regions by Theodosius of Alexandria. From this man, as the second father of the sect, all the Monophysites in the East are called Jacobites.

7. Thus the imprudence of the Greeks and their inconsiderate zeal for maintaining the truth, caused the Monophysites to become consolidated into a permanent body. From this period their whole community has been under the government of two bishops or patriarchs, one of Alexandria and the other of Antioch; who, notwithstanding the Syrians and Egyptians disagree in some particulars, are very careful to maintain communion with each other by letters and by kind offices. Under the patriarch of Alexandria is the primate or Abbuna of the Abyssinians; and under the patriarch of Antioch stands the Maphrian or primate of the East, whose residence is at Tagritum in Mesopotamia. The Armenians have their own bishop, and are distinguished from the other Monophysites by some peculiar rites and opinions.

8. Before the sect of the Monophysites had acquired this strength and consistency, various disagreements and controversies prevailed among them; and particularly at Alexandria a difficult and knotty question was moved concerning the body of Christ. Julian of Halicarnassus[3] in the year 519, maintained that the divine nature had so insinuated itself into the body of Christ from the very moment of his conception, that this body changed its nature and became incorruptible. With him agreed Cajanus [or Gaianus] of Alexandria, from whom the believers in this sentiment were called Caianists.[4] The advocates of this doctrine became divided into three parties; two of which disagreed on the question whether Christ's body was created or uncreated; and the third maintained that Christ's body was indeed corruptible, but on account of the influence of the divine nature never became in fact corrupted. This sect was vigorously resisted by the celebrated Severus of Antioch and Damianes, who maintained that the body of Christ before his resurrection was corruptible—that is, was liable to all the changes to which human bodies in general are. Those who agreed with Julian were called Aphthartodocetæ, Docetæ, Phantasiastæ, and also Manichæans; because from their opinion it might be inferred that Christ did not really suffer, feel hungry, fall asleep, and experience the other sensations of a man; but that he only appeared to suffer, to sleep, to be hungry, thirsty, &c. Those who agreed with Severus were called Phthartolatræ, and Ktistolatræ or Creaticolæ. This controversy was agitated with great warmth in the reign of Justinian who favoured the Aphthartodocetæ; but it afterwards gradually subsided.[5] A middle path between the two parties was taken by Xenaias or Philoxenus of Maubug [or Hierapolis]; for he and his associates held that Christ really suffered the ordinary sensations of a man, but that in him this was not the effect of nature but of choice.[6]

9. Some of the Corrupticolæ, as they were called, particularly Themistius, a deacon of Alexandria, and Theodosius, bishop of that city, in the ardour of disputation fell upon another sentiment towards the close of this century[7] which caused new commotions. They affirmed that while all things were known by the divine nature of Christ, to his human nature which was united with it many things were unknown. As they admitted but one nature in Christ [or were Monophysites], others put this construction upon their doctrine, that they

[1] For the Nubians and Abyssinians, see Asseman, *ubi supra*, tom. ii. p. 330; Lobo, *Voyage d'Abyssinie*, tome ii. p. 36; Ludolph, *Comment. ad Hist. Æthiop.* p. 451, 461, 466. For the other countries see the writers of their history.

[2] Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. ii. p. 410, 414, 418; likewise his *Dissert. de Monophysitis*, prefixed to tom. ii. of his *Bibliotheca*.

[3] Julian is noticed among the writers of the century, above p. 224, note 2.—*Mur.*

[4] Gaianus was archdeacon of Alexandria under the patriarch Timotheus III. and on his death in the year 534 elected patriarch of Alexandria by the monks and the populace, in opposition to Theodosius, the bishop of the court party. Great commotions now existed in Alexandria, and Gaianus was soon deposed. He fled first to Carthage and then to Sardinia, and we hear little more about him. It is not known that he wrote anything. See Liberatus, *Breviar.* cap. xx. and Leontius, *De Sectis*, art. v.—*Mur.*

[5] Timotheus, *De Receptione Hæreticor.* in Cotelier, *Monumenta Eccles. Gr.* tom. iii. p. 409; Liberatus, *Breviarium Controv.* cap. xx.; Forbes, *Instructiones Historico-theologicæ*, lib. iii. cap. xviii. p. 108, &c.; Asseman, *Biblioth. Oriental.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 457. [The contests respecting the corruptibility of Christ's body, both among the Monophysites and the Orthodox, are fully examined in Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. viii. p. 550—644.—*Mur.*

[6] Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. ii. p. 22, and p. 168, &c.

[7] This controversy began before the middle of the century; for Themistius was a deacon under Timotheus III. who died in the year 535. Theodosius succeeded in that year, but was removed about A.D. 537. The heat of the controversy seems to have been about A.D. 550 or 560; yet it was rife in the time of Gregory the Great, and the sect existed till some time in the seventh century.—*Mur.*

made the divine nature to participate in this ignorance, and hence they were called Agnoëtæ.[1] But this new sect was feeble, and therefore it declined and became extinct sooner than might have been anticipated from the animated eloquence of the disputants.

10. From the controversies with the Monophysites arose the sect of the Tritheists. Its author was one John Ascunage, a Syrian philosopher and a Monophysite.[2] This man imagined there were in God three numerically distinct natures or subsistencies, all perfectly alike, and connected by no common vinculum of essence; from which dogma his adversaries deduced Tritheism. Among the patrons of this opinion no one was more celebrated than John Philoponus, a grammarian and philosopher of great fame at Alexandria; and hence he has by many been accounted the founder of the sect, and the members of it have been called Philoponists.[3] As the sect increased it became divided into two parties, the Philoponists and the Cononites; the latter so named from its leader, Conon, bishop of Tarsus.[4] These parties agreed respecting the doctrine of three Persons in the Godhead, but were at variance respecting the explanation of the doctrine concerning the resurrection of the body; for Philoponus maintained that both the matter and the form of all bodies were generated and corruptible, and therefore that both would be resuscitated at the resurrection; but Conon held that the matter only and not the form of bodies was corruptible and to be resuscitated.[5] To both these stood opposed the Damianists, so named from Damianus [the Monophysite patriarch] of Alexandria. These discriminated between the divine essence and the three Persons of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. In other words, they denied that each Person, by himself and in nature, was God, but maintained that the three Persons had a common God or divinity, by an undivided participation of which each one was God. The Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, they denominated Hypostases [or Persons], and what was common to them, God, substance, and nature.[6]

[1] Coteller, in the *Monumenta Ecclesiæ. Gr.* tom. iii. p. 641; Le Quien, on Damascenus *De Hæresibus*, tom. i. p. 107: Forbes, *Instruct. Historico-theol.* lib. iii. cap. xix. p. 119; Photius, *Biblioth.* Codex ccxxx. p. 882. [Walch has given a full and satisfactory account of the Agnoëtæ or Themistiani, in his *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. viii. p. 644—684. It appears that the Agnoëtæ merely denied that the human nature of Christ became omniscient by being united with the divine nature—a doctrine which few at this day will condemn. Nor did their contemporaries in general understand them to go farther. But the writers of the middle ages represent them as denying altogether the omniscience of Christ; and many of the moderns, till quite recently, had similar views of this sect. See Walch, *ubi supra*, p. 675—679.—*Mur.*

[2] See Abulpharajus, in Asseman's *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatic.* tom. i. p. 328, &c. [This is the only ancient writer who mentions this John Ascunage; and his statement is, that this John was a disciple of Samuel Peter, a Syrian philosopher who taught philosophy twenty years at Constantinople; that John succeeded him in the school; but having advanced his new doctrine, he was banished by the emperor Justinian.—*Mur.*

[3] See Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* lib. v. cap. xxxvii. tom. ix. p. 358; Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1288; Timotheus, *De Receptione Hæreticor.* in Cotelier, *Monum. Eccles. Gr.* tom. iii. p. 414; John Damascenus, *De Hæresibus*, *Opp.* tom. i. p. 103, ed. Le Quien. [John Philoponus was born and probably spent his life at Alexandria. He was a literary layman, and deeply read in the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy. Yet he was a Christian and a Monophysite, as most of the Alexandrians in his day were. The time of his birth and death is unknown; but it appears that he was a writer from about A.D. 560 till several years into the 7th century. Whether his own reflections or the books of John Ascunage first led him to his Tritheism is uncertain. His works now extant are, a book on the Hexaëmeron, another on Easter, one against Proclus to prove the world not eternal, a book on the Greek dialects, and Commentaries on various works of Aristotle. Many of his works are lost. See Cave, *Hist Liter.* tom. i. p. 267, and Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. viii. p. 702, &c.—*Mur.*

[4] Photius, *Biblioth.* Codex xxiv.; Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. ii. p. 329, &c.

[5] For a full account of the disagreement between the Cononites and the other Philoponists respecting the resurrection of the body, see Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. viii. p 762—778.—*Mur.*

[6] Asseman, *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatic* tom. ii. p. 78, 332, &c. [The controversies respecting the Trinity in unity, which are the subject of this section, are minutely investigated by Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol viii. p. 685—762. He concludes that Philoponus and his sect were really, though perhaps unconsciously, Tritheists; for Philoponus maintained a merely specific unity in God, and not a numerical unity; that is, he taught that the three Persons in the Trinity had a common nature, in the same sense that Paul and Peter had a common nature, and as all the angels have a common nature. (Walch, *ubi supra*, p. 728, &c.) The Damianists on the contrary rejecting the idea of a mere specific unity in God, held the three divine Persons to be numerically one, except as distinguished by certain characteristic marks; so that he was really on Sabellian ground. (Walch, *ubi supra*, 753—757) See also Münscher's *Dogmengeschichte*, vol. iii. p. 512—516, ed. Marp. 1818.—*Mur.*

CENTURY SEVENTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS OF THE CHURCH.

1. THE Christian religion was in this century diffused beyond its former bounds, both in the eastern and western countries. In the East the Nestorians, with incredible industry and perseverance, laboured to propagate it from Persia, Syria, and India, among the barbarous and savage nations inhabiting the deserts and the remotest shores of Asia; and that their zeal was not inefficient appears from numerous proofs still existing. In particular, the vast empire of China was enlightened by this zeal and industry with the light of Christianity. Those who regard as genuine and authentic that Chinese monument of Sigan, which was discovered in the seventeenth century, believe that Christianity was introduced into China in the year 636, when Jesujabas of Gadala presided over the Nestorian community.[1] And those who look upon this as a fabrication of the Jesuits may be fully satisfied by other and unexceptional proofs, that China, especially the northern part of it, contained in this century or perhaps even earlier, numerous Christians over whom presided, during several subsequent centuries, a metropolitan sent out by the patriarch of the Chaldeans or Nestorians.[2]

2. The attention of the Greeks was so engrossed with their intestine dissensions, that they were little solicitous about the propagation of Christianity among the heathen.[3] In the West, among the Anglo-

[1] This celebrated monument has been published and explained by several persons; in particular by Kircher, *China Illustrata*, p. 53; Müller, in a distinct treatise, Berlin, 1672, 4to; Renaudot, *Relations Anciennes des Indes et de la Chine, de deux Voyageurs Mahométans*, p. 228—271, Paris, 1718, 8vo; Asseman, *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatic.* tom. iii. par. ii. cap. iv. sec. 7, p. 538, &c. A more accurate copy with notes was expected from the very learned Theoph. Sig. Bayer, much distinguished for his knowledge of Chinese literature. But his premature death frustrated the expectation. I see no reason why I should not regard this monument as genuine; nor can I conceive what advantage the Jesuits could have promised themselves from a fabrication of this sort. See Liron, *Singularités Histor. et Littér.* tome ii. p. 500, &c. [See also Tho. Yeates, *Indian Church History*, p. 85—96, Lond. 1818, 8vo. Kircher's translation of the inscription with a comment and some notes is given in the Appendix to Mosheim's *Hist. Eccles. Tartarorum*, p. 2—28. The monument is said to be a marble slab ten feet long and five broad; dug up in the year 1625 at a town near Sin-gan-fu, capital of the province Shen-si. The top of the slab is a pyramidal cross. The caption to the inscription consists of nine Chinese words formed into a square, and is thus translated: "This stone was erected to the honour and eternal memory of the Law of Light and Truth brought from Ta-cin [Judea or Syria], and promulgated in China." The principal inscription is in Chinese characters, and consists of twenty-eight columns, each containing sixty-two words. It first states the fundamental principles of Christianity, and then recounts the arrival of missionaries in 636, their gracious reception by the king, their labours and success, and the principal events of the mission for 144 years or till A.D. 780. There were two persecutions in the years 699 and 713. Soon after the second persecution some new missionaries arrived. Then follow the date and erection of the monument in A.D. 782. On the one side of this principal inscription there is a column of Chinese characters; on the other side and at the bottom is a Syriac inscription in the Estrangelo character, containing catalogues of priests, deacons, and others, with a bishop, arranged in seven different classes.—*Mur.* [On this interesting monument, see also Milman's *Gibbon's Decl. and Fall*, &c. vol. viii. p. 347, with the editor's note in support of its authenticity.—*R.*

[2] See Renaudot, *ubi supra*, p. 51, 68. &c. et passim; Asseman, *ubi supra*, cap. ix. p. 522, &c. Bayer tells us (*Præfat. ad Museum Sinicum*, p. 84) that he possesses some testimonies which put the subject beyond controversy. [It is the constant tradition of the Syrian Christians that St. Thomas the apostle made an excursion to China; and the Christians of Malabar celebrate this event in their ordinary worship, and their primate styled himself metropolitan of Hindoo and China when the Portuguese first knew them. See Yeates, *Indian Church Hist.* p. 71—84. See also M. de Guignes, Diss. in the 30th vol. (p. 802, &c.) of the *Mémoires de Littérature, tirées des Registres de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*: which contains a defence of the genuineness of the Sigan monument, against the objections of La Croze and Beausobre. Likewise Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xix, p. 291—298.—*Mur.*

[3] Yet Constantine Porphyrogenitus states, (*de Administrando Imperio*, cap. xxxi. in Bandurius' *Imperium Orientale*, p. 97, ed. Paris) that the Chrobates (the Croatians) who then inhabited Dalmatia, from which they had expelled the Avares, by order of Heraclius made application to that emperor for religious instructors; and that he procured priests for them from Rome, who baptized them, and one of them became their archbishop. See Semler's *Selecta Cap. Hist. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 20; Lucius, *De Regno Dalmatiæ*, lib. i. cap. xi.; Muratori, *Historia Italiæ*; and Asseman, in *Calendar. Eccles. Univ.* tom. i. p. 499, &c.—*Schl.*

Saxons, Augustine till his death in 605, and afterwards other monks sent from Rome, laboured to extend and enlarge the church. And the result of their labours and efforts was, that the other six Anglo-Saxon kings who had hitherto continued in paganism, gradually came over to the side of Christianity, and all Britain became professedly Christian.[1] Yet we need not believe that this change was wholly owing to the sermons and exhortations of these Roman monks and teachers; a great part of it is rather to be ascribed to the Christian wives of the kings and chiefs, who employed various arts to convert their husbands; and likewise to the rigorous laws enacted against the worshippers of idols;[2] not to mention other causes.

3. In this century many of the Britons, Scots, and Irish, eager to propagate the Christian religion, visited the Batavian, Belgic, and German tribes, and there founded new churches. It was this circumstance which led the Germans afterwards to erect so many monasteries for Scots and Irishmen, some of which are still in being.[3] Columbanus, an Irishman, with a few companions, had already in the preceding century happily extirpated in Gaul and the contiguous regions the ancient idolatry, the roots of which had previously struck deep everywhere. He persevered in these labours till the year 615, in which his death is placed, and with the aid of his disciples carried the name of the Saviour to the Swabians, Bavarians, Franks, and other nations of Germany.[4] St. Gall, one of his companions, imparted a knowledge of Christianity to the Helvetians and Swabians.[5] St. Kilian, a Scotchman, converted a great many to Christ among the [Franconians or] eastern Franks.[6] Near the close of the century, in the year 690, Willibrord, by birth an Anglo-Saxon, accompanied with eleven of his countrymen, namely, Suidbert, Wigbert, Acca, Wilibald, Unibald, Lebwin, the two Ewalds, Werenfrid, Marcellin, and Adalbert, crossed over to Batavia lying opposite to Britain, with a view to convert the Frieslanders to Christianity. From thence they went in the year 692 to Fosteland, which most writers suppose to

[1] Bede, *Hist. Eccles. gentis Anglor.* lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 91, &c.; cap. xiv. p. 116; lib. iii. cap. xxi. p. 162, Ed. Chifflet; Rapin, *Hist. d'Angleterre*, tome i. p. 222, &c.

[2] See Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Britan.* tom. i. p. 6.

[3] See *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. Februar. p. 362. [Nearly all of these monasteries have been dissolved and secularized during the wars of the French Revolution. Almost the only one remaining, because too poor to be plundered, is that of St. James, in the city of Ratisbon, founded by Irish monks in the beginning of the twelfth century, (Lanigan, *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iv. p. 57) but now occupied by Scotch Benedictines. When I visited this monastery in 1845 there were only the prior and two monks supported out of its diminished revenues.—*R.*

[4] Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedicti*, tom. ii. p 50, &c; tom. iii. p 72, 339, 560, and elsewhere. Adamannus, lib. iii. *De S. Columbano*, in Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. i. p. 674. [See a brief account of St Columbanus above, p 221, note 3.—*Mur.*

[5] Walafrid Strabo, *Vita Sti Galli*, in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedicti*, tom. ii. p. 228. [ed. Venice, p. 215, &c.] Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. i. p. 783. [St. Gall or St. Gallus was born in Ireland of religious parents, who early committed him to Columbanus for education. He became a monk of Bangor [near Belfast] under Columbanus, and was one of the twelve Irish monks who left Ireland with him about the year 589, travelled through England to the Continent, and erected the monastery of Luxeuil in Burgundy. When Columbanus was driven from this monastery twenty years after, St. Gall accompanied him in exile. Ascending the Rhine, they penetrated the heart of Switzerland about the year 610, and took residence among pagans at Tuggen, at the head of the lake of Zurich. Attacking idolatry St Gall here burned the pagan temple, and cast their offerings into the lake. This enraged the people and the monks had to flee. Travelling through the Canton of St. Gall, they came to Arbon on the shores of the lake of Constance. Here Willimar, the presbyter of the place, treated them kindly and aided them to form a settlement at Bregentz, at the eastern extremity of the lake Here the monks attempted to convert the surrounding pagans, and were not without some success. But at the end of two years the unconverted procured an order from the duke for the monks to quit the country. Columbanus and the rest now retired to Bobbio in Italy, but St. Gall was left behind sick. When recovered he retired into the wilderness with a few adherents, and erected the monastery of St Gall, in the canton of the same name. Here he spent the remainder of his days in great reputation and honour. He refused the bishopric of Constance, which he conferred on his pupil John. His monastery flourished much and spread light over the surrounding country. St Gall died at Arbon, but was interred in his monastery at the age of ninety-five according to Mabillon. His sermon at the ordination of John at Constance and some epistles, are published by Canisius, *ubi supra*. His life by Strabo, from which this notice is extracted, though full of legendary tales is written in a far better style than the ordinary monkish biographies. It appears according to Strabo, that Switzerland was almost wholly pagan when first visited by Columbanus in 610; but that Christianity had then made considerable progress in Germany, from the lake of Constance all along the right bank of the Rhine.—*Mur.*

[6] *Vita S. Kiliani*, in Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iii p 171, &c.; de Ludewig, *Scriptores rerum Wurtsburgens* p. 966. [See also the Life of St. Kilian in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* tom. ii. p. 951—953, ed. Venice, 1733. According to the authorities, St Kilian, Chilian, Cylian, Cilian, or Kyllena, was an Irishman of honourable birth and good education. In early life he had a great thirst for knowledge, and, being very pious and possessing a perfect knowledge of missionary enterprises, he planned one of his own. Taking with him Coloman, Gallon, and Arneval, presbyters, Donatus a deacon, and seven others, he penetrated into Franconia which was wholly pagan, and took up his residence at Herbipolis or Würtzburg. Finding their prospects good, Kilian, Coloman, and Totnan, went to Italy, to obtain the papal sanction to their enterprise; which having readily obtained from Conon (who was pope eleven months ending Sept. 686), they returned to Würtzburg, converted and baptized Gosbert, the duke, and a large number of his subjects. But afterwards, persuading the duke that it was unlawful for him to have his brother's wife, Geilan, she seized an occasional absence of her husband and murdered all the missionaries. This cruel act is placed in the year 696. But the massacre did not prevent the progress of Christianity; for the duchess became deranged, the assassins repented, and St. Kilian became the tutelar saint of Würtzburg.—*Mur.* [See also Lanigan's *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 115, &c. Pagi (*Crit. ad Bar.* ad annum) places this martyrdom in 689.—*R.*

be the island of Heligoland. Being driven thence by Radbod, king of the Frieslanders, who put Wigbert, one of the company, to death, they wandered over Cimbria and the adjacent parts of Denmark. Returning to Friesland in the year 693, they attacked the superstition of the country with better success. Willibrord was now created by the Roman pontiff archbishop of Wilteburg [since called Utrecht], and died at an advanced age among the Batavians. His associates spread a knowledge of Christianity among the Westphalians and neighbouring nations.[1]

4. Of these and other expeditions undertaken for the extension of Christianity, an impartial man who adheres to truth will not speak in terms of indiscriminate praise. That some of these preachers were men of honest simplicity and piety no one can doubt. But most of them show manifest proofs of various sinful passions, of arrogance, avarice, and cruelty; and having received authority from the Roman pontiff to exercise their sacred functions among the barbarians, they did not so much collect holy congregations of devout Christians, as procure for themselves a people among whom they might act the part of sovereigns and lords. I cannot therefore strongly censure those who suspect that some of these monks, being desirous of ruling, concealed for a time their vicious propensities under the veil of religion, and imposed upon themselves various hardships, that they might acquire the rank and honours of bishops and archbishops.

5. Of the Jews very few, if any, voluntarily embraced Christianity. But the Christians compelled many of them in different places, by means of penalties, to make an outward profession of belief in Christ. The emperor Heraclius being incensed against them, as is reported, by the influence of Christian doctors, made havoc of the miserable nation, and ordered vast numbers of them to be dragged reluctantly to baptism.[2] The kings of Spain and Gaul had no hesitation to do the same, although the Roman pontiffs were opposed to it.[3] Such evils resulted from ignorance of the true principles of Christianity, and from the barbarism of the age.

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSITIES OF THE CHURCH.

1. THE Christians suffered less in this century than in the preceding ones. By the Persian kings they were at times persecuted, but the rage against them soon subsided. In England some of the petty kings oppressed the new converts to Christianity; but soon after these kings themselves became professed Christians. In the East, especially in Syria and Palestine, the Jews sometimes rose upon the Christians with great violence;[4] yet so unsuccessfully as to suffer severely for their temerity. Those living among the Christians, who secretly consulted about restoring the pagan religion, were too weak to venture on any positive measures.

2. But a new and most powerful adversary of Christianity started up in Arabia, A.D. 612, in the reign of Heraclius. Mohammed was indeed an illiterate man,[5] but

[1] Alcuin, *Vita Willebrordi*, in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. iii. p. 604, &c. [559, &c. ed. Venice] Möller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 980, &c. [Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* lib v. cap. xi. xii. This famous missionary was born in Northumberland about A.D. 659, of pious parents. Educated in the monastery of Ripon (Hripensis), Yorkshire, anciently in the kingdom of Northumbria, at the age of twenty he went to Ireland, where he studied twelve years. At the age of thirty-three he commenced his mission, and sailed up the Rhine to Utrecht in the dominions of Radbod, the pagan king of the Frisians. Soon after he went to France, and by advice of King Pepin visited Italy, and obtained the sanction of Pope Sergius to his enterprise. Returning to Utrecht he in vain attempted the conversion of Radbod and his subjects. Therefore proceeding northward, he landed at an island called Fositeland, which was on the confines of Denmark and Friesland, and so sacred that its fruit, its animals, and even its waters were holy, and whoever profaned them was to be punished with death. Willibrord and his company wholly disregarded the sacredness of the place, violated the laws, were arraigned before Radbod who cast lots on their destiny, by which one was doomed to death and the others dismissed. They now penetrated into Denmark. On their return to the confines of France, Pepin, who in 693 had vanquished Radbod, sent Willibrord again to Italy to be consecrated archbishop of Utrecht. Pope Sergius now gave him the name of Clemens. Returning clothed with dignity, his friend Pepin aided him in his work; and for about fifty years from his leaving England, he laboured and with much success as the apostle of the Frieslanders. He died about the year 740 at the advanced age of 81. Thus far Alcuin's narrative goes. Of his followers it is said that the two Ewalds (the one called the *white* and the other the *black* Ewald) were put to death by a Saxon king, and their bodies cast into the Rhine; that Suidbert preached to the Bructeri near Cologne, and at last at Kaiserswerth on the Rhine, where he died A.D. 713; that Willibald became bishop of Eichstadt in Bavaria, and Marcellin, bishop of the country along the Issel.—*Mur.*

[2] Eutychius, *Annales Eccles. Alexandr.* tom. ii. p. 212, &c.

[3] See some authorities on this subject, quoted by Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 614, sub fin. tom. viii. p. 239, &c. Ed. Antw. 1800.—*Mur.*

[4] Eutychius, *Annales*, tom. ii. p. 236, &c. Hottinger, *Hist. Orientalis*, lib. i. c. iii. p. 129, &c.

[5] Mohammed himself professed to be destitute of science and learning, and even to be unable to read and write; and his followers have deduced from this his ignorance an argument for the divinity of the religion which he taught. But it is hardly credible that he was so rude and ignorant a man. And there are some among his adherents who question the reality of the fact. See Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, tome iv. p. 33, 34. Indeed, when I consider that Mohammed for a long time pursued a gainful commerce in Arabia and the adjacent countries, I think he must have been able to read and write, and cast accounts; for merchants cannot dispense with this degree of knowledge. [Mosheim

of noble birth, naturally eloquent, and possessing great acuteness of mind.[1] He proclaimed that he was sent by God to overthrow all polytheism; and also to purge and reform, first, the religions of the Arabs, and next, those of the Jews and the Christians; and having framed a law which is called the Koran,[2] after gaining some victories over his enemies he compelled an immense multitude of persons, first in Arabia and then in the neighbouring countries, to profess his doctrines. Elated with this unexpected success, he now began to think of founding an empire, and he effected his object with as much success as boldness; so that at his death, he saw himself the sovereign of all Arabia, and of several of the neighbouring countries.

3. No one can at this day form a perfect judgment of the entire character, views, and designs of Muhammed. For we cannot safely rely on the Greek writers, who made no hesitation to load their enemy with slanders and falsehoods; nor can we trust to the Arabians, who are the very worst historians, who conceal all his vices and crimes, and depict him as altogether a divine person. Besides, a very considerable part of his life, and that too from which

here reasons in the very manner which he himself condemns; viz. such a thing does not occur at this day, and therefore it did not in ancient times. See the Introd. sec. 19, p. 6, above.) According to the Koran and all the Mohammedan writers, the times preceding Mohammed were times of ignorance among the Arabs. The tribe of Hamyar in Yemen had indeed for some centuries possessed a rude alphabet; but the use of it was not publicly taught nor suffered except with special permission. The Arab Jews and Christians likewise undoubtedly used letters, but all the pagan Arabs of the Ishmaelitish stock, including the tribe of Koreish, as well as of others, were without letters previously to the introduction of the Cufic character in which the Koran was first written. This alphabet was invented at Cufah in Irak, a little before the times of Mohammed, and was first taught at Mecca, as it is said, by Bashar the Kendian, just before the institution of the Mohammedan religion. See Sale's *Koran*, Prelim. Diss. sec. 1, p. 35. Hence the best educated men in his tribe, up to the time he appeared, were unable to read and write; and much more the camel drivers and the men in active life, such as Mohammed was. Though of noble birth he was an orphan child, whose whole patrimony was five camels and a female slave. His uncle, Abu Táleb, who brought him up, twice sent him in his caravan to Syria, first when he was thirteen, and then when about twenty years old. In the interval, he went on a military expedition against a neighbouring tribe. And this is all we know of him till the age of twenty-five when he was recommended to a rich widow of Mecca, named Cadijah, to be her factor; and she sent him in that capacity to Damascus and the adjacent parts of Syria. On his return she gave him her hand and her fortune, and he became an opulent citizen of Mecca. This was about twelve years before he assumed the character of a prophet. Now that such a man should be among the very first in Mecca to learn the use of letters is not to be expected. Much less can we infer from his occupation, that he *must* have been able to read and write. That he employed his son-in-law Ali as his scribe in committing the Koran to writing is the constant testimony of his followers. And that he should appeal in that book to his own ignorance of letters as proof that he did not write it out and polish it in his closet, seems to be good evidence of such ignorance. For his intimate acquaintances must have known whether that ignorance was real or not; and as most of them were slow to admit his pretensions to a divine mission, it cannot be supposed he would jeopardize his reputation as a man of veracity and of common sense, by referring them to what they knew to be false as good evidence of his inspiration. See Sale's *Koran*, chap. i. vol. i. p. 192, and chap. xxix. vol. ii. p. 256. See also Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, chap. i. note 70, vol. v. p. 147, &c. And on the other side, White's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 203, 204, and notes 26—38, also Bush's *Life of Mohammed*, p 38, 39.—*Mur.*

[1] The writers on his life and religion are enumerated by Fabricius, *Delectus et Syllabus Argumentor. pro veritate relig. Christ.* cap. i. p. 733, &c. To which may be added Count Boulainvilliers, *Vie de Mahomet*, Lond. 1730, 8vo, which however is rather a romance than a history; Gagnier, *Vie de Mahomet*, 2 vols. 12mo, Amsterd. 1732, commendable for the ingenuousness of the author, yet the style is dry; and George Sale, a distinguished and very judicious author, in his preliminary discourse prefixed to his version of the *Koran*, sec. ii. [p. 45, &c. ed. Lond. 1825; Prideaux, *Life of Mahomet*, 1697, 8vo; Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Mahomet*, Rees' *Cyclopædia*, art. *Mahomet*; Abulfeda, *Annales Muslem.* Arab. and Lat. 2 vols. 4to, Copenh. 1790; Abulfeda, *de Vita et Rebus Gestis Mohammedis*, Arab. and Lat. Oxon. 1723; Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xix. p. 327—405.—*Mur.*

[2] For an account of the Koran see, in preference to all others, Sale's Preliminary Discourse prefixed to his English version of that book. Add Vertot, *Discours sur l'Alcoran*, annexed to the third volume of his *Hist. des Chevaliers de Malte*; Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, tome ii. p. 281, new ed. The book which the Mohammedans call the *Koran*, is a collection of papers and discourses discovered and published after the death of Mohammed, and is not that *Law* which he so highly extolled. Perhaps some parts of the true Koran are still found in the modern Koran; but that the Koran or Law which Mohammed prescribed to the Arabians differed from the present Koran, is manifest from the fact that Mahommed in our Koran appeals to and extols that other the true Koran. A book which is commended and extolled in any writing, must certainly be different from that in which it is commended. May we not conjecture that the true Koran was an *Arabic poem* which Mahommed recited to his adherents, and wished them to commit to memory, but which he did not write out? Such it is well known were the laws of the Gallic Druids; and such is said to be that Indian law which the Brahmins learn and preserve in their memories. [These conjectures of Mosheim appear wholly without foundation. There is no reason to believe there ever was a Koran essentially different from that we now have; or that Mohammed declined committing his pretended revelations to writing. The only argument adduced by Mosheim is of no force at all, considering the manner in which the Koran came into existence. The book itself professes to have been composed by God in the highest heavens; and thence sent down to the lower heavens by the angel Gabriel, who communicated it by parcels to Mohammed during the twenty-three years that he claimed to be a prophet. Moreover, the parcels revealed last often revoked or modified what had been revealed before, and likewise replied to the objections of infidels against the book. See Sale's *Koran*, vol. i. chap. vi. p. 159, and vol. ii. chap. x. p. 31; chap. xvi. p. 107; chap. xxv. p. 213; chap. xcvii. p. 497. The Mohammedan doctors say the Koran existed together with the decrees of God, from all eternity, engraven on a table of stone hard by the throne of God, and called the *Preserved table*; that God sent the angel Gabriel with a transcript of the entire Koran down to the lowest heavens, where during twenty-three years he revealed it by parcels to Mohammed; that Mohammed caused these parcels to be written down by his scribe as they were received, and published them at once to his followers; some of whom took copies, while the greater part got them by heart; that the original MSS. of the scribe when returned were thrown promiscuously into a chest, whence they were taken after the prophet's death and published collectively in their present form and order, which is wholly without regard to dates or a classification of subjects. See Sale's *Prelim. Discourse*, sec. iii. p. 77—95.—*Mur.*

the motives and secret springs of his conduct would best appear, lies concealed from us. It is very probable however, that abhorrence of the superstition in which he saw his countrymen involved, so wrought upon him as to throw him into a disordered state of mind; and that he really believed he was divinely commissioned to reform the religion of the Arabs, and reinstate among them the worship of the one true God. But it is also certain, that afterwards when he saw his attempts attended with success, he deluded the fickle and credulous multitude with impious tricks and impositions, in order to strengthen his cause; and even feigned divine revelations whenever occasion seemed to require it, or any great difficulty occurred. Nor was this fraud inconsistent with his being a fanatic; for most fanatics think deception, so far as seems necessary to their designs, to be holy and approved of God; and they of course resort to deception when they can do it safely.[1] The religion which he inculcated is not what it would have been, if his designs had not been opposed. The pertinacity with which the Arabians adhered to the opinions and customs of their ancestors, and the hope of gaining over the Jews and the Christians to his cause, undoubtedly led him to approve and tolerate many things, which he would have rejected and abrogated if he had been at liberty to pursue his own choice.

4. The causes of the rapid propagation of this new religion among so many nations, are not difficult to be discovered. In the first place, the terror of arms which Mohammed and his successors carried with great success into different countries, compelled vast multitudes to receive his law. In the next place, his law itself was admirably adapted to the natural dispositions of men, and especially to the manners, opinions, and vices prevalent among the people of the East: for it was extremely simple, proposing very few things to be believed, nor did it enjoin many and difficult duties to be performed, or such as laid severe restraints on the propensities of men.[2] Moreover, the consummate ignorance which characterized for the most part the Arabians, the Syrians, the Persians, and other nations of the East, gave a bold and eloquent man easy control over the minds of immense numbers. We may add, that the virulent contests among the Christians, Greeks, Nestorians, Eutychians, and Monophysites, which filled a large part of the East with carnage and horrible crimes, rendered their religion odious in the eyes of many. And further, the Monophysites and Nestorians whom the Greeks oppressed most grievously, gave assistance to the Arabians, and facilitated their conquest of certain provinces, and thus secured the preponderance of their sects in those regions.[3] Other causes will readily suggest themselves to those who consider attentively the state of the world, and the character of the Mohammedan religion.

5. After the death of Mohammed in the year 632, his followers issuing forth from Arabia, with their native fortitude stimulated by a furious fanaticism, and aided as has been already observed by those Christians who were persecuted by the Greeks, extended their conquests over Syria, Persia, Egypt, and some other countries.[4] Nor could the Greeks, harassed with intestine commotions and various wars, put forth sufficient energy to check their rapid career. The victors at first used their prosperity with moderation, and were very indulgent towards the Christians, especially to those who opposed the decrees of Ephesus and Chalcedon. But, as is common with those enjoying uninterrupted success, they insensibly swerved from this moderation into severity, and so loaded the Christians with taxes and other burdens and injuries, that their condition resembled more that of slaves than that of citizens.[5]

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1 In my judgment this is the best way of deciding the controversy which has been agitated by learned men of our age; whether Mohammed was a fanatic or an impostor? See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome iii. article, *Mahomet*, note k; Ockley, *Conquest of Syria, Persia, and Egypt, by the Saracens*, vol. i. p. 68, Lond. 1708, 8vo; Sale, *Prelim. Discourse* to his translation of the Koran, sec. 2, [p. 53, &c. ed. Lond. 1825; Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xix. p. 380, &c.—*Mur.*

2 See Reland, *De Religione Mahumedica*, lib. ii. Utrecht, 1717, 12mo; Sale, *Prelim. Dissert. to the Koran*, sec. 4, 5, 6; More, *Dictionary of all Religions*, article, *Mahometans*, ed. 1817; Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xix. p. 356, &c.; Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 475, 8th ed.—*Mur.*

3 See Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 163, 169, [and Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c. chap. li. where this is shown by the conduct of the Copts or Jacobites in Egypt.—*Mur.* [The corrupt state of religion in the East and the prevalence of a Christianized idolatry ought also to be considered as not the least powerful among these causes of the success of Mohammedanism. Isaac Taylor has stated very forcibly this circumstance: "What Mahomet and his caliphs found in all directions whither their scymetars cut a path for them, was a superstition so abject, an idolatry so gross and shameless, church doctrines so arrogant, church practices so dissolute and so puerile, that the strong-minded Arabians felt themselves inspired anew as God's messengers to reprove the errors of the world, and authorized as God's avengers to punish apostate Christendom. The son of the bond-woman was let loose from his deserts to 'mock' and to chastise the son of the free-woman."—*Ancient Christ.* vol. i. p. 266.—*R.*

4 See Ockley, *Conquest of Syria by the Saracens*, vols. i. and ii. 8vo. Also Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c. chap. l. li.—*Mur.*

5 Mohammed framed the Koran to be the basis of civil government as well as of religion among his followers; and in all ages they have so regarded it till the present time. Church and state, religion and civil policy are so united and blended by the Koran, that

6. The civil dissensions among the Mohammedans which arose soon after the death of their prophet, were not a little injurious to the success of their enterprises. Abubeker, the father-in-law, and Ali the son-in-law, of Mohammed, contended violently about the right to the throne, which each claimed to himself; and this controversy being handed down to posterity, divided the whole race into two great parties, separated not only by a difference in opinions and practices, but also by deadly hatred. The two sects are called, the one Sonnites, and the other Shiites.[1] The former contend that Abubeker was the true Kalif; the latter, that Ali was the legitimate Kalif or successor of Mohammed. Both regard the Koran as of divine origin and the authoritative rule in religion; but the Sonnites unite with it the Sonna, a sort of oral law derived from Mohammed and serving to explain the Koran, which the Shiites wholly discard. The Turks, Tartars, Africans, and most of the Indians, are Sonnites; the Persians and Mogores are Shiites, although the Mogores seem to belong to neither sect.[2] Besides these two grand divisions, there are among the Muhammedans four principal sects and a great many subordinate ones,[3] which contend sharply respecting various subjects in religion, yet practise mutual toleration.[4]

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

1. THE profound ignorance and barbarism of this century will hardly appear credible to those who have not personally examined its extant literary productions. What little learning and knowledge still remained, with a few exceptions, was confined to the cloisters of the monks, especially in the Latin [or western] church. The laws forbade any one to be made an abbot unless he had some learning. The monks were required to devote certain hours to reading; and that they might derive greater profit from this exercise, they were required in most monasteries to converse together at stated times on what they had read.[5] It was their business also to educate young men destined for the sacred office. But all the institutions of this sort were of little service to the cause of learning and to the church, because very few had any just conceptions of the nature and utility of the

they cannot be separated but must stand or fall together. Hence the permanence and unchangeable character of the Mohammedan religion in all countries where it has become established. For to attempt to change the religion of a Mohammedan country, or even to convert any of its citizens, is to plot against the state, it is high treason and must be punished as such. Mohammed united in his own person the two characters of an absolute monarch and of a sovereign pontiff or high-priest; and the Koran made no provision for these two offices ever to be separated. At the same time he named no one to succeed himself, nor pointed out the manner in which this complex office should descend from one person to another. Hence his ghostly empire was in imminent danger of dissolution at his death; but the religious enthusiasm of his followers preserved and perpetuated it.—*Mur.* [As may be seen in the ordinary histories of Mohammedanism.—*R.*

[1] See Reland, *De Religione Turcica*, lib. i. p. 36, 70, 74, 85. Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, tome ii. p. 236, &c.

[2] The principles of the Sonnites may be learned from the tract published by Reland, *De Religione Turcica*, lib. i. The religion and opinions of the Shiites are clearly stated by Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, tome iv. passim.

[3] On the Mohammedan sects, see Hottinger, *Hist. Orientalis*, lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 340. Ricaut, *Etat de l' Empire Ottoman*, liv. ii. p. 242. Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, tome ii. p. 236. Sale, *Prelim. Discourse*, sec. 8, p. 207, &c.

[4] There is scarcely any subject on which English literature is so defective as on that of Mohammedanism, with its cognate topics—the early or ante-Mohammedan history of the Arabs, the biography of their prophet so full of unsolved problems, the providential import and destiny of their faith, the singular revolutions of their literature, and their present intellectual and moral position among civilized nations. Though much has been done during this century in preparing the way for an accurate and philosophical and (what is fully as much wanted) a dispassionate investigation of the subject, by the cultivation of the oriental languages especially in France and Germany, by the publication and translation of oriental works hitherto inaccessible, and by the labours of intelligent travellers and missionaries in the East; yet no one in Britain has yet availed himself of these facilities to undertake such a work as is needed. The only *modern* contributions since Sale's translation of the Koran, have been Mills's *History of Muhammedanism* (2d edit. Lond. 1818), which is, at the best, no more than a sketch: and Forster's *Mahometanism unveiled* (Lond. 1829, 2 vols.), which, though ingenious and free from the prejudices of earlier inquirers is framed, upon a hypothesis of prophetical interpretation which has not met with general acceptance. In Germany the subject has attracted a much greater share of attention; the student will see in Gieseler, *Lehrbuch*, &c. 4th edit. vol. i. part ii. p. 467, 468, a list of the more recent works in that country on the religious aspects of Mohammedanism, among which the more valuable are said to be those by Weil, a Protestant, and Döllinger, a Roman Catholic. The missionary travels of Martyn, Dwight, Southgate, Perkins, and others, contain important contributions towards forming a just estimate of the present condition of the Mussulmans, both moral and intellectual. See the *Retrospective Review*, vol. iii. p. 1, and the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, vol. xxiv. p. 1, for very interesting articles, though not altogether free from objectionable matter, on the rise of Mohammedanism, and on the structure and contents of the Koran.—*R.*

[5] Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* tom. ii. p. 479, 513, et passim.

liberal arts and sciences, and most of them were more intent on the perusal of worthless writers and the lives of saints, than on the study of valuable authors. The better class were assiduous in perusing the works of Augustine and Gregory the Great, and scraps gathered from these fathers constitute the best productions of the Latin church in this century.

2. Kings and noblemen were attentive to everything rather than to the cause of learning. The rude and unlearned bishops suffered the schools which had been committed to their care to languish and become extinct.[1] It was very rare to find among them persons able to compose their own public discourses. Those who possessed some genius garbled from Augustine and Gregory a parcel of jejune addresses, a part of which they kept for their own use, and the rest they imparted to their more dull and stupid colleagues, that they also might have something they could deliver. This is manifest from the examples of Cæsarius of Arles and of Eligius of Noyon. There is also extant a Summary of Theology, which was unskilfully compiled by Tajo, bishop of Saragossa, from the writings of Augustine and Gregory; and this insipid performance was so highly esteemed, that the other bishops did not hesitate to style the author of it, the true salt of the earth and a divine luminary in the church.[2] Many such proofs of the ignorance of the times may be easily collected by any one disposed to examine the writers of this century. England however was in a happier state in this respect than the other countries of Europe; for Theodorus, a Cilician and bishop of Canterbury, of whom more will be said hereafter, introduced into that country some attachment to knowledge and literature.[3]

3. The Greeks who attempted to write either in poetry or in prose obscured very plain and simple subjects by their tumid and inflated diction. The style of the Latins, with a few exceptions, was so base and corrupt that it cannot be eulogised even for this want of taste. History was wretchedly perverted both by the Greeks and the Latins. Among the former, Moschus, Sophronius, and others, and among the latter, Braulio, Jonas an Irishman, Audoenus [or] Dado, and Adamannus, have transmitted to us biographies of several saints, which are insipid and ridiculous, and destitute alike of an air of probability and of elegance of composition. The Greeks led the way in committing to writing without discrimination whatever reports were in circulation among the vulgar in regard to more ancient times; and hence originated those medleys of fables which the Latins afterwards so eagerly embraced.

4. Philosophy among the Latins was at an end. Those who were unwilling to neglect it altogether, were satisfied with committing to memory a few words and sentences taken from Boëthius and Cassiodorus; for they were not disposed to reason on the subject, and they were unable to consult the Greeks from ignorance of their language. The Greeks abandoning Plato to certain of the monks, betook themselves to Aristotle, whose principles of reasoning were nearly indispensable in the theological contests of this century with the Monophysites, Nestorians, and Monothelites; for all these resorted to the Stagyrite for aid whenever they were called to the combat; hence James of Edessa, a Monophysite of this century, translated Aristotle's Dialectics into Syriac.[4]

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH.

1. THE contest for pre-eminence between the Roman and Constantinopolitan prelates had gained such a height in this century, that we may clearly discern the commencement of that unhappy schism which afterwards separated the Latins from the Greeks. It is commonly asserted by men of the greatest learning and best acquainted with ancient history, that the Roman pontiff, Boniface III. prevailed on that abominable tyrant, Phocas, who, after murdering the emperor Mauritius, mounted the imperial throne, to divest the bishop of Constantinople of the title of œcumenical bishop, and to confer it on the Roman pontiff. But this is stated solely on the authority of Baronius,[5] for no ancient writer has given such testimony. Yet Phocas did something analogous to this, if we may believe Anastasius and Paul Diaconus;[6] for whereas the

1 *Hist. Littér. de la France*, by the Benedictines, cent. vii. tome iii. p. 428, &c.

2 Mabillon, *Analecta Veteris Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 77.

3 Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Britan.* tom. i. p. 42; Conringius, *Antiquit. Academ.* p. 277.

4 See Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. i. p. 498.

5 Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 606, No. 2.—*Schl.*

6 Anastasius, *De Vitis Pontificum* (Bonifacius III.) Paulus Diaconus, *De Rebus gestis Longobardor.* lib. iv. cap xxxvii. in Muratori, *Script. Rer. Italic.* tom. i. par. i. p. 465. [Anastasius says that "whereas the church of Constantinople had claimed to be the first of all the churches, Boniface obtained from the emperor Phocas that the Romish church, the apostolic seat of the blessed apostle Peter, should be the head of all the churches." Paul the Deacon says:—"This emperor, Phocas, at the request of Pope Boniface, decreed that the see of the Roman and apostolic church should be

bishops of Constantinople had maintained that their church was not only fully equal to that of Rome, but had precedence of all other churches, Phocas forbade this, and determined that the priority of rank and dignity should be given to the church of Rome.

2. The Roman pontiffs used indeed every means to maintain and enlarge the power and dignity which they had obtained; yet the history of this period affords many proofs, not only that emperors and kings but that nations also resisted those attempts. Various proofs of the exercise of the regal power in religious matters, and even over the Pope himself, may be collected from the Byzantine history and from the Formulas of Marculfus. The Roman writers tell us that Constantine Pogonatus formally relinquished the right of confirming the election of a Roman pontiff, and they cite Anastasius as a witness who states, that Pogonatus ordered that a Roman pontiff elect should be ordained forthwith and without delay.[1] But this testimony does not reach the point to be proved. It appears however to have been the fact, that this emperor, in the time of the pontiff Agatho, remitted the customary payment to the court of a sum of money for the confirmation of a pontifical election.[2] The ancient Britons and Scots could not be moved for a long time, either by the threats or the promises of the papal legates, to subject themselves to the Roman decrees and laws, as is abundantly testified by Bede.[3] The Gauls and the Spaniards, as no one can deny, attributed just so much authority to the pontiff as they supposed would be for their own advantage.[4] Nor in Italy itself could he make the bishop of Ravenna and others bow obsequiously to his will;[5] and of private individuals there were many who expressed openly their detestation of his vices and his greediness of power. Nor are those destitute of arguments who assert that the Waldenses even in this century had fixed their residence in the valleys of Piedmont, and inveighed freely against Roman domination.[6]

3. That the bishops of inferior rank and all who were intrusted with sacred offices, as well those in the monasteries as those without, lived in the practice of many enormities, is expressly admitted by every writer of any note in this century. Everywhere simony, avarice, pious frauds, intolerable pride, insolence to the people at large, and even vices worse than these might be seen reigning in the places consecrated to holiness and virtue.[7] Between

the first, whereas the Constantinopolitan had before assumed to be the first of all." By being the first and the head, both the bishops of Constantinople and the usurper Phocas seem to have understood merely priority of rank; and not that supreme authority and dominion which the Roman pontiffs afterwards claimed. It was intended as a compliment, but it was construed into a grant of unlimited power. See Bower's *Lives of the Popes* (Boniface III.), vol. ii. p. 546, &c.—*Mur.*

1 Anastasius, *De Vitis Pontif.* (Benedict) in Muratori, *Scriptor. Rerum Italic.* tom. iii. p. 146. [The words of Anastasius are: *concessit, ut persona, quæ electa fuerit in sedem Apostolicam, e vestigio absque tarditate Pontifex ordinaretur.* That is, it should not be necessary to write to Constantinople, but merely to obtain liberty from the emperor's vicegerent, the exarch of Ravenna, previously to the ordination. Moreover history shows that succeeding emperors did not respect this privilege.—*Schl.*

2 Anastasius, *De Vitis Pontif.* (Agatho) p. 144. Compare Mascovius, *Hist. Germanor.* tom. ii. note, p. 121, &c. [According to Anastasius the emperor did not wholly remit but only diminish the amount of the payment; "relevata est *quantitas*, quæ solita est dari;" and this too with the express injunction that the ancient rule should be observed, and no ordination take place till the consent of the emperor should be obtained from court. See Bower's *Lives of the Popes* (Agatho) vol. iii. p. 131, &c.—*Mur.*

3 Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. ii. lib. iii. cap. xxv. —*Schl.* The case of Wilfrid, bishop of York, who being deposed and banished by the Saxon king in 678, appealed to Rome and returned acquitted, but was imprisoned nine months and then banished the kingdom, is a strong case in point. See Bower's *Lives of the Popes* (Agatho) vol. iii. p. 98—105.—*Mur.*

4 It is well known that the French kings often deposed bishops, whom the popes by all their efforts were not able to restore; and that in Spain Julianus, the bishop of Toledo, freely censured Pope Benedict II. for sending into Spain his disapprobation of a synodic letter; and accused his holiness of ignorance, negligence, and jealousy. Yet this Julianus is a canonised saint. See the fifteenth council of Toledo, in Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1761, &c.—*Schl.*

5 Mich. Geddes, *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. ii. p. 6, &c. [and Muratori, *Hist. of Italy*, vol. iv. p. 157, where is a diploma of the emperor Constantine IV. in which he releases Maurus, archbishop of Ravenna, from obedience to the pope. At his death this archbishop warned his clergy not to subject themselves to the Roman pontiff, but to apply to the emperor for a pall for the new archbishop. And to the present time, the archbishops claim a kind of independence of the Romish see. Even the abbot Columbanus defends the ancient Irish manner of keeping Easter against the popes, with great intrepidity, and likewise the subject of the three chapters; and this at the instigation of King Agilulph. He maintains that Vigilius was not watchful enough, and that the pope ought to purge the seat of St. Peter from all errors, from which it was not now free. See his five Epistles, in the *Biblioth. max. Patr.* Lugd. tom. xii. p. 1, &c.—*Schl.*

6 Leger, *Hist des Eglises Vaudoises*, livr. i. p. 15, &c. [and Spanheim, *Introduct. plen* tom ii. p. 598, &c.—*Schl.* [This fact however is denied by all the later Romanist authorities, and by some among Protestant writers, of whom the most recent is Maitland in his *Facts and Documents illustrative of the Ancient Albigenses and Waldenses*, Lond. 1832.—*R.*

7 Thus we read of Desiderius a nobleman, that he assumed the garb of a beggar and conducted Brunechild, who was expelled the court of Theodebert, in safety to the court of Burgundy. At her solicitation her faithful conductor was advanced to the bishopric of Auxerre (Daniel, *Histoire de France*, vol. i. p. 351), a worthy candidate for the episcopal office! To the simony of the clergy the national Synod of Toledo A.D. 653, Can. 3. bears testimony; to their avarice the provincial synod of Merida in Spain (Harduin, tom. iii. p. 997); to their violence the council of Braga A.D. 675, where they were forbidden to inflict blows. In the same year a council at Toledo commanded the clergy to read the Bible on pain of excommunication (Harduin, tom. iii. p. 1017), and required every new bishop to make oath that he had neither paid, nor promised to pay, money for his bishopric. Even the papal chair

the monks and the bishops many pertinacious quarrels existed in different places;* for the latter laid their greedy hands on the rich possessions of the monks that they might support their own luxury. And the monks feeling this very sensibly first applied to the emperors and kings; but not finding their protection adequate, resorted to the Roman pontiff.[1] He therefore readily took them under his care, and gradually exempted them from the jurisdiction of the bishops. The monks in return defended the interest of the pontiff as if it were their own; and they recommended him as a sort of god to the ignorant multitude, over whom their reputed sanctity gave them great influence. That these exemptions of the monks were the cause of many of their vices and disorders, is admitted by several of the best writers.[2]

4. In the mean time the monks, from the favour of the pontiff and their display of fictitious piety, were everywhere making surprising progress, especially among the Latins. Parents eagerly consecrated their children to God, with large portions of their property made over to the monasteries; that is, they devoted them to what was esteemed the highest bliss on earth—a life of solitude.[3] Those who had spent their lives in guilty deeds hoped to expiate their crimes by conferring the greater part of their property on some society of monks; and immense numbers, impelled by superstition, robbed their heirs of their richest possessions, in order to render God propitious to them through the prayers of monks. Rules for monastic life were drawn up by Fructuosus, Isidorus, John Gerundinensis, Columbanus, and others, among the Latins;[4] for the Rule prescribed by St. Benedict had not yet become the universal and the only rule.

5. Among the writers few can be named who possessed much genius or erudition. The best among the Greeks were the following:—Maximus, a monk who contended very fiercely against the Monothelites, and wrote some explanatory works on the Scriptures, was by no means destitute of natural talent; but he was a man of a violent spirit, and in that respect unfortunate.[5] Isychius, bishop of Jerusalem, expounded some books of Scripture, and has left us a few *Homilies* and other minor works.[6] Dorotheus, an abbot in Palestine, acquired fame by his *Ascetic Dissertations*, with which he would instruct monks how to live.[7] Antiochus, a superstitious monk of St. Sabas in Palestine, composed a *Pandect of the Holy Scriptures* or *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, a work of no great merit.[8] Sophronius, bishop of Jerusalem, acquired the veneration of after ages by his conflicts with those reputed in his day as heretics, especially with the Monothelites.[9] He was evidently

was not free from simony. To pious frauds must be ascribed the multitude of fables which were eagerly fabricated. A large collection of them is exhibited by Semler, *Hist. Eccles. selecta Capita*, tom. ii. p. 55, &c. 60, &c.—*Schl.*

1 See Launoi, *Assertio Inquisitionis in Chartam Immunitatis S. Germani; Opp.* tom. iii. par. i. p. 50, &c.; Baluze, *Miscellan.* tom. ii. p. 159, tom. iv. p. 108; Muratori, *Antiquit. Italic.* tom ii. p. 944, 949, &c.

2 See Launoi, *Examen Privilegii S. Germani; Opp.* tom iii. par. i. p. 282; Wilkins, *Concilia Mag. Britan* tom. i. par. 43, 44, 49, &c.

3 Gervais, *Hist. de l'Abbé Suger*, tome i. p. 9—16.

4 Holstenius, *Codex Regular.* tom. ii. p. 225, &c.

5 Maximus was born of noble parentage at Constantinople, about A.D. 580. The emperor Heraclius made him his secretary, and intended he should write the civil history of his times. But the emperor falling into the heresy of the Monothelites, which Maximus abhorred, either disagreement between them or the propensity of Maximus to a monkish life, led him to retire from court and take up his abode in a monastery at Chrysopolis near Constantinople. Here Maximus became the abbot. Before the year 640 the prevalence of Monothelitic principles or the political disquietudes of the country, led him to travel. He went to Egypt, where he had warm disputes with the principal Monothelites. In the year 645 he went to Rome, and enjoyed the intimacy of Pope Martin I. In 653 the emperor Constans II. who was a Monothelite, caused him to be arrested and brought to Constantinople to be tried for seditious conduct. He was acquitted; but refusing to promise silence in the controversy then raging with the Monothelites, he was banished to Thrace and confined in different places till the year 662, when he died in the castle of Schemra on the confines of the Alans. His collected works, published Gr. and Lat. by Combefis, Paris, 1675, 2 vols. fol. consist of about fifty small works, answers to biblical questions, polemic and dogmatic tracts, moral and monastic pieces, and letters. Besides these he has left us Commentaries on the Canticles, on Dionysius Areopagita, and on some parts of Gregory Nyssen. He is an inelegant, obscure, metaphysical, and mystical writer, yet learned and zealous.—*Mur.* [The student will see a satisfactory life of this monk and a full catalogue of his numerous works, in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biogr.* vol. ii. p. 988.—*R.*

6 See Simon, *Critique de la Biblioth. Eccles. de M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 261. [Hesychius or Isychius, first a presbyter and then bishop of Jerusalem, flourished about A.D. 601. A Commentary on Leviticus is extant in a Latin translation, about which there has been much discussion, whether it was a production of this Hesychius or of some other. See Labbe, *Diss. Hist.* in Bellarmin, *De Scriptor. Eccles.* p. 227, &c. ed. Venice, 1727. The works of Hesychius extant in Greek are arguments to the twelve minor prophets and Isaiah, two hundred sentences on temperance and virtue, seven Homilies, a life of St. Longinus, an introduction to the book of Psalms, and a Comment on Ps. 77—107, and 118. He also wrote an *Ecclesiastical History* and some other Commentaries, which are lost. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. i. p. 571, &c.—*Mur.* [See also an account of his life and writings in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biogr.* vol. ii. p. 446.—*R.*

7 Dorotheus probably lived about A.D. 601. He wrote twenty-four ethical and ascetic dissertations (διδασκαλίαι, seu Doctrinæ, *De Vita recte et pie Instituenda*) and several Epistles, which are extant, Gr. and Lat. in the *Orthodoxographia*, and in Fronto le Duc, *Auctarium*, tom. i.—*Mur.*

8 Antiochus flourished A.D. 614, and was alive in 629. His *Pandectæ divinæ Scripturæ*, or compendium of the Christian religion and of the holy Scriptures, comprised in 130 Homilies, is extant in Fronto le Duc, *Auctarium*, tom. i. He also wrote *De Vitiosis Cogitationibus*; and *De Vita S. Euphrosynt.*—*Mur.*

9 See the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. Martii, ad diem xi.

the cause of the whole Monothelite controversy. Andreas of Crete has left us several *Homilies*, which are neither truly pious nor eloquent, and which some therefore suspect were falsely ascribed to him.[1] Gregory Pisides, a Constantinopolitan deacon, besides a *History of* [illegible]*clius* and *of the Avares*, composed a few poems and other short pieces.[2] Theodore of Raithu is author of a book against those sects, which were considered as corrupting Christianity by their doctrines concerning the person of Jesus Christ.[3]

6. The most distinguished among the Latin writers were the following: Ildefonsus of Toledo, to whom the Spaniards gratuitously ascribe certain treatises concerning the virgin Mary.[4] Two books of

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p. 65. [Sophronius was a native of Damascus, and for some time a sophist or teacher of philosophy and eloquence. He afterwards became a monk in Palestine, and in this character he sat in the council of Alexandria, held by Cyrus the patriarch of that see in the year 633, for the purpose of uniting the Monothelites and the Catholics. Here Sophronius zealously opposed the seventh of the nine propositions which Cyrus wished to establish. From Alexandria he went to Constantinople to confer with Sergius, the patriarch of that see, on the subject. Soon after he was made patriarch of Jerusalem, and wrote his long Epistle or confutation of the Monothelites, addressed to Honorius the Roman pontiff and to the other patriarchs. But his country was now laid waste. The Saracens having conquered all the northern parts of Syria, laid siege to Jerusalem in 637. The city capitulated to the Kalif Omar, who entered Jerusalem, treated Sophronius with much respect, promised him and the Christians safety and the free exercise of their religion, and having given orders for erecting the mosque of Omar on the site of the temple, retired to Arabia. Sophronius died a few months after in the same year. His works are, the Epistle or Dissertation above mentioned, four Homilies, an account of the labours and travels of the apostle Paul, the Life of St. Mary an Egyptian, and a tract on the Incarnation. The best account of him and his writings is said to be that of Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* vol. viii. p. 199, &c. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. i. p. 519.—*Mur.*

[1] Andreas was a native of Damascus, became a monk at Jerusalem, a deacon at Constantinople, and at last archbishop of Crete. His age is not certain, but he was contemporary with Sophronius of Jerusalem A.D. 635, and lived some years after. Combefis published as his works, Paris, 1644, in fol. Gr. and Lat. seventeen Homilies; nine Triodia, Canons, or church Hymns; and several shorter Hymns adapted to different festivals. He afterwards published three more Homilies and some poems, in his *Auctar. Nov.* tom. i. and ii. A *Computus Paschalis* ascribed to Andreas was published, Gr. and Lat. by Petavius, *De Doctrina Tempor.* tom. iii. The genuineness of some of these pieces is suspected.—*Mur.*

[2] Gregory or rather George of Pisida, was first a deacon and chartophylax of the great church of Constantinople, and then archbishop of Nicomedia. He flourished about A.D. 640, and has left us *Cosmopoiea*, an iambic poem on the Hexaëmeron, and another poem in iambic lines on the vanity of life; both published by Morel, Paris, 1585, 4to. Three other of his poems (Eulogy of Heraclius, on his Persian wars, and the assault of the Avares on Constantinople) were promised to the public by Claud. Maltret, but have not been published. Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xix. p. 106, &c.; Cave, *Hist. Liter.* i. p. 583.—*Mur.*

[3] Theodorus, a presbyter in the Laura Raithu in Palestine, flourished A.D. 646, and wrote a short treatise on the incarnation of Christ, in opposition to the heresies of Manes, Apollinaris, Theodorus Mopsuest, Nestorius, Eutyches, Julian Halicar, Severus, and others. It is extant, Gr. and Lat. in Fr. le Duc, *Auctarium*, tom. i. and in Latin, in the *Biblioth. max Patr.* tom. viii.—*Mur.*

The following Greek writers of this century are passed over by Mosheim—namely,—

John Malala, a native of Antioch, who probably flourished about A.D. 601. He wrote *Historia Chronica* from the creation to the death of Justinian I. A.D. 565, which was published, Gr. and Lat. by Hody, Oxon. 1691, 8vo. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* i. p. 568, &c.

About the same time lived Eusebius, bishop of Thessalonica, Conon, an opposer of John Philoponus, and Themistius surnamed Calonymus, all polemic writers on the side of the Catholics. But only fragments of their essays and epistles have reached us in Photius and the Acts of Councils.

Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 608–639, a favourer of the Monothelite doctrine, and instigator of the famous Ecthesis of Honorius. He has left us three Epistles extant in the *Concilia*, tom. vi.

Cyrus, bishop of Phasis A.D. 620, and patriarch of Alexandria A.D. 630—640. He held a synod at Alexandria in 633, in which he proposed a *Libellus satisfactionis* in nine chapters, designed to unite the Theodosians or Severians to the Catholics. But his seventh chapter, or position containing the doctrine of the Monothelites, was opposed and led to fierce contests. He also wrote three Epistles to his friend Segerius of Constantinople. All these are extant in the *Concilia*, tom. vi.

Theophylactus Simocatta, an Egyptian, a sophist, and a prefect, who flourished A.D. 611—629. He wrote *Historia Rerum a Mauritio Gestarum* from the year 582—602, edited Gr. and Lat. Ingolst. 1603, 4to, and Paris, 1648, fol. also eighty-five short Epistles (in the *Epistolas Græcanicas*, Geneva, 1606, fol.) and *Problema Physica*, Gr. and Lat. Antw. 1598, 8vo.

Gregorius, an abbot in Galatia A.D. 614, wrote the life of his predecessor Theodorus, in Surius and other collectors of pious lives.

George, patriarch of Alexandria A.D. 620—630. He wrote the life of John Chrysostom, which is published with Chrysostom's works.

About the year 630 that valuable but anonymous work called the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, *Fastus Siculi*, and *Chronicon Paschale*, was composed, perhaps by George Pisides or by George Patriarch of Alexandria. It extends from the creation to A.D. 628. The best edition is that of Du Fresne, Paris, 1689, fol.

John Moschus, Eviratus, or Eueratus, a monk of Palestine, who flourished A.D. 630, after travelling extensively wrote his monkish history, entitled *Pratum Spirituale*, *Hortulus novus*, *Limonarium*, and *Viridarium*; extant in Fronto le Duc, *Auctar.* tom. ii. and in Cotelier, *Monum. Eccl. Gr.* tom. ii.

Thalassius, abbot of a monastery in Libya about A.D. 640, wrote several tracts—namely, *De Sincera Charitate*; *Vitæ continentia et mentis Regimine, sententiarum Hecatontadas* IV. extant in Lat. in the *Biblioth. max. Patr.* tom. xii. and Gr. and Lat. in Fronto le Duc, *Auctar.* tom. ii.

Theodorus, bishop of Pharan in Arabia near Egypt, a Eutychian and Monothelite controversial writer, from whose tracts large extracts occur in the Acts of the Lateran and sixth councils; *Concilia*, tom. vi.

John, archbishop of Dara in Syria, who has been placed in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, and perhaps lived about A.D. 650, wrote Commentaries in Syriac on the works of Dionysius Areopagita, and on the Apocalypse; extracts from which have been published by Abr. Echellens. Morin, and Nairon.

Basil, bishop of Thessalonica say some, of Cæsarea in Cappadocia say others, and who flourished perhaps A.D. 675, wrote *Scholia* on fifteen Orations of Gregory Nazianzen.

Macarius, a Monothelite, patriarch of Antioch about A.D. 680, whose Confession of faith and extracts from other works are extant, *Concilia*, tom. vi.

John, archbishop of Thessalonica A.D. 680, has left us one oration, part of another, a fragment of a hymn, and parts of a dialogue between a pagan and a Christian.—*Mur.*

[4] See the *Acta Sanctor.* Januarii, tom. ii. p. 535. [Ildefonsus was nobly born at Toledo, educated at Seville, and after being a monk and abbot at Agli, became archbishop of Toledo, A.D. 657—667. His ten spurious

Epistles by Desiderius of Cahors were edited by Canisius.[1] Eligius of Limoges has left us some *Homilies* and other productions.[2] The *two books of Ecclesiastical Formulas* by Marculphus, a Gallic monk, help us much to discover the wretched state of religion and learning in this age.[3] The Englishman Aldhelm composed with no great success various poems on subjects relating to a Christian life.[4] Julianus Pomerius confuted the Jews, and has left us some other specimens of his genius, which are neither to be highly praised nor utterly contemned.[5] To these may be added Cresconius,[6] whose *Abridgment of the Canons* is well known, [illegible]rius,[7] and a few others.[8]

homilies and discourses, and one spurious tract concerning the virgin Mary, with one genuine tract on the same subject, were published by Feuardentius, Paris, 1576, and afterwards in the *Biblioth. max. Patr.* tom. xii. We have from his pen a tract on the ecclesiastical writers in continuation of Jerome, Gennadius, &c. two Epistles, and a tract *De Cognitione Baptismi*. Several other tracts and letters, and a continuation of Isidore's *Gothic History*, are lost.—*Mur.* [See also Bähr, *Geschichte der Römis. Liter.* Suppl. vol. part ii. page 468.—*R.*

1 Desiderius was treasurer to Clothair II. A.D. 614, and bishop of Cahors in France A.D. 629—652. His first Book of Epistles contains those which Desiderius wrote to his friends, the second contains those addressed to him. They are extant in Canisius, *Lection. Antiquæ*, tom. v. and in *Biblioth. max. Patr.* tom. viii.—*Mur.*

2 Eligius was born near Limoges, became a goldsmith there, and was esteemed the best workman in all France. In 635 King Dagobert sent him as ambassador to Brittany. While a layman he erected several monasteries and churches. He was bishop of Noyon A.D. 640—659, and continued to found monasteries and churches, and besides laboured to spread Christianity among the Flemings, the Frieslanders, and the Swabians. He has left us a tract, *De Rectitudine Catholicæ Conversationis* (which has been ascribed to Augustine), and an Epistle to Desiderius of Cahors. Of the sixteen Homilies ascribed to him and extant in the *Biblioth. max. Patr.* tom. xii. the greatest part, if not the whole, are supposed to be spurious. They are compilations from the fathers, and several of them bear marks of the 9th and 10th centuries.—*Mur.* [See a very brief notice of him in Bähr, *ubi supra*, page 467.

3 *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iii. p. 565. [About the year 660, Marculphus, then seventy years old, at the request of the bishop of Paris compiled this book of formulas of different instruments and writings used in ecclesiastical courts and elsewhere, in the transaction of ecclesiastical affairs, and in the management of church property. It was published, Paris, 1665, 4to, and 1667, by Baluze, in *Capitul. Regum Francor.* tom. ii. p. 369.—*Mur.*

4 This prelate certainly deserved a more honourable mention than is here made of him by Mosheim. His poetical talents were by no means the most distinguishing part of his character. He was profoundly versed in the Greek, Latin, and Saxon languages. He appeared also with dignity in the Paschal controversy, which so long divided the Saxon and British churches. See Collier's *Ecclesiastical Hist.* vol. i. p. 121.—*Mael.* [Aldhelm was grandson to Ina, king of the West Goths. When young he travelled over Gaul and Italy, and pursued study with so much ardour that he became one of the most learned men of the age. Returning to England he lived first as a monk, and then for 34 years as the abbot of Malmsbury; afterwards he was bishop of Sherburne A.D. 705—709. Bede (lib. v. cap. xix.) says, he was *undecunque doctissimus*. While abbot he wrote, by request of an English synod, a book in confutation of the sentiments and practice of the ancient Britons and Scots in regard to Easter, which is now lost. He also wrote a tract in praise of virginity, both in prose and in verse, likewise a book on the eight principal virtues, and a thousand verses of Enigmas. These and some other poems were published at Mayence, 1601, 8vo, and in the *Biblioth. max. Patr.* tom. xiii.—*Mur.* [His works have been recently and very carefully edited with several pieces hitherto unpublished, by the Rev. J. A. Giles, in that excellent series entitled, *Patres Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, Oxon, 1844, 8vo. See also respecting him Turner's *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. iii. p. 362, 400, &c.; Wright's *Biogr. Britan. Liter. Anglo-Saxon period*, and Bähr, *Geschichte der Romis. Liter.* Suppl. vol. part i. p. 82.—*R.*

5 Julianus Pomerius was bishop of Toledo, A.D. 680—690. He wrote commentaries on Joshua; a demonstration that Christ has come, against the Jews; on death, the place of departed souls, the resurrection and final judgment; on the discrepances in the Scriptures; a history of King Wamba's expedition against Paul, the rebel duke of Narbonne; and an Appendix to Ildefonsus, *De Scriptor. Ecclesiast.* His works are in the 12th vol. of the *Biblioth. max. Patr.*—*Mur.*

6 Cresconius was an African bishop, and flourished A.D. 690. His *Breviarium Canonum* is a methodical Index to the canons of councils and decrees of the Roman pontiffs digested under 300 heads. He afterwards wrote *Concordia seu Liber Canonum* which is the same thing, except that the canons and decrees are here recited at length. Both works are in Voellus, and Justell's *Biblioth. Juris Canon.*—*Mur.*

7 *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iii. p. 506. [Fredegarius Scholasticus was a Gallic monk who flourished A.D. 640. He compiled a Chronicle from the creation to the year of Christ 641. The first three books, which reach to A.D. 561, are a compilation from Julius Africanus, Eusebius as translated by Jerome, and others The fourth book, comprising A.D. 561—584, is an abridgment of Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Francor.* The fifth book, from 584 to 641, was composed by Fredegarius. The *Chronicon* was afterwards continued by other hands to A.D. 768. The fifth book is published among the *Scriptores Rerum Franc.* The other books are partly in Canisius, *Lectiones Antiq.* tom. ii. and partly in Gregory's *Hist. Francor.*—*Mur.* [See a notice of his historical compilations in Bähr's *Geschichte der Römis. Liter.* Suppl. vol. part i. page 145.—*R.*

8 The following catalogue embraces the Latin writers omitted by Mosheim:—

Paterius, pupil of Gregory the Great and bishop of Brescia about A.D. 601. He wrote a Collection of Scripture testimonies in three books, two from the Old Test. and one from the New, published with the works of Gregory the Great.

Faustus, a monk brought up by St. Benedict and sent into Gaul with St. Maurus. He wrote A.D. 605 the life of St. Maurus, and the life of St. Severinus. Both are extant in Mabillon, *Acta. Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. i.

Marcus, a disciple and companion of St. Benedict and versifier of the life of Benedict by Gregory the Great, flourished A.D. 606.

Boniface IV. pope A.D. 615, has left us an Epistle to King Ethelbert of Kent, and a Synodic Decree in the *Concilia*, tom. v.

Bulgaranus, a Spanish Goth and count A.D. 601. Six of his Epistles still preserved have been often consulted but never published.

Sisebutus, a Gothic king in Spain A.D. 612—621. Several of his Epistles are preserved, and likewise his life and martyrdom of St. Desiderius.

Boniface V. pope A.D. 620—626. His Epistle to Justus bishop of Rochester, another to Edwin king of Northumberland, and a third to Edilburg, Edwin's queen, are extant in Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 618 and 625, also in the *Concilia*, tom. v.

Nennius, a British monk and abbot of Bangor about A.D. 620, and often confounded with the Irish Gildas. He wrote *De Gestis Britonum Liber sive Breviarium*, or a *History of the Britons*; MSS. of which are still preserved at Westminster and at Cambridge. See Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 620. [The Latin text of his *History* has been recently published with great care by Jos. Stevenson, Lond. 1838, 8vo, and a revised translation of it by Dr. Giles, Lond. 1841, 8vo. See Bähr, *Geschichte der Römis. Liter.* Suppl. vol. part i. page 136.—*R.*

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

1. DURING this century true religion lay buried under a senseless mass of superstitions, and was unable to raise her head. The earlier Christians had worshipped only God and his Son; but those called Christians in this century worshipped the wood of a cross, the images of holy men, and bones of dubious origin.[1] The early Christians placed heaven and hell before the view of men; these latter talked only of a certain fire prepared to purge away the imper-

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Honorius, pope A.D. 626—631. He was a Monothelite. Eight of his Epistles which fully prove the fact, are extant in the *Concilia*, tom. v. See Forbes, *Instruct. Hist. Theolog.* lib. v. and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xx. p. 401, 442, &c. 446, &c.

Braulio, bishop of Saragossa, A.D. 627—646. He wrote the life of St. Æmilian a monk, which is in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. i. also two Epistles to Isidore Hispalensis, and a short Eulogy of him published with the works of Isidore.

Jonas, an Irish monk and abbot of Luxeuil, flourished about A.D. 630. He wrote the Lives of St. Columbanus abbot of Bobbio, of Eustatius abbot of Luxeuil, of Attala and Bertulph abbots of Bobbio, of St. John the founder and abbot of a monastery, and of St. Fara or Burgundofara first abbess of York. Most of these lives are in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* tom ii.

Cummianus or Comminus surnamed Fata or Fada, *i.e.* tall, son of Fiacna the king of west Munster in Ireland, born A.D. 592, died 661. He was a monk, abbot, and, some add, bishop in Ireland; and wrote an Epistle to Segienus, abbot of Hy, on the paschal controversy (in Ussher's *Sylloge Epistolar. Hibernicar.* p. 24), and a book *De Pœnitentiarum Mensura*, which is in the *Biblioth. max. Patr.* tom. xii. [There were several Irish writers of this name which has led to considerable confusion.] Lanigan makes Cummian a monk the author of these works, and not Cummin Fada. See his *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 395, &c. —*R.*

John IV. pope, A.D. 640, 641. He wrote an Epistle to the Scottish bishops concerning the paschal controversy, another to the emperor Constantine III. in apology for Pope Honorius, and a third to Isaac, bishop of Syracuse. These are extant in the *Concilia*, tom. v.

Audoenus or Dado, archbishop of Rouen, A.D. 640—683. He lived to the age of 90 and wrote the life of St. Eligius of Noyon, published imperfectly by Surius, and perfectly by D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. v. also an Epistle.

Theodorus I. pope, A.D. 642—649. He has left us two Epistles, in the *Concilia*, tom. v. and in the *Biblioth. max. Patr.* tom. xii.

Eugenius, archbishop of Toledo, A.D. 646—657. He composed some tracts in verse and prose, which are extant in the *Biblioth. max. Patr.* tom. xii.

Tajo or Tago, bishop of Saragossa, flourished A.D. 646. He was a great admirer of the works of Gregory the Great, went to Rome to obtain copies of them, and compiled five books of Sentences from them.

Martin I. pope, A.D. 649—655. For his opposition to a decree of the emperor Constans, called his Typus, Martin was seized by an armed force in 653, carried prisoner to Constantinople, kept in jail a long time, tried, and banished. He ended his days in exile at Cherson. Seventeen of his Epistles are extant; eleven of them, Gr. and Lat. are in the *Concilia*, tom. vi.

Anastasius, deacon and apocrisiarius of the Romish church. He adhered to St. Maximus and shared in his fortunes. The year before his death A.D. 665, he wrote a long letter giving account of the sufferings and exile of himself, Maximus, and Anastasius patriarch of Constantinople, and defending their tenets in opposition to the Monothelites. It is in the *Biblioth. max. Patr.* tom. xii. and also prefixed to the works of St. Maximus.

Fructuosus, of royal Gothic blood, bishop of Braga, A.D. 656—675. He was founder of many monasteries and, particularly that of Alcala; and drew up two *Rules* for monks, published by Holstenius, *Codex Regular.* par. ii.

Vitalianus, pope A.D. 657—671. In the year 668, he and Maurus the archbishop of Ravenna mutually excommunicated each other. Six of his Epistles are in the *Concilia*, tom. vi.

Syricius, bishop of Barcelona about A.D. 657. He wrote two Epistles, which are extant in D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. i. or new ed. tom. iii.

Cumineus surnamed Albus, an Irish monk and abbot of Hy, A.D. 657—669. He wrote the life of St. Columba the first abbot of Hy, which may be seen in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. i. [and in Pinkerton, *Vitæ antiq. sanc. Scot.*—*R.*

Jonas, a disciple of St. Columbanus and an abbot somewhere. He wrote about A.D. 664 the life and miracles of St. John, abbot Reomaënsis. The latter book is in Mabillon, *Acta*, &c. tom. i.

Theodorus, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, whom the Pope made archbishop of Canterbury A.D. 668. He was a man of learning and very efficient in action. Introducing a fine library of Greek and Latin works into England, he gave an impulse to learning among the Anglo-Saxon clergy. He also did much to bring the British and Scottish clergy to adopt the Roman method of keeping Easter. His only work, except an epistle, is his *Pœnitentiale* or directory for dealing with offenders in the church [mentioned in chap iii. sect. 5. below.—*R.*

Agatho, Pope A.D. 680, 681, has left us three Epistles which are in the *Concilia*, tom. vi.

Adamnanus or Adamanus, a Scoto-Irish monk and abbot of Hy, A.D. 679—704. He was very active in bringing the Scottish and Irish to adopt the Roman practice respecting Easter. His life of St. Columba is given by Canisius and Surius; and his topographical description of Jerusalem and other sacred places, as he learned them from Arculphus a Gallic bishop and traveller, was published by Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* secul. iii, par. ii. or tom. iv. p. 456—472. [See more of him in Lanigan's *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 12, &c.—*R.*

Ceolfrid, abbot of Weremuth or Wiremuth in England about A.D. 680, and preceptor to Bede. He visited Rome, obtained of Pope Sergius privileges for his monastery, and brought home books for the use of his monks. A long Epistle of his to Naiton, king of the Picts, in defence of the Roman method of keeping Easter, is extant in Bede, lib. v. cap. xxii. and in the *Concilia*, tom. vi.

Aphonius, very little known, but supposed to have lived about A.D. 680, wrote a Commentary on the Canticles, which is extant in the *Biblioth. max. Patr.* tom. xiv.

Valerius, a Spanish monk and abbot in Gallicia about A.D. 680. His life of St. Fructuosus is extant in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. ii. Some other lives and treatises exist in MS.

Leo II. Pope A.D. 682—684. Five Epistles ascribed to him are extant in the *Concilia*, tom. vi. But Baronius and others think them spurious, because they represent Pope Honorius to have been a Monothelite.

Benedict II. Pope A.D. 684—686. He has two Epistles in the *Concilia*, tom. vi.

Bobolenus, a monk and presbyter, who probably lived about A.D. 690. He wrote the life of St. Germanus, first abbot Grandivallensis in the bishopric of Basil, who was slain about A.D. 666; extant in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. ii.—*Mur.*

[1] I will here quote a passage well calculated to illustrate the piety of this age, taken from the Life of St. Eligius, bishop of Noyon, in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, tom. ii. p. 92. "The Lord conferred upon this most holy man among other miraculous gifts that, while searching and praying after them with the most ardent faith, the bodies of the holy martyrs which had lain concealed for so many ages were discovered." This most successful carcass-hunter of saints discovered the bodies of Quintin, Piato, Crispin, Crispinian, Lucian, and many others, as his biographer minutely narrates. Such ability to find the concealed bones of saints and martyrs, was claimed by most of the bishops who wished to be esteemed by the people and to amass riches.

fections of the soul. The former taught that Christ had made expiation for the sins of men by his death and blood; the latter seemed to inculcate that the gates of heaven would be closed against none who should enrich the clergy or the church with their donations.[1] The former were studious to maintain a holy simplicity and to follow a pure and chaste piety; the latter placed the substance of religion in external rites and bodily exercises. Did any one hesitate to believe? Two irrefragable arguments were at hand, the authority of the church and miracles; for the working of which in these times of ignorance but a moderate share of dexterity was requisite.

2. Few either of the Greeks or Latins applied themselves to the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. There remain some commentaries of Isychius of Jerusalem on certain books of the Old Testament, and on the epistle to the Hebrews. Maximus composed sixty-five Questions on the Holy Scriptures, and some other works of like character. Julianus Pomerius showed his wish and his inability to reconcile passages of Scripture between which there is apparent contradiction, and also to explain the prophecy of Nahum. Compared with these writers, the worst of modern interpreters are manifestly to be preferred. The Greeks, especially those who would be thought adepts in mystic theology, ran after fantastic allegories; as may be seen by the Questions of Maximus above mentioned. The Latins had too little self-confidence even to venture on such a course, and therefore only culled flowers from the works of Gregory and Augustine; as is manifest, among other works, from the Explanations of the Old and New Testament collected by Paterius from the works of Gregory the Great.[2] Thomas of Heraclea gave to the Syrians a new translation of the New Testament.

3. As among the Latins philosophy was nearly extinct, and among the Greeks only certain points of theology were brought under discussion, no one thought of reducing the doctrines of religion to a regular

[1] St. Eligius, a great man of this age, says (in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, tom. ii. p. 96), "He is a good Christian, who comes often to church and brings his offering to be laid on the altar of God, who does not taste of his produce till he has first offered some of it to God; who as often as the holy solemnities return keeps himself for some days previously pure even from his own wife, so that he may come to the altar of God with a safe conscience; and who finally has committed to memory the Creed or the Lord's Prayer.——Redeem your souls from punishment while ye have the means in your power:—present oblations and tithes to the churches; bring candles to the holy places according to your wealth:—and come often to the church and beg suppliantly for the intercession of the saints.——If ye do these things ye may come with confidence before the tribunal of the eternal God in the day of judgment, and say: "Give, Lord, for we have given." [We see here a large and ample description of the character of a *good Christian*, in which there is not the least mention of the *love of God*, *resignation* to his will, *obedience* to his laws, or *justice*, *benevolence*, and *charity* towards men; and in which the whole of religion is made to consist in *coming often to the church*, *bringing offerings to the altar*, *lighting candles* in consecrated places, and such like vain services.—*Mael.* [Mosheim made the preceding extracts from a discourse of Eligius simply to prove his statement in the text, namely, that Christian teachers in this century "seemed to inculcate that the gates of heaven would be closed against none who should enrich the clergy or the church with their donations." That he professed to give only extracts was also plain from the way in which these are printed in the original note, with blanks intimating large omissions. But Maclaine evidently considered that they constituted one uninterrupted statement; and without ever consulting the original work, though so accurately pointed out by Mosheim, he described the passage as presenting "a large and ample description of the character of a good Christian." Those writers, accordingly, who consulted only Maclaine's translation were led to look upon these extracts as representing (which was by no means Mosheim's intention) the *whole* of the practical teaching of Eligius. In particular, Principal Robertson, in note xi. of the Introductory Volume of his *History of Charles V.* quotes this passage as if nothing had been omitted, and says, very carelessly, that he was indebted for it to Maclaine, whereas it is Mosheim himself who gives it in a note. Lingard, in his *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church* (vol. ii. note n. 1st edit.) so early as the year 1806 corrected Robertson, and pointed out the true character of the discourse of Eligius; but, at the same time, he fell into Robertson's error of representing Maclaine as having appended the extracts to Mosheim. Several other historians have subsequently referred to this episode in the history of misrepresentation, and have visited on Mosheim the mistake of his careless annotator. Dr. Waddington (*Hist. of the Church*, vol. i. p. 304, note) has also censured Mosheim severely for the extracts which he gives; alleging that the historian "presented them as a fair specimen of the compositions of that age, and of the sort of piety inculcated by the hierarchy;" which was very far from being the object of Mosheim. These censures roused the late Dr. Arnold's sense of justice into violent exercise, and in his *Lectures on Mod. Hist.* (lect. i. p 79, 3d edit.) he joined, without further inquiry, in this indiscriminate condemnation of Mosheim. He thus violated his own rule, by relying on a secondary source, namely, Maclaine's translation and note, instead of having recourse to Mosheim's original work. Since the preceding observations were written, I have met with Maitland's remarks on this hackneyed subject, in his *Dark Ages*, Lond. 1844, p. 102, &c. Many of his observations are well founded; though they would have had more weight if they had not been accompanied with that undue depreciation of the learning of others, and that overweening confidence in his own research and accuracy, which run through his writings, otherwise so valuable. Yet he is not himself proof against occasional mistakes. For example, in this very matter I find him in the note to p. 104 of his *Dark Ages*, referring to a note in Mosheim's work (it is note l, at the foot of the previous page in this edition) as if it had been written by Maclaine, and pronouncing it with a sneer to be sufficient to "settle" Maclaine's "character," and to "afford matter highly illustrative not only of his learning and judgment, but even of his taste." Nay, he seems surprised it should be retained by Dr. Murdock in his new edition; yet he might have seen, had he looked into the original work or attentively examined either of the translations, that this obnoxious note was not written by Maclaine, but entirely by Mosheim himself. Quis tulerit Gracchos, &c.—*R.*

[2] This useless performance has been usually printed with the works of Gregory the Great; and therefore the Benedictine monks inserted it in their recent and splendid edition of Gregory's Works, vol. iv. part ii. but with no advantage to the public.

[3] Asseman, *Bibliath. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 93, 94.

system, and of stating them philosophically. Yet one Antiochus, a monk of Palestine, composed a short summary of religious doctrines, which he called the *Pandect of the Holy Scriptures*. But the rank and influence due to this author may be inferred from the mournful verses subjoined to this work; in which the author deplores in sorrowful strains the loss of the wood of the [true] cross, which the Persians were said to have carried away. A more neat and judicious summary of the Latin theology of this age has not come down to us, than that in Ildefonsus' book *De Cognitione Baptismi*, lately brought to light by Baluze—a work indeed which we do not need, but one that contains some valuable testimonies for truths which were afterwards discarded.[1] Tajo or Tago, bishop of Saragossa, compiled five *Books of Sentences*, which are a dry and insipid body of theoretical and practical divinity, taken from Gregory the Great, though Augustine is sometimes taxed for contributions; yet that age esteemed it an admirable performance and deserving immortality.[2] On certain parts of Christianity, a few individuals employed their pens; as Maximus, who wrote on theology and on the manifestation of the Son in the flesh, and likewise on the two natures in Christ; and Theodore of Raithu, who wrote on the incarnation of Christ. But those acquainted with the character of that age will easily conjecture what sort of doctors these were.

4. The lamentable state of practical theology is manifest from every writer on the subject in this century. The best of them were Dorotheus in his *Ascetic Dissertations*, Maximus and Aldhelm in some tracts, Isychius and Thalasius in their Sentences, and a few others. But in these how many and how great are the imperfections! how numerous the marks of superstition! what constant indications of a mind vaccillating and unable to grasp the subject! The laity, as they were called, had no cause to tax their teachers with excessive severity. For it was customary to confine the obligations of men to a very few virtues, as is manifest from Aldhelm's tract on the eight principal vices. And those who disregarded these few duties, were to incur no very formidable punishment for their neglect. A life of solitude as practised by the monks, though adorned by no marks of true piety, was esteemed sufficient of itself to atone for all kinds of guilt; and it was therefore called by the Latins a second Baptism.[3] This one fact is sufficient to show how little the precepts of Christ were understood in this age. Among the swarms of Greek and oriental monks, very many laboured to attain perfection by means of contemplation; and these endeavoured to transfuse into their own souls the spirit of Dionysius, that father of the mystics.

5. Theodore the Cilician, a Grecian monk, restored among the Latins the discipline of penance as it is called, which had fallen into neglect, and enforced it by strict rules borrowed from the Grecian ecclesiastical jurisprudence. This man being unexpectedly raised to the see of Canterbury in England, A.D. 668, among many other laudable deeds, reduced to a regular system that part of ecclesiastical law which is called *disciplina pœnitentiaria*. For by publishing his Penitential, a kind of work such as the Latin world had never before seen, he taught the priests to discriminate between more heinous and more venial sins, and between such as were secret and such as were open; and likewise to measure and estimate them according to the circumstances of time, place, the character and disposition of the sinner, his sorrow, &c. He also pointed out the punishment due to the several kinds of sins and faults, the proper modes of consoling, admonishing, and absolving; and, in short, marked out the whole duty of those who hear confessions.[4] This new discipline of penance, though it was of Grecian origin, was very acceptable to the Latins; and in a short time it was diffused from Britain over the

[1] See Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. vi. p. 1, &c. From this book it clearly appears, among other things, that the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, as it is called, was unknown to the Latins in the seventh century (cap. cxxxvii. p. 99); that the sacred volume was read by all Christians (cap. lxxx. p. 59); and other facts of the like nature. Ildefonsus carefully excludes philosophy and reason as authorities in religion; and teaches that there are two sources of theology, namely, the holy scriptures and the writings of the ancient doctors, or as he expresses himself (p. 14, 22), divinæ institutionis auctoritatem, et sacræ paternitatis antiquitatem.

[2] See Mabilion, *Analecta Veteris Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 68, &c.

[3] See Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1771, where, in the *Capitula* of Theodore of Canterbury, we read: *At the ordination of monks* the abbot ought to say mass and utter three prayrs over his head, and the monk should veil his head with a cowl seven days, and on the seventh day the abbot should remove the veil from the monk's head. As in baptism the presbyter removes the infant's veil on the seventh day, so should the abbot do to the monk: for it is a *second Baptism* according to the decision of the fathers, *and all sins are forgiven as in Baptism.*— *Schl.*

[4] The *Penitential* of Theodore is still extant though mutilated, published by Petit, Paris, 1679, 4to, with learned dissertations and notes. We have also the one hundred and twenty *Capitula Ecclesiastica* of the same Theodore, in D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. ix. Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1771, and elsewhere. [The *Penitential* and the *Capitula Ecclesiastica* have been republished with great care and accuracy in the *Ancient laws and institutes of England*, Lond. 1840, folio, edited by Mr. Thorpe, under the superintendence of the Record Commissioners.— *R.*

whole Latin world, and enforced by other Penitentials drawn up after the pattern of the original one by Theodore. Yet it gradually declined again in the eighth century, and by the new system of what are called indulgences was at length wholly subverted.

6. Those who wrote against the religious sects which departed from the common faith are scarcely worthy of being named; and they would not be worth reading, were it not that they serve to elucidate the history of their times. Against the pagans, Nicias composed two books;[1] and Photius mentions a person unknown to us, who he says contended against them with a great array of arguments drawn from the fathers.[2] Against the Jews contended Julianus Pomerius. All the heresies are described and assailed in the little work of Timothy, on the *Reception of Heretics*. Of the theological contests among the orthodox themselves, little can be said. In this century were scattered the seeds of those grievous contests which afterwards severed the Greeks from the Latins; nor were they merely scattered, they also took root in the minds of the Greeks, to whom the Roman domination appeared altogether insufferable. In Britain, the ancient Christians of that country contended with the new or Romish Christians of the Saxon race, whom Augustine had converted to Christ. They contended respecting various things; as baptism and the tonsure, but especially about the time for celebrating the feast of Easter.[3] But these controversies did not relate to religion itself; and they were settled and determined in the eighth century, by the Benedictine monks and in accordance with the views of the Romans.[4]

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

1. In the council which is called Quinisextum, the Greeks made various enactments respecting religious rites and forms of worship, in which there were several deviations from the Roman usage. These canons were publicly received in all the churches within the territories of the Greek emperors; and likewise by all churches which accorded in doctrine and worship with the Greeks, though situated in the dominions of barbarian kings.[5] Nearly all the Roman pontiffs likewise added something new to the ancient ceremonies; as if they had supposed that no one could teach Christianity with success, unless he could delight a Christian assembly with strange shows and mummery. These rites and usages were in the time of Charlemagne propagated from Rome among the other Latin churches; for the arrogance of the pontiffs would not suffer any of them to deviate from the Roman usage.

2. A few specimens may serve for examples. The number of festivals, which was already oppressively great, was increased by the addition of a day consecrated to the wood of the cross on which the Saviour hung;[6] and another to the commemoration of his ascent to heaven. Boniface V. in-

[1] Of this man, nothing more is known than that he was a monk, and that he wrote a book against the seven chapters of Philoponus.—*Schl.*

[2] Photius, *Biblioth.* Codex clxx. p. 379.

[3] Cummianus' Epistle, in Ussher's *Sylloge Epistol. Hibernic.* p. 24, &c.; Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. cap. xxv.; Wilkins, *Concilia Mag. Britan.* tom. i. p. 37, 42; *Acta Sanctor.* Februarii, tom. iii. p. 21, 84.

[4] Mabillon, *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. iii. p. 2, &c.

[5] This council was held at Constantinople A. D. 692, and was composed chiefly of oriental bishops, of whom more than two hundred were assembled. The place of the sessions was a hall in the imperial palace called Trullus; whence the council was denominated *Concilium Trullanum* and *Concilium in Trullo*. It was properly the seventh General council, and supplied canons for the church which the fifth and sixth had neglected to make. Being thus a kind of *supplement* to the fifth and sixth general councils, it was called *Concilium Quinisextum*. See chap. v. sec. 12, below.—*Mur.*

[6] This festival was instituted by the emperor Heraclius in the year 631, after he had vanquished the Persians and recovered from them the supposed real cross, which Cosroes their king had carried off fourteen years before. The festival was established by Pope Honorius, and was introduced into the West in this century. For the Roman pontiffs were then under the dominion of the Greek emperors, and were beginning gradually to withdraw themselves from their jurisdiction. The earliest mention of this festival, which the Greeks call σταυροφάνεια [and the Latins, *exaltatio crucis*, kept Sept. 14; see Baronius, *Annales*, ad. ann. 628.—*Mur.*] occurs in the *Collatio* of St Maximus with Theodosius, bishop of Cæsarea, A. D. 650. See Baumgarten, *Erläuterung der Christl. Alterthümer*, p. 310.—*Schl.*

[7] It is to be wished that Mosheim had here given his authority for placing the origin of the feast of Ascension in this century. Among the fifty days next following Easter, this festival had been observed by the Christians with peculiar solemnity, ever since the *fourth* century; as may be inferred from Augustine, *Epist.* 118, ad Januar. Chrysostom, *Homil.* 62, tom. vii. and *Homil.* 35, tom. v. *Constitutiones Apostol.* lib. viii. cap. xxxiii.; lib. v. cap. xix.; and especially from the *Concil. Agathense*, A. D. 506, where the 21st Canon says: Pascha, Natale Domini, Epiphania, *Ascensionem Domini*, Pentecosten et natalem S Johannis Baptistæ, vel si qui maximi dies in festivitatibus habentur, nonnisi in civitatibus aut in parochiis teneant. (Harduin, tom. ii. p. 1000.) Instead of this festival might be mentioned the *Feast of all Saints*, as originating in this century under Pope Boniface. In the eastern churches it had indeed been observed ever since the fourth century on the eighth day after Whitsunday, and was called the Feast of all the Martyrs. But in the western churches it had the following origin. Boniface in the year 610 obtained by gift the Pantheon at Rome, and consecrated it to the honour of the virgin Mary and all the martyrs; as it had before been sacred to all the gods, and particularly to Cybele. On this occasion he ordered the feast of all the apostles to be kept on the 1st of May, which was afterwards assigned only to Philip and James; and the feast of all the martyrs on the 12th of May. But this last feast being frequented by a large concourse of people, Gregory IV. in the year 834 transferred it to a season of the year when provisions were more easily obtained, that is, to the first day of November; and also consecrated it to all *Saints*. See Baumgarten, *Christl. Alterthümer*, p. 313.

vested the churches with those rights of asylum, which afforded to all villains a license to commit crimes without much danger.[1] The art of ornamenting churches magnificently was perfected with great diligence by Honorius.[2] For as neither Christ nor his apostles had enjoined anything on this subject, it was but reasonable that their vicar should confer this favour on mankind. Of the sacerdotal garments and the rest of the apparatus, which was deemed necessary for the celebration of the Lord's supper, and for giving dignity and grandeur to the assemblies for public worship, I shall say nothing.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

1. THE Greeks during this century, and especially in the reigns of Constans, Constantine Pogonatus, and Justinian II. were engaged in fierce combat with the Paulicians, whom they considered as a branch of the Manichæans, and who lived in Armenia and the adjacent countries. The Greeks assailed them, not so much with arguments as with military force and with legal enactments and penalties; for one Constantine, during the reign of Constans, had resuscitated this sect, then exhausted and ready to become extinct, and had propagated its doctrines with great success.[3] But the history of this sect, which is said to have originated from two brothers, Paul and John, will be stated more explicitly under the ninth century, at which time its conflicts with the Greeks came to an open and bloody war.

2. In Italy the Lombards preferred the opinions of the Arians to the doctrines of the Nicene council. In Gaul and in England the Pelagian and semi-Pelagian controversies still produced some disquietude. In the East the ancient sects, which the imperial laws had repressed but had by no means subdued and extinguished, raised their heads in several places, and were able to secure adherents. Fear of the laws and of punishment induced these sects to seek a temporary concealment; but when the power of their foes was somewhat abridged, they again resumed courage.

3. The condition of the Nestorians and Monophysites under those new lords of the East, the Saracens, was far happier than before that conquest; indeed, while the [orthodox] Greeks were oppressed and banished, both these sects were everywhere preferred before them. Jesujabus, the sovereign pontiff of the Nestorians, concluded a treaty first with Mohammed and afterwards with Omar, and obtained many advantages for his sect.[4] There is likewise extant an injunction or Testament, as it is commonly called, that is, a diploma of Mohammed himself, in which he promises full security to all Christians living under his dominion; and though some learned men doubt the authenticity of this instrument, yet the Mohammedans do not call it in question.[5] The successors of Mohammed

—*Schl.* [And Gieseler's *Text-book*, by Cunningham, vol. ii. p. 60, note 11.—*Mur.*

[1] Temples were anciently, even among pagans, places of safety for valuable goods, and for men in times of war and oppression. Among the Christians at first only the *altar* and the *choir* enjoyed this privilege. Afterwards the *nave* of the church, and finally the whole *inclosure* participated in it. All persons under prosecution, whether in civil or criminal causes, might there be secure till their case was investigated. But public debtors, Jews, runaway slaves, robbers, murderers, banditti, and adulterers, were prohibited by law from this right of sanctuary. Yet in the western churches this right of asylum degenerated into a source of the most shocking disorders; and to them this regulation of Boniface especially gave the occasion. Anastasius Bibliothecarius says of him: "He ordained that no person, who had taken refuge in a church, should be delivered up."—*Schl.*

[2] See Anastasius in his life of this pontiff. He says of him, among other things, that "he covered the Confessional of St. Peter with pure silver, which weighed 187 pounds. He overlaid the great doors at the entrance of the church, which were called *Mediancæ*, with silver weighing 975 pounds. He also made two large silver candlesticks of equal dimensions, weighing each 62 pounds. He likewise made for the church of St. Andrew a silver table before the Confessional as above, which weighed 73 pounds," &c.—*Schl.*

[3] Photius, *Contra Manichæos*, lib. i. p. 61. Petrus Siculus, *Hist. Manichæor.* p. 41, &c. Cedrenus, *Compend. Histor.* p. 431, ed. Venice.

[4] Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 94, &c.

[5] This famous *Testament* of Mohammed was brought into Europe from the East in the seventeenth century, by Pacificus Scaliger, a Capuchin monk; and first published, Arabic and Latin, by Gabriel Sionita, Paris, 1630; and afterwards the Lutherans, John Fabricius, A.D. 1638, and Hinckelmann, A.D. 1690, published it in Latin. See Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* lib. ii. cap. xx. p. 237; Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 95; Renaudot, *Histor. Patriar. Alexandr.* p. 168. Those who with Grotius reject this Testament, suppose it was fabricated by the monks living in Syria and Arabia, to circumvent their hard masters, the Mohammedans. Nor is the supposition incredible. For the monks of Mount Sinai formerly showed a similar edict of Mohammed, which they said he drew up while a private man; an edict exceedingly favourable to them, and beyond all controversy fraudulently drawn up by themselves. The fraud was sufficiently manifest; yet the Mohammedans, a people destitute of all erudition, believed it was a genuine ordinance of their prophet, and they believe so still. This imposition is treated of by Cantimir, *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, tome ii. p. 269, &c. The argument therefore which Renaudot and others draw in favour of the *Testament* in question, from the acknowledgment of its authenticity by the Mohammedans, is of little weight; because in things of this nature, no people could be more easily imposed upon than the rude and illiterate Mohammedans. Nor is the argument of more force which the opposers of the *Testament* draw from the difference of its style from that of the *Koran*. For it is not necessary to suppose that Mohammed himself composed this Testament; he might have employed his secretary. But however dubious the *Testament* itself may be, the subject matter of it is not doubtful. For learned men have proved by powerful arguments, that Mohammed originally would allow no injury to be offered to the Christians, and especially to the Nestorians. [This Testament is a formal compact between

in Persia employed the Nestorians in the most important affairs and business both of the court and of the provinces; nor would they suffer any patriarch, except the one who governed this sect, to reside in the kingdom of Babylon.[1] The Monophysites in Egypt and Syria were equally fortunate. In Egypt, Amru having taken Alexandria in the year 644, directed Benjamin, the Monophysite pontiff, to occupy the see of Alexandria, and from that time for nearly a century, the Melchites or those who followed the opinions of the Greek church, had no prelate.[2]

4. Among the Greeks, who were otherwise greatly distracted, there arose a new sect in the year 630, during the reign of Heraclius, which soon produced such commotions that both the East and the West united to put it down. An ill-timed effort at peace produced war. The emperor Heraclius, considering the immense evils resulting to the Greek empire from the revolt of the Nestorians to the Persians, was exceedingly desirous of reconciling the Monophysites to the Greek church, lest the empire should receive a new wound by their separation from it. He therefore during his war with the Persians, first had a conference in the year 622 with one Paul, a principal man among the Armenian Monophysites; and afterwards in the year 629 at Hierapolis, with Anastasius, the Catholicus or patriarch of the Monophysites, respecting the means of restoring harmony. Both of them suggested to the emperor, that the believers in one nature of Christ might be induced to receive the decrees of the council of Chalcedon, and be reconciled to the Greeks, provided the Greeks would admit and profess that in Jesus Christ, after the union of the two natures, there was but one will and one voluntary operation. Heraclius stated what he had learned from these men to Sergius the patriarch of Constantinople, who was a native of Syria and descended from parents who were Monophysites. This prelate gave it as his opinion that it might be held and inculcated without prejudice to the truth or to the authority of the council of Chalcedon, that after the union of the two natures in Christ there was but one will and one operation of will. Heraclius therefore, in order to terminate the discord both in church and state, issued a decree in the year 630 that this faith should be received and taught.[3]

5. At first the affair seemed to go on well; for although some refused to comply with the imperial edict, yet the two patriarchs of the East, Cyrus of Alexandria and Athanasius of Antioch, did not hesitate to obey the will of the emperor, and the see of Jerusalem was then vacant.[4] The consent of the Latin patriarch or of the Roman pontiff was perhaps not deemed necessary, in an affair which related so exclusively to the oriental church. Cyrus, whom the emperor had promoted from the see of Phasis to that of Alexandria, held a council, by the seventh decree of which the doctrine of Monotheletism, which the emperor wished to have introduced, was solemnly confirmed.[5] And this modification of the decree of Chalcedon was so influential with the Monothelites in Egypt, Armenia, and other provinces, that a great part of them returned to the church. They seem however to have explained the doctrine of one will in Christ, which was certainly equivocal, according to their own views, and not according to the general sentiments of their sect.

6. But this fair prospect of peace and harmony was blasted, and a formidable contest excited by a single monk of Palestine named Sophronius. He being present at the council of Alexandria, held by Cyrus in the year 633, strenuously resisted the article which related to one will in Christ; and the next year 634, being made patriarch of Jerusalem, he assembled a council, in which he condemned the Monothelites, and maintained that, by their doctrine, the

Mohammed on the one part, and the Nestorians and Monophysites on the other. He promises to them his protection, and they promise to him loyalty and obedience. He promises them entire religious freedom; and they promise him support against his enemies. Mohammed might have deemed it sound policy to conclude such a treaty with these sectaries; that by their aid he might subdue the countries of Asia subject to the Greek emperors.—*Schl.*

[1] Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 97, &c. Renaudot, *Hist. Patriar. Alexandr.* p. 163, 169.

[2] Renaudot, *ubi supra*, p. 168.

[3] The writers who give account of this sect are enumerated by Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, vol. x. p. 204. The account which I have given in the text is derived from the original sources, and rests on the most explicit testimony. [The most important of the ancient documents are found in the Acts of the council of the Lateran, A.D. 649, and in those of the sixth general council held at Constantinople A.D. 681, 682. Among the modern writers the most full and candid is Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer*, vol. ix. p. 3—667. See also Schröckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xx. p. 386—453, and Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, from Honorius to the end of this century. —*Mur.*

[4] See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 264.

[5] The documents of this council are in Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1327, &c. The intention of Cyrus was good. He wished to gain over the Severians and the Theodosians, who composed a large part of the Christians of Alexandria; and he considered the doctrine of *one will* and *one operation* as the best means for this end. He therefore in several canons spoke of *one single theandric operation* in Christ (νῖὸν ἐνεργοῦντα τὰ θεοπρεπῆ καὶ ἀνθρώπινα μιᾷ θεανδρικῇ ἐνέργειᾳ) yet for the sake of peace he refrained from affirming either *one* or *two wills and operations*. This step, though taken with the best intentions, gave occasion afterwards to the most violent theological contests.—*Schl.*

Eutychian error respecting the amalgamation and confusion of natures in Christ, was revived and brought into the church. He drew over many, particularly among the monks, to his sentiments, and he made special efforts to gain over Honorius the Roman pontiff to his side.[1] But Sergius of Constantinople wrote a long and discreet letter to Honorius, which induced him to decide, that those held sound doctrine who taught that there was one will and one operation in Christ.[2] Hence arose severe contests, which divided the commonwealth as well as the church into two parties.

7. To quiet these great commotions, Heraclius published in the year 639, an *Ecthesis*, that is, a *formula of faith*, drawn up by Sergius, in which, while he forbade all discussion of the question, whether there were only one or a twofold action or operation in Christ, he clearly stated that there was but one will in Christ.[3] This new law was approved by not a few in the East, and first of all by Pyrrhus of Constantinople, who on the death of Sergius succeeded to that see in the year 639.[4] But the Roman pontiff, John IV. in a council held this year at Rome, rejected the Ecthesis and condemned the Monothelites.[5] As the controversy still continued, the emperor Constans in the year 648, with the consent of Paul of Constantinople, published a new edict called the *Typus*, by which the Ecthesis was annulled and silence enjoined on both the contending parties, as well with regard to one will, as with regard to one operation of will in Christ.[6] But by the excited monks silence was viewed as a crime, and by their instigation Martin, the bishop of Rome, in a council of one hundred and five bishops in the year 649, anathematized both the Ecthesis and the Typus (but without naming the emperors) and likewise all patrons of the Monothelites.[7]

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1 Sophronius was most sincere and decorous in his opposition to the doctrine of Monotheletism. In the council of Alexandria, he fell down before Cyrus and intreated him not to sanction such a doctrine. But he was alone in his opposition. Cyrus treated him tenderly, advised him to confer with Sergius the patriarch of Constantinople on the subject, and wrote a letter to Sergius for Sophronius to carry. When arrived at Constantinople, Sergius endeavoured to soothe him, represented the point as unessential, agreed to write to Cyrus not to allow any controversy on the subject, but to leave every one at full liberty to speculate as he pleased about it. Sophronius now agreed to keep silence. But when made patriarch of Jerusalem, his conscience would not let him rest. Whether he assembled a provincial synod as Mosheim asserts, is questionable. But his circular epistle to the other patriarchs on occasion of his consecration contained an elaborate discussion of the subject, and a host of quotations from the fathers in proof that the doctrine of *two wills* and *two operations* was the only true doctrine. See the letter in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1257.—*Mur.*

2 The adherents to the Roman pontiffs have taken the utmost pains to disprove this, lest one of the pontiffs should seem to have erred in a matter of such moment. See among many others, Harduin, *De Sacramento Altaris*, in his *Opp. Selecta*, p. 255, &c. And indeed it is not difficult either to accuse or excuse the man. For he appears not to have known what he did think on the subject, and to have annexed no very definite ideas to the words which he used. Yet he *did* say that there was but *one will* and *one operation of will* in Christ. And for this he was condemned in the council of Constantinople. He was therefore a *heretic* beyond all controversy, if it be true that universal councils cannot err. See Bossuet, *Defensio Declarationis quam Clerus Gallicanus, anno* 1682. *de Potestate Ecclesiastica sanxit*, par. ii. lib. xii. cap. xxi. &c. p. 182, &c. Add Basnage, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, tome i. p. 391, &c. [Honorius was made acquainted by Sergius, in the above mentioned letter, with the origin and whole progress of the controversy; and he was so impressed that in his answer to Sergius (which is in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1319, &c.), he so far agreed with Sergius, that he would not have either one or two operations and divine wills affirmed; yet he did very clearly maintain but one will in Christ, expressed his disapprobation of Sophronius, and declared the whole controversy to be unimportant and mere logomachy. There is extant also (ibid. p. 1351) an extract from a second letter of Honorius to Sergius, in which he still farther confirms his opinion. The friends of the Romish church have taken great pains to justify this mistake of Honorius. The Acts of the sixth general council, say they, are corrupted and the name of Honorius has been wickedly foisted into them. Honorius was not condemned for heresy but for his forbearance. He meant to deny only that there were two opposite wills in Christ. He wrote only as a private person and not as a bishop, and also when ill-informed by Sergius; and moreover retracted afterwards his opinion. But even Catholic writers have confuted these subterfuges—*e.g.* Richer, *Hist. Concil. General*, p. 296, &c.; Du Pin, *Biblioth.* tom. vi. p. 67, &c. Honorius was condemned not only in the sixth general council, but also in the seventh and eighth and in that in Trullo, and likewise by his own successors (Agatho, Leo II. Hadrian, &c.) and is named in several Rituals, and particularly in the Breviary and in the festival of Leo II. together with Sergius and Cyrus, as a person *damnatæ memoriæ*. This is manifest proof that no one then even thought of an infallibility in the Romish popes, notwithstanding in modern times the name of Honorius has been erased from the Breviaries.—*Schl.* [See Bower's *Lives of the Popes* (Agatho), vol. iii. and Gieseler's *Text-book* by Cunningham, vol. i. p. 369, note 17.—*Mur.*

3 This *Ecthesis* is in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 791, &c.—*Schl.*

4 Previously to this, Sergius assembled the clergy at Constantinople, and not only established the new Concordat, but ordained that all clergymen who should not adopt it should be liable to deposition, and all monks and laymen be liable to excommunication. Extracts from the Acts of this council are given in the Acts of the Lateran council [A.D. 649] in Harduin, tom. iii. p. 795, &c. Pyrrhus, the successor of Sergius, likewise received this formula in an assembly of the clergy A.D. 640, and commanded all bishops, whether present or absent, to subscribe to it. See the extracts from the Acts of this council in Harduin, tom. iii. p. 797.—*Schl.*

5 Heraclius transmitted the *Ecthesis* to Pope Severinus at Rome by the exarch Isaacius. (Harduin, tom. iii. p. 803.) Whether Severinus submitted to it is uncertain. But that his envoys sent to Constantinople to obtain the confirmation of his election, could not succeed till they had engaged he should receive it, is certain. His successor, John IV. rejected it soon after his elevation to office, in a Romish council of which we have only very dubious accounts. On the side of this pope stood the island of Cyprus, and Numidia, Byzicene, the Provincia Proconsularis, and Mauritania; from all of which provinces synodal epistles are still extant, which show that the bishops there passed resolutions against the Ecthesis. They are in Harduin, tom. iii. p. 727, &c.—*Schl.*

6 This *Typus* is in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 823, &c.—*Schl.*

7 This council was held in the church of St. John of

8. The audacity of Martin in anathematizing the imperial edicts provoked Constans to issue orders for the arrest of the pontiff by the exarch Calliopas, and for his transportation in the year 650 to the island of Naxia. Maximus, the ringleader of the seditious monks, was banished to Bizyca, and others not less factious were punished in different ways.[1] The succeeding Roman pontiffs, Eugenius and Vitalian, were more discreet and moderate, especially the latter, who received Constans, upon his arrival at Rome in the year 663, with the highest honours, and adopted measures to prevent the controversy from being rekindled.[2] It therefore slept in silence for several years; but as it was only a concealed fire which burned in secret, and as new commotions hazardous to the public peace were constantly to be feared, Constantine Pogonatus, the son of Constans, having advised with the Roman pontiff Agatho, summoned a general council in the year 680, which is called the sixth of the œcumenical councils; and here he permitted the Monothelites and the Roman pontiff Honorius to be condemned, in the presence of Agatho's legates, and he confirmed the decrees of the council with the sanction of penal laws.[3]

9. It is very difficult to define the real sentiments of the Monothelites, or what it was their adversaries condemned; for neither party is uniform in its statements, and both disclaim the errors imputed to them. I. The Monothelites disclaimed all connexion with the Eutychians and the Monophysites, and confessed that there were in Christ the Saviour two natures, so united without mixture or confusion, as to constitute but one person. II. They admitted that the human soul of Christ was endowed with a will, or the faculty of willing and choosing, and that it did not lose this power of willing and choosing in consequence of its union with the divine nature; for they held and taught that Christ was perfect man as well as perfect God, and of course that his human soul had the power of willing and choosing. III. They denied that this power of willing and choosing in the human soul of Christ was inactive or inoperative; on the contrary, they conceded that it operated together with the divine will. IV. They therefore in reality admitted two wills in Christ, and that both were active and operative wills.[4] Yet, V. They maintained

the Lateran, and thence called the *Lateran Council*. The Acts of it are in Harduin, tom. iii. p. 626—946. The year before, Pope Theodore had held a council at Rome, in which he condemned Pyrrhus who had lost the patriarchate of Constantinople, in consequence of his taking part in the civil commotions of that city at the election of a new emperor, together with his successor Paul; and had mingled some of the sacramental wine with the ink with which he signed their condemnation. See Walch, *Hist. der Kirchenversam.* p. 419. The Emperor Constans hoped by means of his *Typus*, to put an end to all these commotions; and he would undoubtedly have succeeded, if he had had only candid and reasonable men to deal with. But at Rome a determined spirit of self-justification prevailed, and unfortunately Pope Martin was a man who sought to gain a reputation for learning by metaphysical wrangling. He condemned in this council the opinions of an Arabian bishop, Theodorus of Pharan, a zealous Monophysite, but touched so lightly on the doctrines of Honorius as not even to mention his name.—*Schl.*

[1] To give the proceeding a less exceptionable aspect, Pope Martin was accused of various crimes. He was charged with being a partisan of the rebel exarch Olympius, with sending supplies of money to the Saracens, &c. From Naxia he was brought to Constantinople, and there subjected to a judicial trial. He would certainly have lost his head as a traitor, had not the dying patriarch Paul moved the emperor to commute his punishment into banishment to Cherson, where he soon after died in great distress. See his fourteenth and following Epistles, in Labbé, *Concilia*, tom. vi.; and *Concilia Regia*, tom. xv.; and Muratori, *History of Italy*, vol. iv. p. 125, &c.—*Schl.* [Also Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. iii.—*Mur.*

[2] Vitalian, as soon as he was elected, dispatched his envoys to Constantinople, and by them sent the customary confession of his faith to the patriarch. The discreet procedure of the Pope and the political circumstances of the times caused his envoys to be well received, and to be sent back to Rome by Constantine with splendid presents. The patriarch of Constantinople also, in his letter of reply, expressed warm desires for union and harmony. When the emperor Constans in the year 663 came to Rome, in his campaign against the Lombards, the Pope showed him more honour than it became his papal character to show to one who had murdered his own brother; for the emperor a few years before had put to death his own brother, the deacon Theodosius. The Pope, with all his clergy, went out to meet him two miles from Rome, and escorted him into the city. But all the honours he showed to the emperor did not prevent the latter from carrying off to Constantinople all the brass which ornamented the city, and even the plates which covered the roof of the Pantheon. See Anastasius, *De Vita Vitaliani*; and Paulus Diaconus, *Hist. Longobar.* lib. v. cap. vi. vii.—*Schl.*

[3] This council was called by the emperor, who presided in it in person. The number of bishops was small at first, but increased to near two hundred. There were eighteen sessions from the 7th Nov. 680 to the 16th Sept. 681. No one of the ancient councils was conducted with more decorum and fairness; yet not the bible but the decrees of former councils and the writings of the fathers were the authority relied upon. All the great patriarchs were present, either personally or by their representatives. At first the two parties were nearly balanced. But in the eighth session March 7th, George, the patriarch of Constantinople, went over to the side of the orthodox, and was followed by all the clergy of his diocese. Macarius, the patriarch of Antioch, who stood firm at the head of the Monothelites, was now outvoted, condemned, and deprived of his office. The Monothelites as soon as they were adjudged to be heretics, lost their seats; and therefore the decrees of the council were finally carried by a unanimous vote. Theodorus of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius, Pyrrhus and Paul of Constantinople, Honorius of Rome, Macarius of Antioch, and some others, were condemned as heretics; and the doctrine of two wills, a human and divine, and two kinds of voluntary acts in Christ, defined and established. The Acts of this council, Gr. and Lat. are in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1043—1644; and they are not falsified as some Catholics formerly asserted. See Combefis, *Diss. Apologet. pro Actis* vi. *Synodi*, in his *Auctar. Biblioth. Patr. nov.* tom. ii. p. 65; Forbes, *Instructio Hist. Theol.* lib. v. cap. x.; Du Pin, *Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclés.* tome vi. p. 61; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 605; Bower, *Lives of the Popes* (Agatho), vol. iii.—*Mur.*

[4] They admitted two faculties or voluntary powers, a human and a divine; but maintained that when brought

that, in a certain sense, there was but one will and one operation of will in Christ.

10. But these positions were not explained in precisely the same manner by all who were called Monothelites. Some of them, as may be fully proved, intended no more than that the two wills in Christ, the human and the divine, were always harmonious, and in this sense one; or that the human will always accorded with the divine will, and was therefore always holy, upright, and good. And in this opinion there is nothing censurable.[1] But others, approaching nearer to the Monophysites, supposed that the two wills in Christ, that is, the two powers of willing, in consequence of the personal union (as it is called) of the two natures, were amalgamated and became one will; yet they still admitted that the two wills could be, and should be, discriminated in our conceptions. The greatest part of the sect and those possessing the greatest acumen, supposed that the will of Christ's human soul was the instrument of his divine will, yet when moved and prompted to act, it operated and put forth volitions in connexion with the divine will.[2] From this supposition, the position so obstinately maintained by the Monothelites was unavoidable, that in Christ there was but one will and one operation of will; for the operation of an instrument and of him who uses it, is not twofold but one. Setting aside therefore the suspicion of Eutychianism and other things connected with that question, the point in controversy was, whether the human will of Christ sometimes acted from its own impulse, or whether it was always moved by the instigation of the divine nature. This controversy is a striking illustration of the fallacious and hazardous nature of every religious peace which is made to rest on ambiguous phraseology. The friends of the council of Chalcedon endeavoured to ensnare the Monophysites by means of a proposition of dubious interpretation; and they thus imprudently involved the church and the state in long protracted controversies.

11. The doctrine of the Monothelites, thus condemned and exploded by the council of Constantinople, found a place of refuge among the Mardaites, a people who inhabited the mountains of Libanus and Antilibanus; and who about the conclusion of this century received from John Maro, their first bishop, the name of Maronites which they still retain. No one of the ancients indeed has mentioned this man as the person who brought the Libaniots to embrace Monotheletism; but there are strong reasons for believing that it was this John, whose surname of Maro passed over to the people of whom he was bishop.[3] This however is demonstrable from the testimony of William of Tyre and of other unexceptionable witnesses,[4] that the Maronites were for a long time Monothelites in sentiment, and that it was not till the twelfth century, when they became reconciled with the Romish church in the year 1182, that they abandoned the error of one will in Christ. The most learned of the modern Maronites have very studiously endeavoured to wipe off this reproach from their nation, and have advanced many arguments to prove that their ancestors were always obedient to the see of Rome, and never embraced the sentiments either of the Monophysites or of the Monothelites. But they cannot persuade the learned to believe so; for these

into action they operated as if they were but one. By the expression one will therefore, they seem to have intended one volition or act of the will, and by one operation they intended one mode of acting. See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ix. p. 584, &c.—*Mur.*

[1] See Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ix. p. 592, &c. where he names (in Anm. i. p. 593) Sergius, Honorius, and the *Ecthesis*, as giving these views.—*Mur.*

[2] According to Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ix. p. 594, &c. the subordination of the human will to the divine in Christ was explained by some to be altogether voluntary, or a consequence of the pious resignation and the faith of the man Christ Jesus; but others supposed that it resulted from the nature of the union by which the human nature became the instrument by which the divine nature worked; and they illustrated the subject by the subjection of man's bodily members to the empire of his mind or soul.—*Mur.*

[3] The surname of Maro was given to this monk because he had lived in the celebrated monastery of St. Maro on the river Orontes, before he took up his residence among the Mardaites on Mount Lebanon. A particular account is given of him by Asseman, *Biblioth. Oriental. Clement. Vatic.* tom. i. p. 496. [Gabriel Sionita, *De Urbibus et Moribus Oriental.* cap. viii. derives the name of Maronites from an abbot Maron, whom he extols for his holiness and his virtues; but he will acknowledge no heretical Maro.—*Schl.* [Giesler in his *Text-book* by Cunningham, vol. i. p. 373, note 5, thinks the history of the Maronites has been obscured by identifying that people with the Mardaites; and refers us to Duperron, *Recherches sur les migrations des Mardes* in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscript.* tome i. p. 1, "showing that the Mardaites or Mards, a warlike nation of Armenia, were placed as a garrison on Mount Libanus by Constantine Pogonatus, A.D. 676 (Theophanes p. 295), but withdrawn A.D. 685 by Justinian II. (ibid. p. 302)."—*Mur.*

[4] The passage of William of Tyre is in his *Hist. rerum in partibus Transmar. gestar.* lib. xxxii. cap. viii. and is this:—"A Syrian nation in the province of Phenicia, inhabiting the cliffs of Lebanon near the city Biblos, while enjoying temporal peace, experienced a great change in its state. For having followed the errors of one Maro, a heresiarch, for nearly 500 years, and so as to be called after him Maronites, and to be separated from the church of the faithful and maintain a separate worship, through divine influence returning now to a sound mind they put on resolution and joined themselves to Almericus, the patriarch of Antioch."—The Alexandrian patriarch Eutychius, whose Annals Pocock has translated from the Arabic, likewise mentions a monk Marun, "who asserted that Christ our Lord had two natures and one will, one operation and person, and corrupted the faith of men; and whose followers, holding the same sentiments with him, were called Maronites, deriving their name from his name Maro.—*Schl.*

maintain that their testimonies are fictitious and of no validity.[1]

12. Neither the sixth [general] council, which condemned the Monothelites, nor the fifth, which had been held in the preceding century, enacted any canons concerning discipline and rites; therefore a new assembly of bishops was held by order of Justinian II. in the year 692, at Constantinople, in a tower of the palace which was called Trullus. This council, from the place of meeting, was called Concilium Trullanum, and from another circumstance, Quinisextum, because the Greeks considered its decrees as necessary to the perfection of the acts of the fifth and sixth councils. We have one hundred and two canons sanctioned by this assembly, on various subjects pertaining to the external part of worship, the government of the church, and the conduct of Christians. But as six of these canons are opposed to the Romish opinions and customs, therefore the Roman pontiffs refused to approve the council as a whole or to rank it among the general councils, although they have deemed the greatest part of its canons to be excellent.[2]

[1] The cause of the Maronites has been pleaded by Abrah. Echelensis, Gabriel Sionita, and others of the Maronite nation; but by none of them more fully than by Nairon, both in his *Dissert. de Origine, Nomine et Religione Maronitarum*, Rome, 1679, 8vo; and in his *Evoplia fidei Catholicæ ex Syrorum et Chaldæorum Monumentis*, Rome, 1694, 8vo. Yet Nairon induced none to believe his positions except Pagi (in his *Critica Baroniana*, ad ann. 694), and De la Rocque, in whose *Voyage de Syrie et de Montliban*, tome ii. p. 28—128, there is a long Dissertation concerning the origin of the Maronites. Even Asseman, who being a Maronite spared no pains to vindicate the character of his nation (*Biblioth. Orient. Clement. Vatic.* tom. i. p. 496) yet does not deny that much of what has been written by Nairon and others in behalf of the Maronites, is without weight or authority. See Morin, *De Ordinat. Sacris*, p. 380, &c.; Simon, *Histoire Critique des Chrétiens Orientaux*, chap. xiii. p. 146; Renaudot, *Hist. Patriar. Alexand.* p. 149, and *Præfat. ad Liturgias Orientales*; Le Brun, *Explication de la Messe*, tome ii. p. 626, &c. Paris, 1726, 8vo. The arguments on both sides are stated, and the reader is left to form his own judgment, by Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 10, &c. [See also Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ix. p. 474—488.—*Mur.*

[2] See Pagi, *Breviarium Pontific. Roman.* tom. i. p. 486; Lupus, *Diss. de Concilio Trullano*, in his Notes and Dissertations on Councils, *Opp.* tom. iii. p. 168, &c. The Romans reject the fifth canon which approves of the eighty-five Apostolic Canons commonly attributed to Clement—the thirteenth canon, which allows priests to live in wedlock—the fifty-fifth canon, which condemns fasting on Saturdays, a custom allowed of in the Latin church—the sixty-seventh canon, which earnestly enjoins abstinence from blood and from things strangled—the eighty-second canon, which prohibits the painting of Christ in the image of a lamb—and the eighty-sixth canon, concerning the equality of the bishops of Rome and Constantinople. [The eastern patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, and Justiniana, with more than 200 bishops, attended this council. The Roman pontiff had no proper legate there. Yet his ordinary representatives at the imperial court sat in the council, and subscribed its decisions; and Basil, the archbishop of Crete, says in his subscription that he represented the patriarch of Rome and all the bishops under him. The emperor attended the council in person and subscribed its decrees. In the original, a space was left for the subscription of the Roman pontiff; but when it was sent to Rome by the emperor, and Pope Sergius was called on to subscribe, he showed such a refractory spirit as nearly cost him his liberty. The reason was, he found the above mentioned canons to be contrary to the principles and usages of his church. For the same reason the admirers of the Romish bishop to this day, are not agreed whether the whole council, or only the canons which have the misfortune to displease them, should be rejected; notwithstanding at an early period Pope Adrian approved of it. On the other hand this council was recognised by the Greeks as a valid one, and classed among the general councils. See Walch, *Hist. der Kirchenversam.* p. 441.—*Schl.*

END OF BOOK II.

BOOK III.

FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO THE REFORMATION BY LUTHER.

CENTURY EIGHTH.

PART I.

HISTORY OF THE OUTWARD STATE OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS OF THIS CENTURY.

1. WHILE the Mohammedans were falling upon and subjugating the fairest provinces of Asia, and diminishing everywhere the lustre and reputation of Christianity, the Nestorians of Chaldea were blessing with the knowledge of heavenly truth those barbarous nations, called Scythians by the ancients and by the moderns Tartars, living on this side Mount Imaus and not subject to the Saracens. It is now ascertained that Timotheus the Nestorian pontiff, who attained that dignity A.D. 778, imbued with a knowledge of Christianity by the ministry of Subchal Jesu whom he created a bishop, first the Gelæ and Dailamites, nations of Hyrcania, and afterwards by other missionaries, the rest of the nations of Hyrcania, Bactria, Margiana, and Sogdiana.[1] It is also certain that Christianity was firmly and permanently established in those countries for several centuries, although it was sometimes disturbed by the Mohammedans; and that the bishops of these countries were always subject to the authority of the Nestorian pontiff.

2. In Europe most of the German nations were still involved in the darkness of superstition; the only exception being the tribes on the Rhine—namely, the Bavarians, who are known to have received a knowledge of Christianity under Theodoric, the son of Clovis the Great, and the Eastern Franks [or Franconians] with a few others. Attempts had been often made to enlighten the Germans, both by the kings and princes, for whose interest it was that those warlike tribes should become civilised, and also by some pious and holy men; but the attempts had met with little or no success. But in this century, Winifrid, an English Benedictine monk of noble birth who afterwards bore the name of Boniface, attempted this object with better success. In the year 715 he left his native country with two companions, and first attempted in vain to disseminate Christian doctrines among the Frieslanders who were subjects of King Radbod. Afterwards in the year 719, having received a solemn commission from the Roman pontiff, Gregory II. he more successfully performed the functions of a Christian teacher among the Thuringians, the Frieslanders, and the Hessians.[2]

[1] Thomas Margensis, *Hist. Monast.* lib. iii. in Asseman, *Biblio. Orient. Vatic.* tom. iii. par. i. p. 491. See also *Ibid.* tom. iii. par. ii. cap. ix. sec. 5, p. 478. [Mosheim in his *Hist. Tartarorum Eccles.* p. 13, &c. relying chiefly on the preceding authorities, states that Timotheus, who was patriarch of the Nestorians from A.D. 777 to A.D. 820, planned the mission to these nations inhabiting the shores of the Caspian sea; and selected for its execution one Subchal Jesu, a learned monk of the Nestorian monastery of Beth-Aben in Assyria, well skilled in the Syriac, Arabic, and Persian languages; ordained him bishop and sent him forth. Subchal made numerous converts among the Gelæ and Dailamites, formed them into churches, and ordained elders over them. This active missionary also travelled farther East, and spread the Gospel extensively in Tartary, Chathai, and China; but on his return from his mission to visit Timotheus and the monks of his convent, he was murdered by the Barbarians. Timotheus now ordained Kardagus and Jabalaha, two other monks of Beth-Aben, and sent them with fifteen assistant monks into the same countries. These also were successful missionaries; and with the consent of Timotheus, the two bishops ordained seven of their companions to be bishops of the East, namely, Thomas who went into India, David metropolitan of China, and Zacchæus, Semus, Ephraim, Simeon, and Ananias. Thomas Margensis relates that Timotheus directed the two ordaining bishops first to ordain a third, and to supply the place of a *third bishop* at *his* ordination, by placing a copy of the Gospels on the seat near the right hand. Afterwards they would have the canonical number of *three* bishops to ordain the others. These new bishops dispersed themselves widely over the countries of the East, and founded many churches in India, Chathai, and China. But after the death of Timotheus, A.D. 820, we learn nothing more respecting these churches till A.D. 1000, when the famous Christian prince, called Presbyter John, came upon the stage.—*Mur.*

[2] All that could be said of this celebrated man has been collected by Gudenius, in his *Dist. de S. Bonifacio Germanorum Apostolo*, Helmst. 1722, 4to. Yet we may add Fabricius, *Biblio. Lat. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 709; *Histoire Litt. de la France*, tome iv. p. 92 Mabillon, *Annales Benedictini*, and others. [The church histories of Fleury, Schroeckh, and Schmidt, gave ample accounts of Boniface. Milner (*Church*

3. In the year 723, being ordained a bishop by Gregory II. at Rome and being supported by the authority and the aid of Charles Martel, the mayor of the palace to the king of the Franks, Boniface returned to his Hessians and Thuringians, and resumed his labours among them with much success. He was now assisted by several learned and pious persons of both sexes, who repaired to him out of England and France. In the year 738, having gathered more Christian churches than one man alone could govern, he was advanced to the rank of an Archbishop by Gregory III. and by his authority and with the aid of Carloman and Pepin, the sons of Charles Martel, he established various bishoprics in Germany, as those of Würtzburg, Buraburg [near Fritzlar in Hesse-Cassel] Erfurth, and Eichstadt; to which he added in the year 744 the famous monastery of Fulda. The final reward of his labours decreed to him in the year 746 by the Roman pontiff Zacharias was, to be constituted archbishop of Mentz and primate of Germany and Belgium. In his old age he travelled once more among the Frieslanders, that his ministry might terminate with the people among whom it commenced; but in the year 755 he was murdered with fifty clergymen who attended him, by the people of that nation.

4. On account of his vast labours in propagating Christianity among the Germans, Boniface has gained the title of the Apostle of Germany; and a candid estimate of the magnitude of his achievements will show him to be not altogether unworthy of this title.[1] Yet as an apostle, he was widely different from that pattern which the first and genuine apostles have left us. For not to mention that the honour and

Hist. cent. viii. chap. iv.) is an admirer of Boniface. The best among the original biographers of this famous man are Willibald, one of his disciples, and a German monk named Othlon who lived in the eleventh century, and collected various letters of Boniface which he has inserted in his narrative. Both these biographies with valuable notes are contained in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. iv. p. 1—84, ed. Venet. 1734. According to these writers, Boniface was born at Kirton [Crediton] in Devonshire about A.D. 680. When but four or five years old he showed a strong inclination for a monastic life, which his father first endeavoured to eradicate but afterwards favoured. He first entered a monastery at Exeter, whence he removed to the monastery of Nuscelle in Hants, as a better place for study. At the age of thirty he was ordained a presbyter. About A.D. 715, he undertook a voluntary mission to Friesland with two monks for companions. But Radbod, the pagan king of the country, being at war with the Franks and hostile to the Christians, gave him no encouragement; and he returned again to his monastery. The abbacy of Nuscelle was now offered him, but he refused it because he preferred a more active employment. Soon after, having projected a mission to the pagans in Germany, he set out for Rome to obtain the papal sanction and support to his enterprise. Having obtained this he now visited Germany, preached in Bavaria and Thuringia, and learning that Radbod was dead he went to Friesland, and for three years assisted Willibrord, the aged bishop of Utrecht, in spreading the Gospel and erecting churches among the neighbouring pagans. He now visited Rome a second time in the year 723, was closely examined by the pope, as to his faith and his adherence to the see of Rome; and upon his swearing perpetual allegiance to the pope, he was created a bishop and had his name changed from Winifrid to Boniface. With numerous letters of recommendation to princes, bishops, and others, and a good stock of holy relics, Boniface returned through France, where Charles Martel received him cordially, and furnished him with a safe-conduct throughout the empire. He first went among the Hessians, where he suppressed the remains of idolatry, and intrepidly cut down the consecrated *oak of Jupiter*, which broke into four equal parts in its fall. This prodigy silenced all objections, and out of the wood of this tree a chapel was built dedicated to St. Peter. From Hesse he went to Thuringia, where he effected a similar reform. On the accession of Gregory III. to the papal chair A.D. 731, Boniface sent an embassy to Rome giving account of his proceedings, and proposing several questions respecting ecclesiastical law, for solution. The pope answered his inquiries, sent him a fresh supply of relics, and also the archiepiscopal pallium, with instructions when and how to wear it. In the year 738 he visited Rome a third time attended by a large retinue of priests and monks, and was graciously received by the pope. On his return through Bavaria as papal legate, he divided that country into four bishoprics, and placed bishops over them, at Saltzburg, Freisingen, Regensburg [Ratisbon], and Passau. In the year 741 he erected four more bishoprics in Germany, namely, those of Würtzburg, Eichstadt, Buraburg, and Erfurth. Hitherto Boniface had been archbishop of no particular place; but in the year 745 he procured the deposition of Gevilieb, archbishop of Mentz, charging him in a provincial council with having slain in single combat the man who had slain his own father in battle, and with having kept dogs and birds for sport. This council decreed the vacant see of Mentz to Boniface. As archbishop of Mentz, Boniface claimed jurisdiction over the bishop of Utrecht, which claim was contested by the archbishop of Cologne. Boniface, as archbishop and as papal legate, presided in several councils in France and Germany, and was very active in enforcing uniformity of rites, and rigid adherence to the canons of the church of Rome. In the year 754, being far advanced in life, he left his bishopric at Mentz under the care of Lullus, whom he ordained his colleague and successor, and undertook a mission among the Frieslanders, who were but partially converted to Christianity. With the aid of several clergymen and monks, he had brought many persons of both sexes to submit to baptism; and having appointed the 5th of June for a general meeting of the converts to receive the right of confirmation at Dockum on the Bordne between East and West Friesland, on the morning of the day appointed a party of pagan Frieslanders assaulted his camp. His young men began to prepare for battle, but Boniface forbade it and exhorted all to resign themselves up to die as martyrs. He and his fifty-two companions were all murdered, and their camp was plundered. The remains of Boniface were carried to Mentz and thence to Fulda. Boniface left behind him forty-two epistles, thirty-six ecclesiastical rules, fifteen discourses, and a part of a work on penance.—*Mur.*

[1] If the man deserves the title of an Apostle, who goes among the heathen, preaches to them the Gospel according to his best knowledge of it, encounters many hardships, makes some inroad upon idolatry, gathers churches, erects houses of worship, founds monasteries, and spends his life in this business, then Boniface justly merits this title. But if that man only can be called an Apostle, who is in all respects like to Peter and Paul, who in all his efforts looks only to the honour of Christ and the dissemination of truth and virtue, and for attaining these ends employs no means but such as the first Apostles of Christ used, then manifestly Boniface was wholly unworthy of this name. He was rather an Apostle of the pope than of Jesus Christ; he had but one eye directed towards Christ, the other was fixed on the pope of Rome, and on his own fame which depended on him.—*Schl.*

majesty of the Roman pontiff whose minister and legate he was, were equally his care—nay more so than the glory of Christ and his religion;[1] he did not oppose superstition with the weapons which the ancient apostles used, but he often coerced the minds of the people by violence and terrors, and at other times caught them by artifices and fraud.[2] His epistles also betray here and there an ambitious and arrogant spirit, a crafty and insidious disposition, an immoderate eagerness to increase the honours and extend the prerogatives of the clergy,[3] and a great degree of ignorance not only of many things which an apostle ought to know, but in particular of the true character of the Christian religion.[4]

5. Besides Boniface, others also attempted to rescue the unevangelized nations of Germany from the thraldom of superstition. Such was Corbinian, a French Benedictine monk, who after various labours for the instruction of the Bavarians and other nations, became bishop of Freysingen.[5] Such also was Pirmin, a French monk, nearly contemporary with Boniface, who taught

[1] The French Benedictine monks ingenuously acknowledge that Boniface was a sycophant of the Roman pontiff, and showed him more deference than was fit and proper. See *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tome iv. p. 106. "Il exprime son dévouement pour le S. Siége quelquefois en des termes qui ne sont pas assez proportionnés à la dignité du caractère Episcopal." [We need only to read his epistles to be satisfied on this point. He says (*Ep.* xci. p. 126, ed. Serrar.), that all he had done for six-and-thirty years while legate of the holy see, was intended for the advantage of the church at Rome; to the judgment of which so far as he had erred in word or deed, he submitted himself with all humility. Cringing enough for an archbishop of the German church! In a letter to Pope Zacharias (*Ep. Bonif.* cxxxii. p. 181) he writes, that he wished to maintain the general faith and union with the church of Rome, and would not cease to urge and persuade all his pupils who were about him to be obedient to the see of Rome. In another letter addressed to Stephen III. (*Ep.* xcvii. p. 132) upon occasion of his contest with the bishop of Cologne respecting the bishopric of Utrecht, he represents the bishop of Cologne as wishing exclusively to make the bishop who should preach to the Frieslanders, independent of the see of Rome; whereas *he* (Boniface) was exerting all his powers to make the bishopric of Utrecht entirely dependent on the see of Rome.—*Schl.*

[2] It is unquestionable that this apostle of the Germans marched into Thuringia at the head of an army, and that at the time he was murdered by the Frieslanders, he had soldiers with him as his body-guard; and so in all his enterprises he had the support of the civil arm afforded to him by Charles Martel, Carloman, and Pepin. His arguments also may have been not the best if he followed the directions of Daniel, bishop of Winchester; for whom as his epistles show he had a high respect. (See *Ep. Bonif.* iii. p. 5, and that of Daniel to him, *Ep.* lxvii. p. 79, &c.) For here Daniel advises him to ask the pagans, how they can believe that the gods reward the righteous and punish the wicked in this life, since they see the Christians, who have destroyed their images and prostrated their worship all over the world, remain unpunished? And how comes it to pass that the Christians possess the fruitful countries which produce wine and oil in abundance, while the pagans inhabit the cold and barren corners of the earth? He must also represent to the pagans that the Christians now ruled the whole world, whereas the pagans were few in number and powerless; and this great change in their condition had taken place since the coming of Christ, for before that event the pagans had vast dominion. It is likewise undeniable that Boniface gloried in fictitious miracles and wonders.—*Schl.*

[3] Consider only his conduct towards those bishops and presbyters, who had before received ordination and refused to receive it again from him according to the Romish rites, and would not in general subject themselves to Romish supremacy and Romish forms of worship. These must be regarded as *false brethren, heretics, blasphemers, servants of the devil*, and *forerunners of Antichrist*. They must be excommunicated, be cast into prisons, and receive corporal punishments. See with what violence he breaks out against Adelbert, Clemens, Sampson, Gottschalk, Ehremwolf, Virgilius, and others, in his epistles; how bitterly he accuses them before the popes, and in presence of councils, &c.—*Schl.*

[4] A large part of the questions which Boniface submitted to the consideration of the popes, betray his ignorance. But still more so does his decision of the case of conscience, when a Bavarian priest who did not understand Latin had baptized with these words: *Baptizo te in nomine patria et filia et spiritua sancta*, which baptism he pronounced to be null and void; and likewise his persecution of the priest Virgilius in Bavaria, who maintained that the earth is globular and consequently habitable on the other side of it, and there enlightened by the sun and moon. Boniface looked upon this as a gross heresy; and he accused the man before the pope who actually excommunicated him for a heretic. See the tenth Epistle of Zacharias in Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1912.—*Schl.* [In this and the preceding notes Schlegel has laboured with the zeal of a prosecutor to substantiate the heavy charges of Mosheim against Boniface. I have carefully read the original lives of this missionary, and also a considerable part of his correspondence; and I must say, I think Mosheim and his annotator Schlegel have not done impartial justice to this eminent man. He appears to me to have been one of the most sincere and honest men of his age; though he partook largely in the common faults of his time—an excessive attachment to monkery, and a superstitious regard for the canons of the church and the externals of religion. With all his imperfections he deserves to be classed with those who followed Christ according to the best light they had, and who did much to advance true religion among men.—*Mur.*

[5] Baronius, *Annales*, tom. viii. ad ann. 716, sec. 10, &c.; Meichelbeck, *Hist. Frisingensis*, tom. i. [The life of Saint Corbinian was written by one of his pupils and successors, Aribo; and may be seen in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. iii. p. 470—485, and in Meichelbeck, *Hist. Frising.* tom. i. par. ii. p. 3—21. Corbinian was born at Chartres, near Paris about A.D. 680. He early devoted himself to a monastic life, and to escape from society and enjoy solitude, he travelled into Italy about the year 717, and begged the pope to assign him some obscure retreat. But the pope ordained him a bishop, and sent him back to France. His miracles and his marvellous sanctity now drew such crowds around him, that after seven years he determined to go to Rome, and beg the pope to divest him of the episcopal dignity. The pope however would not release him from the episcopacy, and he returned by the way he came as far as Freisingen in Bavaria, where Grimoald, the reigning prince, detained him for the benefit of himself and subjects. After six years' labours at Freisingen, he died, as alleged, in a very extraordinary manner. He foresaw his death, and having made arrangements for it he arose in the morning in perfect health, bathed, dressed himself in his pontificals, performed public service, returned and placed himself upon his bed, drank a cup of wine, and immediately expired. His biographer makes no mention of his efforts to enlighten his flock, or to spread the knowledge of the Gospel. He was a most bigoted monk and exceedingly irascible. Prince Grimoald once invited him to dine. Corbinian said grace before dinner and made the sign of the cross over the food. While they were eating Grimoald threw some of the food to his dog. Corbinian in a rage kicked over the table and left the room, declaring to the prince that he deserved no blessings who had given food which was blessed to his dog.—*Mur.*

Christianity amidst various sufferings in Helvetia, Alsace, and Bavaria, and presided over several monasteries.[1] Such likewise was Lebwin, an Englishman, who laboured with earnestness and zeal, though with little success, to persuade the warlike Saxon nation, the Frieslanders, the Belgæ, and other nations, to embrace Christianity.[2] Others of less notoriety are omitted.[3] Neither shall I mention Willibrord and others, who commenced their missionary labours in the preceding century, and continued them with great zeal in this.

6. In the year 772 Charlemagne, king of the Franks, undertook to civilize and to convert from idolatry the extensive nation of the Saxons who occupied a large portion of Germany, and were almost perpetually at war with the Franks respecting their boundaries and other things; for he hoped, if their minds should become imbued with the Christian doctrines, they would gradually lay aside their ferocity and learn to yield submission to the empire of the Franks. The first attack upon their heathenism produced little effect, being made not with force and arms, but by some bishops and monks whom the victor had left for that purpose among the vanquished nation. But much better success attended the subsequent wars which Charlemagne undertook in the years 775, 776, and 780, against that heroic people, so fond of liberty and so impatient especially of sacerdotal domination.[4] For these people who were attached to the superstitions of their ancestors were so effectually assailed not only with rewards but with the sword and punishments, that they reluctantly ceased to resist, and suffered themselves to be baptized by the teachers whom Charlemagne sent among them.[5]

[1] Bruschius, *Chronologia Monaster. German.* p. 30; Pagi, *Critica in Annal. Baron.* tom. ii. ad ann. 759, sec. 9, &c.; *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iv. p. 124. [The life of St. Pirmin written by Warmann, bishop of Constance at the beginning of the 11th century, may be seen in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* tom. iv. p. 124—139. According to this biography, Pirmin was first the bishop of either Meaux or Metz in France, where he was a devout and zealous pastor. Sintlax, a Suabian prince, procured his removal to the neighbourhood of Constance, where there was great need of an active and exemplary preacher. He established the monastery of Reichenau in an island near Constance, and afterwards nine or ten other monasteries in Swabia, Alsatia, and Switzerland; and was very active in promoting monastic piety in those countries. He is supposed to have died about A.D. 758.—*Mur.*

[2] Huebaldus, *Vita S. Lebwini*, in Surius, *Vitæ Sanctorum*, die 12 Novem. p. 277; Möller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 464. [Lebwin was an English Benedictine monk and presbyter of Ripon in Yorkshire, about A.D. 690. With twelve companions he went over to West Friesland on the borders of the pagan Saxons, and for several years travelled and preached in that region and in Heligoland. At length he settled down at Deventer in Overyssel, where he preached with considerable success till his death, about A.D. 740. See Möllerus, *ubi supra.*—*Mur.*

[3] Among these were the following. 1. Othmar, a German monk, founder of the monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland. At the close of a long and exemplary life, he was maliciously accused of unchastity by some noblemen who had robbed his monastery, and was thrown into prison, where he languished four years and then died. Numerous miracles were wrought at his tomb. His life written by Walafrid Strabo is in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* vol. iv. p. 139, &c. 2. Willibald, bishop of Eichstadt, was an Anglo-Saxon monk of honourable birth, educated in a monastery near Winchester. When arrived at manhood he and his younger brother Wunebald left England, travelled through France and Italy, sailed to Asia Minor and the Holy Land, where they spent seven years. Returning to Italy they resided in the monastery of Mons Cassinus, during ten years or till A.D. 739. The pope then sent them into Germany to assist Boniface. Willibald was placed at Eichstadt, ordained priest A.D. 740, and bishop the year following. His death is placed A.D. 786. His life written by a kinswoman, a contemporary nun of Heidenheim, is extant in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. iv. p. 330—354. 3. Alto, a Scotch monk, who travelled into Bavaria and there established the monastery called from him Altomunster. The monastery was endowed by King Pepin, and dedicated by Boniface. The life of Alto is in Mabillon, *ubi supra*, p. 196, &c. 4. Sturmius, a native of Noricum and follower of Boniface. Under the direction of that archbishop he erected and presided over the monastery of Fulda from A.D. 744 till his death A.D. 779, except one year which he spent in Italy, to learn more perfectly the rules of St. Benedict; and two other years in which Pepin king of the Franks held him prisoner, under false accusations of disloyalty. In the last years of his life he aided Charlemagne in compelling the Saxons to embrace Christianity. His life well written by Eigil, his pupil and successor, is extant in Mabillon, *ubi sup.* p. 242—259. 5. Virgilius, whom Boniface accused of heresy for believing the world to be globular, was an Irishman of good education and talents. He went to France in the reign of Pepin, who patronised him and in the year 766 procured for him the bishopric of Saltsburg, which he held till his death, A.D. 780. While at Saltsburg he did much to extend Christianity to the eastward of him, among the Slavonians and Huns. His life is in Mabillon, *ubi supra*. p. 279, &c.—*Mur.* [See more of him in Lanigan's *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 179, &c.—*R.*

[4] I cannot dispense with quoting a passage from a very credible author, Alcuin, which shows what it was especially that rendered the Saxons averse from Christianity, and how preposterously the missionaries sent among them conducted themselves. Alcuin, *Ep.* civ. in his *Opp.* p. 1647, says:—"Had the easy yoke of Christ with his light burthen been preached to the stubborn Saxons, with as much earnestness as the payment of tithes and legal satisfaction for the very smallest faults were exacted, perhaps they would not have abominated the sacrament of baptism. Let the Christian teachers learn from the example of the Apostles. Let them be preachers, not plunderers." Look at this portrait of the apostles who lived in this century! Yet they are said to have wrought great miracles.

[5] Alcuin, as cited by William of Malmsbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, lib. i. cap. iv. published in the *Rerum Anglicar. Scriptores*, Francf. 1601, fol. uses this language:—"The ancient Saxons and all the Frieslanders, being urged to it by King Charles, who plied some of them with rewards and others with threats, were converted to the Christian faith." See also the *Capitularia Regum Francor.* tom. i. p. 246, and p. 252. From the first of these passages, it appears that the Saxons who would renounce idolatry were restored to their ancient freedom forfeited by conquest, and were freed from all tribute to the king. The last of these passages contains this law: If any person of the Saxon race shall contemptuously refuse to come to baptism, and shall resolve to continue a pagan, let him be put to death. By such penalties and rewards the whole world might be constrained to profess Christianity without miracles. But what sort of Christians the Saxons so converted must have been, need not be told. See Launoi, *De Veteri More baptizandi Judæos et Infideles*, cap. v. vi. p. 703, &c. *Opp.* tom. ii. par. ii. where he

Widekind and Albion indeed, who were two of the most valiant Saxon chiefs, renewed their former insurrections, and attempted to prostrate once more by violence and war that Christianity which had been set up by violence. But the martial courage and the liberality of Charlemagne at length brought them, in the year 785, solemnly to declare that they were Christians, and would continue to be so.[1] That the Saxons might not apostatize from the religion which they unwillingly professed, bishops were established, schools in various parts of their country set up, and monasteries erected. The Huns inhabiting Pannonia were treated in the same way as the Saxons; for Charlemagne so exhausted and humbled them by successive wars, as to compel them to prefer becoming Christians to being slaves.[2]

7. For these achievements of Charlemagne in behalf of Christianity the gratitude of posterity decreed him the honours of a saint; and in the twelfth century the emperor of the Romans, Frederic I. desired Paschal III. whom he had created sovereign pontiff, to enrol him among the tutelary saints of the church.[3] He undoubtedly merited this honour, according to the views which prevailed in what are called the middle ages; when a man was accounted a saint who had enriched the priesthood with goods and possessions,[4] and had extended by whatever means the boundaries of the church. But to those who estimate sanctity according to the views of Christ, Charlemagne must appear to be anything rather than a saint and a devout man. For not to mention his other vices which were certainly not inferior to his virtues, it is evident that in compelling the Huns, Saxons, and Frieslanders to profess Christianity, he did it more for the sake of gaining subjects to himself than to Jesus Christ. And therefore he did not hesitate to cultivate friendship with the Saracens, those enemies of the Christian name, when he could hope to obtain from them some aid to weaken the empire of the Greeks who were Christians.[5]

8. The numerous miracles which the Christian missionaries to the pagans are reported to have wrought in this century, have now wholly lost the credit which they once had. The corrupt moral principles of the times allowed the use of what are improperly called pious frauds; and those heralds of Christianity thought it no sin to terrify or beguile, with fictitious miracles, those whom they were unable to convince by reasoning. Yet I do not suppose that all who acquired fame by these miracles practised imposition. For not only were the nations so rude and ignorant as to mistake almost anything for a miracle; but their instructors also were so unlearned and so unacquainted with the laws of nature, as to look upon mere natural events, if unusual and unexpected, as special interpositions of divine power. This will be manifest to one who will read with candour and without superstitious emotions, the *(Acta Sanctorum)* Legends of the saints of this and the subsequent centuries.[6]

CHAPTER II.

THE ADVERSITIES OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

1. THE Byzantine empire experienced so many bloody revolutions and so many intestine calamities, as necessarily produced a great diminution of its energies. No emperor there reigned securely. Three of them were hurled from the throne, treated with various contumelies, and sent into exile. Under Leo III. the Isaurian, and his son Constantine Copronymus, the pernicious controversy respecting images and the worship of them, brought immense evils

tells us that the Roman pontiff, Hadrian I. approved of this mode of converting the Saxons to Christianity.

[1] Eginhard, *De Vita Caroli Magni* Adamus Bremens. lib. i. cap. viii. p. 3, &c. and all the historians of the achievements of Charlemagne, who are enumerated by Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 959, &c.

[2] *Life of St. Rudbert*, in Canisius, *Lection. Antiq.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 340, &c.; Paulus Debrecenus, *Hist. Eccles. Reformat. in Hungar. et Transylvania, a Lampio edita*, par. i. cap. ii. p. 10, &c.

[3] Canisius, *Lectiones Antiq.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 207; Walch, *De Caroli Mag. canonizatione.*

[4] See the last will of Charlemagne in Baluze, *Capitularia Regum Francor.* tom. i. p. 487.

[5] See Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, tome ix. chap. ii p. 40, &c.

[6] Many of the miracles of this age are altogether ridiculous. Take the following as specimens. In the life of St. Winnock (in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. iii. p. 195) it is stated as a miracle that his hand-mill, when he left it to say his prayers, would turn itself. And when an inquisitive monk looked through a crevice to see the wonder, he was struck blind for his presumption. The biographer of St. Pardulphus (ibid. p. 541, sec. 18) makes a child's cradle to rock day after day without hands; while if touched it would stop and remain immoveable. In the life of St. Guthlack of Croyland (ibid. p. 263, sec. 19) while the saint was praying at his vigils, a vast number of devils entered his cell, rising out of the ground and issuing through crevices, "of direful aspect, terrible in form, with huge heads, long necks, pale faces, sickly countenances, squalid beards, bristly ears, wrinkled foreheads, malicious eyes, filthy mouths, horses' teeth, fire-emitting throats, lantern jaws, broad lips, terrific voices, singed hair, high cheek bones, prominent breasts, scaly thighs, knotty knees, crooked legs, swollen ancles, inverted feet, and opened mouths, hoarsely clamorous." These bound the saint fast, dragged him through hedges and briers, lifted him up from the earth, and carried him to the mouth of hell, where he saw all the torments of the damned. But while they were threatening to confine him there, St. Bartholomew appeared in glory to him, the devils were affrighted, and he was conducted back to his cell by his celestial deliverer. These are only a few, among scores of others which might be adduced.—*Mur.*

upon the community and weakened incalculably the resources of the empire. Hence the Saracens were able to roam freely through Asia and Africa, to subdue the fairest portions of the country, and everywhere to depress and in various places wholly to exterminate the Christian faith. Moreover about the middle of the century, a new enemy appeared still more savage—namely, the Turks; a tribe and progeny of the Tartars, a rough and uncivilized race which, issuing from the narrow passes of Mount Caucasus and from inaccessible regions, burst upon Colchis, Iberia, and Albania, and then proceeding to Armenia first subdued the Saracens and afterwards the Greeks.[1]

2. In the year 714 these Saracens, having crossed the sea which separates Spain from Africa and Count Julian acting the traitor, routed the army of Roderic, the king of the Spanish Goths, and subdued the greater part of that country.[2] Thus was the kingdom of the West Goths in Spain, after it had stood more than three centuries, wholly obliterated by this cruel and ferocious people. Moreover all the sea-coast of Gaul, from the Pyrenean mountains to the Rhone, was seized by these Saracens, who afterwards frequently laid waste the neighbouring provinces with fire and sword. Charles Martel indeed upon their invasion of Gaul in the year 732, gained a great victory over them at Poictiers;[3] but the vanquished soon after recovered their strength and courage. Therefore Charlemagne in the year 778 marched a large army into Spain with a design to rescue that country from them. But though he met with considerable success, he did not fully accomplish his wishes.[4] From this warlike people not even Italy was safe; for they reduced the island of Sardinia to subjection, and miserably wasted Sicily. In Spain therefore and in Sardinia under these masters, the Christian religion suffered a great defeat. In Germany and the adjacent countries, the nations who retained their former superstitions, inflicted vast evils and calamities upon the others who embraced Christianity.[5] Hence in several places castles and fortresses were erected to restrain the incursions of the barbarians.

PART II

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF SCIENCE AND LITERATURE.

1. AMONG the Greeks, there were here and there individuals both able and willing to retard the downfall of learning, had they been supported; but in the perpetual commotions which threatened the extinction of both church and state they were unpatronised. Hence scarcely any can be named among the Greeks who distinguished themselves, either by the graces of diction and genius, or by richness of thought and erudition, or acuteness of investigation. Frigid discourses to the people, insipid narratives of the lives of reputed saints, useless discussions of unimportant subjects, vehement declamations against the Latins and the friends or the enemies of images, and histories composed without judgment; such were the monuments which the learned among the Greeks erected for their fame.

2. Yet the Aristotelian method of philosophising made great progress everywhere, and was taught in all the schools. For after the many public condemnations of the sentiments of Origen, and the rise of the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies, Plato was nearly banished from the schools to the retreats of the monks.[6] John Damascenus distinguished himself beyond

[1] See the historians of the Turkish empire, especially De Guignes, *Hist. générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols*, &c. 5 vols. 4to, 1756.—*Schl.*

[2] Mariana, *Rerum Hispanicar.* lib. vi. cap. xxi. &c.; Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alexand.* p. 253; Ferreras, *Hist. de l' Espagne*, tome ii. p. 425, &c. [Semler in his *Hist. Eccles. Selecta Capita*, tom. ii. p. 127, &c. conjectures that the popes contributed to the invasion of Spain by the Saracens. And it appears from Baronius (*Annales* ad ann. 701, No. 11, &c.) that the Spanish king and clergy were in some collision with his holiness. Still I can see no evidence that the popes had any concern with the Mohammedan invasion of Spain. Count Julian, a disaffected nobleman, was probably the sole cause of this calamity to his country.—*Mur.*

[3] Paulus Diaconus, *De Gestis Longobard.* lib. vi. cap. xlvi. et lili.; Mariana, *Rerum Hispanicar.* lib. vii. cap. iii.; Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique*, article *Abderame*, tome i. p. 11; Ferreras, *Histoire de l' Espagne*, tome ii. p. 463, &c. [Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Rom. Emp.* chap. lii.—*Mur.*

[4] De Bünau, *Teutsche Kayser- u. Reichs- Hist.* [afterwards quoted under its Latin title, *Hist. Imperii Romano Germanici.*—*R.*] vol. ii. p. 892, &c.; Ferreras, *Hist. de l' Espagne*, tom. ii. p. 506, &c.

[5] Servatus Lupus, *Vita Wigberti*, p. 304, and others.

[6] See Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philosoph.* tom. iii. p. 533. —*Schl.*

others in promoting Aristotelianism. He attempted to collect and to illustrate the dogmas of Aristotle, in several tracts designed for the less informed; and these led many persons in Greece and Syria more readily to embrace those dogmas. The Nestorians and Jacobites were equally diligent in giving currency to the principles of Aristotle, which enabled them to dispute more confidently with the Greeks respecting the natures and the person of Christ.

3. The history of the Latins abounds with so many examples of extreme ignorance as may well surprise us.[1] Yet the fact will be readily admitted by those who survey the state of Europe in this century. In Rome and in some of the cities of Italy, there remained some faint traces of learning and science;[2] but with this exception, what learning there was had abandoned the continent, and retired beyond sea among the Britons and Irish.[3] Those therefore among the Latins who distinguished themselves at all by works of genius, with the exception of some few Franks and Italians, were nearly all Britons, or Scots that is Irish; such as Alcuin, Bede, Egbert, Clemens, Dungal, Acca, and others. Prompted by Alcuin, Charlemagne, who was himself a man of letters, attempted to dispel this ignorance. For he invited to his court grammarians and other learned men first out of Italy, and afterwards from Britain and Ireland; and he laboured to rouse especially the clergy, or the bishops, priests, and monks (whose patrimony in this century seemed to be learning), and by means of his own example the nobility also and their sons, to the cultivation of science and learning, both human and divine.

4. By his authority and requisition most of the bishops connected with their respective primary churches what were called cathedral schools, in which children and youth devoted to the church were taught the sciences. The more discerning abbots or rulers of the monasteries likewise opened schools, in which some of the fraternity taught the Latin language, and other things deemed useful and necessary for a monk or a preacher.[4] It was formerly supposed that Charlemagne was the patron and founder of the university of Paris, but all impartial inquirers into the history of those times deny him this honour; yet it is ascertained that he laid a foundation upon which this celebrated school was afterwards erected.[5] To purge his court of ignorance he established in it the famous school called the Palatine school, in which the children of Charlemagne and of his nobles were instructed by masters of great reputation.[6]

5. But the youth left these schools not much better or more learned than when they entered them. The ability of the teachers was small, and what they taught was so meagre and dry that it could not be very ornamental or useful to any man. The whole circle of knowledge was included in what they called the seven liberal arts; namely, grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy,[7] of which the first three were called the Trivium, and the last four the Quadrivium. How miserably these sciences were taught may be learned from the little work of Alcuin upon them,[8] or from the tracts of Augustine, which were considered to be of the very first order. In most of the schools the teachers did not venture to go beyond the Trivium; and an individual who had

[1] See the annotations of Baluze on *Regino Prumiensis*, p. 540. [Learning which appears to have been confined much to the clergy, began to be rare even among them. The clergy understood little or nothing of human science or of languages, and the popes confirmed them in this state. For they required nothing more of them at their ordination than to be able to read, to sing, and to repeat the Lord's prayer, the creed, and Psalter, and to ascertain the feast-days. The ignorance shown by Boniface and even by Pope Zacharias, in the controversy respecting antipodes and the figure of the earth, has already been noticed.—*Schl.*

[2] Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Med. Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 811.

[3] Ussher, *Præfatio ad Syllogen Epistol. Hibernic.*

[4] Baluze, *Capitul. Regum Francor.* tom. i. p. 101, &c.; Sirmond, *Concilia Galliæ*, tom. ii. p. 121; Bulæus, *Diss. de Scholis Claustralibus et Episcopalibus*, in his *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 79; Launoi, *De Scholis a Carolo M. per Occident. Institutis*; Conringius, *Antiquit. Academ.* p. 84, 315; *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iv. p. 6, &c. and others. [In the year 787 Charlemagne addressed an injunction to the bishops and abbots requiring them to set up schools, which were not intended for little children but for monks, who were to be taught the interpretation of Scripture and the learning requisite for this purpose. He likewise often permitted monks to come to his palatine school. His commands and the example he exhibited in this court school were very efficient; and soon after the famous school of Fulda was founded, the reputation of which spread over civilised Europe and allured numerous foreigners to it. Next to Fulda, Hirschau, Corvey, Prüm, Weissenburg, St. Gall, and Reichenau, became famous for their good schools, which might be called the high schools of that age and were the resort of monks, designed for teachers in the inferior and poorer monasteries. Charlemagne also exercised the wits of the bishops, by proposing to them all sorts of learned questions for them to answer either in writing or orally.—*Schl.*

[5] The arguments to prove Charlemagne the founder of the university of Paris, are nowhere more fully stated than in Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Par.* tom. i. p. 91, &c. But several learned Frenchmen, Mabillon (*Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. v. Præf. sec. 181, 182), Launoi, Claude Joly (*De Scholis*), and many others, have confuted those arguments.

[6] Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 281; Mabillon, *ubi supra*, sec. 179, and others.

[7] Conringius, *Antiquit. Academ.* Diss. iii. p. 80, &c.; Thomasius, *Programmata*, p. 368; *Observationes Halenses*, tom. vi. Observ. xiv. p. 118, &c. [See also on this Palatine school of Charlemagne, Bähr, *Gesch. der Romis. Liter.* Suppl. vol. part iii. p. 19; and on the other schools which he encouraged, ibid. p. 21.—*R.*

[8] Alcuin, *Opp.* par. ii. p. 1245, ed. Quercetani. This little work is not only imperfect, but is almost entirely transcribed from Cassiodorus.

mastered both the Trivium and the Quadrivium, and wished to attempt something still higher, was directed to study Cassiodorus and Boëthius.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

1. THAT those who in this age had the care of the church both in the East and in the West were of very corrupt morals, is abundantly testified. The oriental bishops and doctors wasted their lives in various controversies and quarrels; and disregarding the cause of religion and piety, they disquieted the state with their senseless clamours and seditions. Nor did they hesitate to imbrue their hands in the blood of their dissenting brethren. Those in the West who pretended to be luminaries, gave themselves up wholly to various kinds of profligacy, to gluttony, hunting, lust, sensuality, and war.[1] Nor could they in any way be reclaimed, although Carloman, Pepin, and especially Charlemagne, enacted various laws against their vices.[2]

2. Although these vices of persons who ought to have been examples to others were exceedingly offensive to all, and gave occasion to various complaints; yet they did not prevent the persons defiled with them from being everywhere held in the highest honour, and being adored by the vulgar as if they were deities. The veneration and submission paid to bishops and to all the clergy was however far greater in the West than in the East. The cause of this will be obvious to every one, who considers the state and the customs of the nations at this time bearing sway in Europe, anterior to their reception of Christianity; for all these nations before they became Christian were under the power of their priests, and dared not attempt anything important, either of a civil or military nature, without their concurrence.[3] When they became Christian, they transferred the high prerogatives of their ancient priests to the bishops and ministers of the new religion; and the Christian prelates and clergy craftily and eagerly seized and arrogated to themselves these rights. Hence originated that monstrous authority of the priesthood in the European churches.

3. To the honours and prerogatives enjoyed by the bishops and priests, with the concurrence of the people in the West, were added during this period immense wealth and riches. The churches, monasteries, and bishops, had before been well supplied with goods and revenues; but in this century there arose a new and most convenient method of acquiring for them far greater riches, and of amplifying them for ever. Suddenly—by whose instigation is not known—the idea became universally prevalent, that the punishments for sin which God threatens to inflict may be bought off by liberal gifts to God, to the saints, to the temples, and to the ministers of God and of glorified saints. This opinion being everywhere admitted, the rich and prosperous whose lives were now most flagitious, conferred their wealth (which they had received by inheritance, or wrested from others by violence and war, according to the customs of the age) most bountifully upon the glorified saints, their ministers, and the guardians of their temples, for religious uses, in order to avoid the very irksome penances which were enjoined upon them by the priests,[4] and yet be secure against the evils

[1] Baluze, *ad Reginon. Prumiensem*, p. 563; Wilkins, *Concilia Mag. Britan.* tom. i. p. 90, &c.

[2] Baluze, *Capitul. Regum. Francor.* tom. i. p. 189, 208, 275, 493, &c. [Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1919, &c. where the clergy are forbidden to bear arms in war and to practise hunting; and severe laws are enacted against the impurities of the clergy, monks, and nuns. These laws were enacted under Carloman, A.D. 742. Among the Capitularia of Charlemagne cited by Harduin, are laws against clergymen's lending money at twelve per cent. interest (Harduin, vol. v. p. 827, cap. v.), against their haunting taverns (p. 830, cap. xiv.), against their practising magic (831, cap. xviii.), against their receiving bribes to ordain improper persons (p. 831, cap. xxxi.), bishops, abbots, and abbesses are forbidden to keep packs of hounds or hawks and falcons. (p. 846, cap. xv.) Laws were also enacted against clerical drunkenness (p. 958, cap. xiv.), concubinage (ibid. cap. xv.), tavern-haunting (p. 959, cap. xix.), and profane swearing (ibid. cap. xx.)—*Mur.*

[3] Cæsar (*De Bello Gallico*, lib. vi. cap. xii. xiii.) says:—"The Druids are in great honour among them, for they determine almost all controversies public and private; and if any crime is perpetrated, if a murder is committed, if there is a contest about an inheritance or territories, they decide and determine the rewards or punishments. If any one, whether a private or a public character, will not submit to their decision, they debar him from the sacrifices.—The Druids are not accustomed to be present in battle, nor do they pay tribute with the other citizens, but are exempt from military service and from all other burdens. Allured by such privileges and from inclination, many embrace their discipline and are sent to it by their parents and friends." Tacitus (*De Moribus Germanor.* cap vii p. 384, ed. Gronov) says:—"Moreover to judge, to imprison, and to scourge, is allowable for none but the priests; and this, not under the idea of punishment or by order of the prince, but as if God commanded it." Chap. xi p. 291. "Silence [in the public councils] is enjoined by the priests who there have coercive power." Helmold, *Chron. Slavorum*, lib. i. cap. xxxvi p. 90, says of the Rugians:—"Greater is their respect for a priest than for the king." *Idem*, *De Slavis*, lib. ii. cap. xii. p. 235. "With them, a king is in moderate estimation compared with a priest. For the latter asks for responses—the king and the people depend on his will." These ancient customs the people of Germany, Gaul, and of all Europe, retained after their conversion to Christianity; and it is therefore easy to answer the question, Whence originated that vast power of the priesthood in Europe, of which the Christian religion has no knowledge?

[4] Such as long and severe fasts, tortures of the body, frequent and long-continued prayers, pilgrimages to

which threatened to overtake them after death. This was the principal source of those immense treasures which from this century onward, through all the subsequent ages, flowed in upon the clergy, the churches, and the monasteries.[1]

4. The gifts moreover by which princes and noblemen endeavoured to satisfy the priests and to expiate their past sins were not merely private possessions, which common citizens might own, and with which the churches and monasteries had often before been endowed; but they were also public property, or such as may properly belong only to princes and to nations, royal domains (regalia) as they are called; for emperors, kings, and princes transferred to bishops, churches, and monasteries whole provinces, cities, and castles, with all the rights of sovereignty over them. Thus the persons whose business it was to teach contempt for the world, both by precept and example, unexpectedly became Dukes, Counts, Marquises, Judges, Legislators, sovereign Lords, and not only administered justice to citizens, but even marched out to war at the head of their own armies. This was the origin of those great calamities which afterwards afflicted Europe in the lamentable wars and contests about investitures and royal prerogatives.

5. Of this extraordinary liberality, which was never heard of out of Europe, not the vestige of an example can be found anterior to this century. There can therefore be no doubt that it grew out of the customs of the Europeans, and the form of government most common among these warlike nations; for the sovereigns of these nations used to bind their friends and clients to their interests, by presenting to them large tracts of country, with towns and castles in full sovereignty, reserving to themselves only the rights of supremacy and a claim to military services. Princes also might think they were obeying a rule of political wisdom in thus enriching the priests and bishops, as it is not probable that superstition was the sole cause of these extensive grants; for they might expect that men who were under the bonds of religion and consecrated to God would be more faithful to them than civil chieftains and military men accustomed to rapine and slaughter; and moreover they might hope to restrain their turbulent subjects, and keep them to their duty, by means of bishops, whose denunciations inspired so great terror.[2]

6. This great aggrandizement of clergymen in the countries of Europe commenced with their head, the Roman pontiff, and thence extended to inferior bishops, priests, and monkish fraternities; for the barbarous nations of Europe, on their conversion to Christianity, looked upon the Romish bishop as succeeding to the place of the supreme head or pontiff of their Druids or pagan priests; and as the latter had possessed immense influence in secular matters and was exceedingly feared, they supposed the former was to be reverenced and honoured in the same manner.[3] And what those nations spontaneously gave, the bishop of Rome willingly received; and lest perchance on a change of circumstances he might be despoiled of it, he supported his claims by arguments drawn from ancient history and from Christianity. This was the origin of that vast pre-eminence acquired by the Roman pontiffs in this century, and of their great power in regard to

the tombs of the saints, and the like. These were the penances imposed by the priests on persons who confessed to them their sins; and they would be the most irksome to such as had spent their lives without restraint, amidst pleasures and indulgences, and who wished to continue to live in the same way. Hence the opulent most eagerly embraced this new method of shunning, by the sacrifice of a part of their estates, penalties so irksome.

[1] Hence the well-known phraseology used by those who made offerings to the churches and the priests, that they made the offering for the redemption of their souls. The property given was likewise often called the price of sin. See Muratori, *Diss. de Redemptione Peccator.* in his *Antiquit. Ital. Med. Ævi*, tom. v. p. 712, &c.

[2] I will here quote a remarkable passage from William of Malmsbury in his fifth book *De Gestis Regum Angliæ*, p. 166, among the *Scriptores Rer. Anglic. post Bedam*, Francf. 1601, fol. He there gives the reason for those great donations to the bishops. "Charlemagne in order to curb the ferocity of those nations bestowed nearly all the lands on the churches, wisely considering that men of the sacred order would not be so likely as laymen to renounce subjection to their sovereign; and moreover if the laity should be rebellious, the clergy would be able to hold them in check by the terrors of excommunication and the severities of their discipline." I doubt not that here is stated the true reason why Charlemagne, a prince by no means superstitious or a slave of priests, heaped upon the Roman pontiff and upon the bishops of Germany, Italy, and other countries which he subdued, so many estates, territories, and riches. That is, he enlarged immoderately the power and resources of the clergy, that he might by means of the bishops restrain and keep in subjection his dukes, counts, and knights. For instance from the dukes of Beneventum, Spoleto, Capua, and others in Italy, much was to be feared after the extinction of the Lombard monarchy; and hence he conferred a large portion of Italy upon the Roman pontiff, so that by his authority, power, and menaces, he might deter those powerful and vindictive princes from sedition, or overcome them if they dared rebel. That other kings and princes in Europe reasoned in the same manner as Charles did, will not be questioned by one who considers well the political constitutions and forms of government of that age. That aggrandisement therefore of bishops and priests which we should naturally ascribe wholly to superstition, was also the result of civil prudence or state policy. On the subject of excommunications mentioned by Malmsbury above, we shall have something to say hereafter.

[3] Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, lib. vi. cap. xiii. His autem omnibus Druidibus præest unus, qui *summam* inter eos (Celtas) habet *auctoritatem*. Hoc mortuo, si qui ex reliquis excellit dignitate, succedit. At si plures pares, suffragio Druidum adlegitur; nonnumquam etiam armis de principatu contendunt.

civil affairs. Thus too that most pernicious opinion, the cause of so many wars and slaughters, and which established and increased surprisingly the power of the pontiff, namely, the belief that whoever is excluded from communion by him and his bishops loses all his rights and privileges, not only as a citizen but as a man, was derived to the Christian church from the ancient Druidic superstition, to the vast detriment of Europe.[1]

7. A striking example of the immense authority of the pontiffs in this age is found in the history of the French nation. Pepin, the viceroy or mayor of the palace to Childeric, king of the Franks, and who already possessed the entire powers of the king, formed the design of divesting his sovereign of the title and the honours of royalty; and the French nobles being assembled in council A.D. 751, to deliberate on the subject, demanded, that first of all the pontiff should be consulted whether it would be lawful and right to do what Pepin desired. Pepin therefore despatched envoys to Zacharias, who then presided over the church at Rome, with this inquiry—Whether a valiant and warlike nation might not dethrone an indolent and incompetent king, and substitute in his place one more worthy and who had already done great services to the nation, without breaking the divine law? Zacharias at that time needed the aid of Pepin and the Franks against the Greeks and the Lombards, who were troublesome to him, and he answered the question according to the wishes of those who consulted him. This response being known in France no one resisted; the unhappy Childeric was divested of his royal dignity, and Pepin mounted the throne of his king and lord. Let the friends of the pontiff consider how they can justify this decision of the vicar of Jesus Christ, which is so manifestly repugnant to the commands of the Saviour.[2] Zacharias' successor, Stephen II. took a journey to France A.D. 754, and not only confirmed what was done but also freed Pepin, who had now reigned three years, from his oath of allegiance to his sovereign, and anointed or crowned him, together with his wife and his two sons.[3]

8. This marked attention of the Roman pontiffs to the Franks was of great advantage to the church over which they presided; for great commotions and insurrections having arisen in that part of Italy which was still subject to the Greeks, in consequence of the decrees of Leo the Isaurian and Constantine Copronymus against images, the Lombard kings so managed those commotions by their counsel and arms as gradually to get possession of the Grecian provinces in Italy, hitherto under the exarch stationed at Ravenna. Aistulphus, the king of the Lombards, elated by this success, endeavoured also to get possession of Rome and its territory, and affected the empire of all Italy. The pressure of these circumstances induced the pontiff, Stephen II. to apply for assistance to his great patron, Pepin, king of the Franks. In the year 754 that king marched an army over the Alps, and induced Aistulphus to promise, by a solemn oath, to restore the exarchate of Ravenna, Pentapolis,[4] and all

[1] Though excommunication, from the time of Constantine the Great, had among Christians everywhere great influence, yet it had nowhere so great power or was so terrific and so distressing as in Europe. And the difference between European excommunication and that of other Christians from the eighth century onward, was immense. Those excluded from the sacred rites or excommunicated, were indeed everywhere viewed as odious to God and to men; yet they did not forfeit their rights as men and as citizens; and much less were kings and princes supposed to lose their authority to rule, by being pronounced by bishops to be unworthy of communion in sacred rites. But in Europe from this century onward, a person excluded from the church by a bishop and especially by the prince of bishops, was no longer regarded as a king, or a lord, nor as a citizen, a husband, a father, or even as a man, but was considered as a brute. What was the cause of this? Undoubtedly the following is the true cause. Those new and ignorant proselytes confounded Christian excommunication with the old Gentile excommunication practised by the pagan priests, or they supposed the former to have the same nature and effects with the latter; and the pontiffs and bishops did all they could to cherish and confirm this error which was so useful to them. Read the following extract from Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, lib. vi. cap. xiii. and then judge whether I have mistaken the origin of European and papal excommunication:—"Si qui aut privatus aut publicus Druidum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Hæc pœna apud eos est gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur, iis omnes decedunt, aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant; neque iis petentibus jus redditur, neque honos ullus communicatur.

[2] See on this momentous transaction Le Cointe, *Annales Eccl. Francicæ*; and Mezeray, Daniel, and the other historians of France and Germany, but especially Bossuet, *Defensio declarationis Cleri Gallicani*, par. I. p. 225; Rival, *Dissert. Histor. et Critiques sur divers sujets*, Diss. ii. p. 70, Diss. iii. p. 156, Lond. 1726, 8vo, and the illustrious Bünau, *Hist. Imp. Romano-German.* tom. ii. p. 288. Yet the transaction is not stated in the same manner by all the writers, and by the sycophants of the Romish bishops it is generally misrepresented; for they make Zacharias by his pontifical power to have deposed Childeric, and to have raised Pepin to the throne. This the French deny, and on good grounds. Yet were it true, it would only make the pope's crime greater than it was. [See Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. iii. p. 331, &c.—*Mur.*

[3] Among many writers see the illustrious Bünau, *Hist. Imp. Romano-German.* tom. ii. p. 301, 366 [and Bower, *Lives of the Popes*, vol. iii. p. 352.—*Mur.*

[4] This territory lay along the Gulf of Venice from the Po southward as far as Perno, and extended back to the Appenines. According to Sigonius, the Exarchate included the cities of Ravenna, Bologna, Imola, Faenza, Forimpopoli, Forli, Cesena, Bobbio, Ferrara, Comacchio, Adria, Cervia, and Secchia. The Pentapolis, now the Marca d'Ancona, comprehended Rimini, Pesaro, Conca, Fano, Sinigaglia, Ancona, Osimo, Umana, Jesi, Fossombrone, Montfeltro, Urbino, Cagli, Luccolo, and Eugubio. The whole territory might be 150 miles long, and from 60 to 80 miles broad.—*Mur*

that he had plundered. But the next year the Lombard king having violated his promise and laid siege to Rome, Pepin again marched an army into Italy, compelled him to observe his promise, and with unparalleled liberality bestowed on St. Peter and his church the Grecian provinces, namely, the Exarchate and the Pentapolis, which he had wrested from the grasp of Aistulphus.[1]

9. After the death of Pepin, Desiderius, the king of the Lombards, again boldly invaded the patrimony of St. Peter, namely, the territories given by the Franks to the Romish church. Hadrian I. who was then pontiff, had recourse to Charles, afterwards called the Great [Charlemagne] the son of Pepin. He crossed the Alps with a powerful army in the year 774, overturned the empire of the Lombards in Italy which had stood more than two centuries, transported King Desiderius into France, and proclaimed himself king of the Lombards. In this expedition when Charlemagne arrived at Rome, he not only confirmed the donations of his father to St. Peter, but went further; for he delivered over to the pontiffs to be possessed and governed by them, some cities and provinces of Italy which were not included in the grant of Pepin. But what portions of Italy Charlemagne thus annexed to the donation of his father, it is very difficult at this day to ascertain.[2]

10. By this munificence, whether politic or impolitic I leave to others to determine, Charlemagne opened his way to the empire of the West, or rather to the title of emperor of the West, and to supreme dominion over the city of Rome and its territory, on which the empire of the West was thought to depend.[3] He had doubtless long had this object in view; and perhaps his father Pepin had also contemplated the same thing. But the circumstances of the times required procrastination in an affair of such moment. The power of the Greeks, however, being embarrassed after the death of Leo IV. and his son Constantine, and the impious Irene, who was very odious to Charlemagne, having grasped the sceptre in the year 800, he did not hesitate to carry his designs into execution. For Charlemagne coming to Rome this year, the pontiff, Leo III. knowing his wishes persuaded the Roman people, who were then supposed to be free and to have the right of electing an em-

[1] See Sigonius, *De Regno Italiæ*, lib. iii. p. 202, &c. *Opp.* tom. ii. Bünau, *Hist. Imp. Romano-Germ.* tom. ii. p. 301, 366; Muratori, *Annal.* tom. iv. p. 310, &c. and many others. But the exact boundaries of this exarchate thus disposed of by Pepin, have been much controverted, and been investigated with much industry in the present age. The Roman pontiffs extend the exarchate given to them as far as possible; others contract it to the narrowest limits they can. See Muratori, *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclésiastique*, chap. i. ii. and *Antiq. Italicæ Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 64—68, 986, 987. But he is more cautious in tom. v. p. 790. This controversy cannot easily be settled except by recurrence to the deed of gift. Fontanini, *Dominio della S. Sede sopra Comacchio*, Diss. i. cap. c. p. 346, cap. 67, p. 242, represents the deed of gift as still in existence, and he quotes some words from it. The fact is scarcely credible; yet if it be true, it is unquestionably not for the interest of the Romish church to have this important ancient document brought to light. Nor could those who defended the interests of the pontiff against the emperor Joseph, in the controversy respecting the fortress of Comacchio in our time, be persuaded to bring it forward though challenged to do it by the emperor's advocates. Blanchini however in his *Prolegomena ad Anastasium de Vitis Pontificum Rom.* p. 55, has given us a specimen of this grant, which bears the marks of antiquity. The motive which led Pepin to this great liberality, was, as appears from numerous testimonies, to make expiation for his sins, and especially the great sin he had committed against his master Childeric. [It appears however from more recent researches that Pepin, while he reserved to himself the superiority over Rome, only made the pope a kind of exarch in nominal subjection to the Greek emperor. See Savigny, *Geschichte d. Röm. Rechts*, &c.; Cathcart's translation, vol. i. p. 340, &c.—*R.*

[2] See Sigonius, *De Regno Italiæ*, lib. iii. p. 223, &c. *Opp.* tom. ii. Bünau, *Hist. Imp. Romano-German.* tom. ii. p. 368, &c. De Marca, *De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*, lib. i. cap. xii. p. 67, &c. Muratori, *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclés* chap. ii. p. 147, &c. Conringius, *De Imperio Romano-German.* cap. vi. [Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. iii. Life of Hadrian I.] and numerous others. Concerning the extent of Charlemagne's new donation to the popes, there is the same warm contest between the patrons of the papacy and those of the empire, as there is respecting Pepin's donation. The advocates for the pontiffs maintain that Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, the territory of Sabino, the duchy of Spoleto, besides many other tracts of country, were presented by the very pious Charlemagne to St. Peter. But the advocates for the claims of the emperors diminish as far as they can the munificence of Charlemagne, and confine this new grant within narrow limits. On this subject the reader may consult the writers of the present age who have published works on the claims of the emperors and the popes to the cities of Comacchio and Florence, and the duchies of Parma and Placentia; but especially the very learned treatise of Berret entitled *Diss. Chorographica de Italia Medii Ævi*, p. 33, &c. The partialities of writers, if I mistake not, have prevented them from discerning in all cases the real facts; and it is easy to fall into mistakes on subjects so long involved in obscurity. Adrian affirms that the object of Charlemagne in this new donation was *to atone for his sins;* for he thus writes to the Emperor in the ninety-second Epistle of the *Codex Carolinus*, in Muratori, *Scriptor. Rer. Italicar.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 265:—"Venientes ad nos de Capua, quam Beato Petro, Apostolorum Principi, *pro mercede animæ vestræ* atque sempiterna memoria, cum cæteris civitatibus obtulistis." I have no doubt that Charlemagne, who wished to be accounted pious according to the estimates of that age, expressed this design in his transfer or deed of gift. But a person acquainted with him and with the history of those times will not readily believe that this was his only motive. By that donation Charlemagne aimed to prepare the way for obtaining the empire of the West, which he was endeavouring to secure (for he was most ambitious of glory and dominion); but he could not honourably obtain his object in the existing state of things, without the concurrence and aid of the Roman pontiff. Besides this, he aimed to secure and establish his new empire in Italy, by increasing the possessions of the holy see. On this point I have already touched in a preceding note; and I think whoever carefully considers all the circumstances of the case will coincide with me in judgment.

[3] In reality Charlemagne was already emperor of the West, that is, the most powerful of the kings in Europe. He therefore only lacked the title of emperor, and sovereign power over the city of Rome and the adjacent country; both of which he easily obtained by the aid of Leo III.

perer. to proclaim and constitute him emperer of the West.

11. Charlemagne being made emperor and sovereign of Rome and its territory, reserved indeed to himself the supreme power and the prerogatives of sovereignty; but the beneficial dominion, as it is called, and subordinate authority over the city and its territory, he seems to have conferred on the Romish church.[2] This plan was undoubtedly suggested to him by the Roman pontiff; who persuaded the emperor, perhaps by showing him some ancient though forged papers and documents, that Constantine the Great (to whose place and authority Charlemagne now succeeded), when he removed the seat of empire to Constantinople committed the old seat of empire, Rome and the adjacent territories or the Roman dukedom, to the possession and government of the church, reserving however his imperial prerogatives over it; and that, from this arrangement and ordinance of Constantine, Charlemagne could not depart without incurring the wrath of God and St. Peter.[3]

12. Amidst these various accessions to their power and influence, the Roman pon-

1 See the historians of those times, and especially the best of them all, Bünau, *Hist. Imp. Romano-German.* tom. ii. p. 537, &c. The advocates of the Roman pontiffs tell us that Leo III. by virtue of the supreme power with which he was divinely clothed, conferred the empire of the West, after it was taken from the Greeks, upon the nation of the Franks and upon Charlemagne their king; and hence they infer that the Roman pontiff, as the vicar of Christ, is the sovereign lord of the whole earth as well as of the Roman empire; and that all emperors reign by his authority. The absurdity of this reasoning is learnedly exposed by Spanheim, *De Ficta Translatione Imperii in Carolum M. per Leonem III.* in his *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 557. [See also Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. iii. Life of Leo III.] Other writers need not be named.

2 That Charlemagne *retained* the supreme power over the city of Rome and its territory—that he administered justice there by his judges and inflicted punishments on malefactors—and that he exercised all the prerogatives of sovereignty, learned men have demonstrated by the most unexceptionable testimony. See only Muratori, *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Eccles.* chap. vi. p. 77, &c. Indeed they only shroud the light in darkness who maintain with Fontanini (*Dominio della S. Sede sopra Comacchio*, Diss. i. c. 95. 96, &c.), and the other advocates of the Roman pontiffs, that Charlemagne sustained at Rome not the character of a sovereign but that of *patron* of the Romish church, relinquishing the entire sovereignty to the pontiffs. And yet to declare the whole truth it is clear that the power of the Roman pontiff in the city and territory of Rome was great, and that he decreed and performed many things according to his pleasure and as a sovereign. But the limits of his power and the foundations of it are little known and much controverted. Muratori (*Droits de l'Empire*, p. 102) maintains that the pontiff performed the functions of an *exarch* or *viceroy* of the emperor. But this opinion was very offensive to Clement XI. nor do I regard it as correct. After considering all the circumstances, I suppose the Roman pontiff held the Roman province and city by the same tenure as he did the exarchate and the other territories given him by Charlemagne, that is as a *fief*; yet with less circumscribed powers than ordinary feudal tenures, on account of the dignity of the city, which was once the capital or the seat of empire. This opinion receives much confirmation from the statements which will be made in the following note; and it reconciles the jarring testimonies of the ancient writers and other documents.

3 Most writers are of opinion that Constantine's pretended grant was posterior to this period, and that it was forged perhaps in the tenth century; but I believe it existed in this century, and that Hadrian and his successor Leo III. made use of it to persuade Charlemagne to convey feudal power over the city of Rome and its territory to the Romish church. For this opinion we have the good authority of the Roman pontiff himself, Hadrian I. in his Epistle to Charlemagne, which is the forty-ninth in the *Codex Carolinus*, published in Muratori's *Rerum Italicar. Scriptores*, tom. iii. par. ii. p. 194, and which well deserves a perusal. Hadrian there exhorts Charlemagne, who was not yet emperor, to order the restitution of all the grants which had formerly been made to St. Peter and the church of Rome. And he very clearly distinguishes the grant of Constantine from the donations of the other emperors and princes; and what deserves particular notice, he distinguishes it from the donation of Pepin, which embraced the exarchate, and from the additions made to his father's grants by Charlemagne; whence it follows legitimately that Hadrian understood Constantine's grant to embrace the city of Rome and the territory dependent on it. He first mentions the grant of Constantine the Great, thus:—"Deprecamur vestram excellentiam—pro Dei amore et ipsius clavigeri regni cœlorum—ut secundum promissionem, quam polliciti estis eidem Dei Apostolo, *pro animæ vestræ mercede* et stabilitate regni vestri, omnia nostris temporibus adimplere jubeatis.—Et sicut temporibus Beati Silvestri Romani Pontificis, a sanctæ recordationis plissimo Constantino Magno, Imperatore, *per ejus largitatem* (vide ipsam Constantini donationem) sancta Dei catholica et apostolica Romana ecclesia elevata atque exaltata est, et *potestatem* in his Hesperiæ partibus *largiri* dignatus est: ita et in his vestris felicissimis temporibus atque nostris, sancta Dei ecclesia germinet—et amplius atque amplius exaltata permaneat.—Quia ecce novus Christianissimus Dei Constantinus Imperator (N.B. Here the pontiff denominates Charles, who was then only a king, an *emperor*, and compares him with Constantine) his temporibus surrexit, per quem omnia Deus sanctæ suæ ecclesiæ—largiri dignatus est. (Thus far he speaks of Constantine's donation. Next the pontiff notices the other donations, which he clearly discriminates from this.) *Sed et cuncta alia*, quæ per diversos Imperatores, Patricios, etiam et alios Deum timentes, pro *eorum animæ mercede et venia peccatorum*, in partibus Tusciæ, Spoleto seu Benevento, atque Corsica, simul et Pavinensi patrimonio, Beato Petro Apostolo,—concessa sunt, et per nefandam gentem Longobardorum per annorum spatia abstracta atque ablata sunt, vestris temporibus restituantur.—(The pontiff adds in the close that all those grants were preserved in the archives of the Lateran, and that he had sent them by his ambassadors to Charlemagne.) Unde et plures donationes in sacro nostro scrinio Lateranensi reconditas habemus; tamen et pro satisfactione Christianissimi regni vestri, per jam fatos viros, ad demonstrandum eas vobis, direximus; et pro hoc petimus eximiam Præcellentiam vestram, ut in integro ipsa patrimonia Beato Petro et nobis restituere jubeatis."—By this it appears that Constantine's grant was then in the *Lateran archives* of the popes, and was sent with the others to Charlemagne. [Of this pretended *Donatio Constantini* there are four texts in Greek and one only in Latin in the Pseudo-Isidorian Collection, under the title of *Edictum Don. Constantini Imper.* extracts from which are in the *Decret. Gratian.* Dist. xcvi. c. 13. (See Fabricius, *Biblio. Græca*, tom. vi. p. 4—7.) That there never was any such grant is acknowledged by Otho III. in 999; though this acknowledgment is declared spurious by Baronius, Gretzer, Pagi, and others, but defended by Muratori and adopted by the French Benedictines. It is also pronounced to be a "mendacium et fabula hæretica," by Pope Eugenius in a letter of his in 1152, in Martene et Durand, *Ampliss. Collect.* &c. tom. ii. p. 553. In the fifteenth century this is demonstrated to be the case by Nic. Cusanus, *De concord. Cath.* about the year 1432, and especially by Laur. Valla, *De falso credita et ementita Const. donatio.* Since that period the document is universally allowed to be spurious, but the donation itself is still asserted by Baronius, Gretzer, Blanchini, Mamachius, and others. Gieseler's *Lehrbuch*, &c. Cunningham's translation, vol. ii. p. 69, 83, 187.—*R.*

tiffs experienced from the Greek emperors no inconsiderable loss of revenue and dignity. For Leo the Isaurian and his son Constantine Copronymus, being exceedingly offended with Gregory II. and III. on account of their zeal for sacred images, not only took from them the estates possessed by the Romish church in Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia; but also exempted the bishops of those territories and all the provinces of Illyricum from the dominion of the Roman pontiffs, and placed them under the protection of the bishop of Constantinople. Nor could the pontiffs afterwards, either by threats or supplications, induce the Greek emperors to restore these valuable portions of St. Peter's patrimony.[1] This was the first origin and the principal cause of that great contest between the bishops of Rome and of Constantinople, which in the next century severed the Greeks from the Latins, to the great detriment of Christianity. Yet there was an additional cause existing in this century, namely, the dispute concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, of which we shall treat in its proper place. But this perhaps might have been easily adjusted, if the bishops of Rome and Constantinople had not become involved in a contest respecting the limits of their jurisdiction.

13. Monastic discipline, as all the writers of that age testify, was entirely prostrate both in the East and the West. The best of the oriental monks were those who lived an austere life, remote from the intercourse of men in the deserts of Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia; and yet among them not only gross ignorance, but also fanatical stupidity and abject superstition often reigned. The other monks in the neighbourhood of the cities not unfrequently disquieted the state; and Constantine Copronymus and other emperors were obliged to restrain them repeatedly by severe edicts. Most of the western monks now followed the rule of St. Benedict; yet there were monasteries in various places in which other rules were preferred.[2] But when their wealth became increased they scarcely observed any rule, and they gave themselves up to gluttony, voluptuousness, idleness, and other vices.[3] Charlemagne attempted to cure these evils by statutes, but he effected very little.[4]

14. This great corruption of the whole sacred order produced in the West a new species of priests, who were an intermediate class between the monks or the regular clergy as they were called, and the secular priests. These adopted in part the discipline and mode of life of monks; that is, they dwelt together, ate at a common table, and joined in united prayer at certain hours; yet they did not take any vows upon them like the monks, and they performed ministerial functions in certain churches. They were at first called the Lord's brethren (fratres Dominici); but afterwards took the name of canons (canonici).[5] The common opinion attributes the institution of this order to Chrodegang, bishop of Metz; nor is it wholly without foundation.[6] For although there were, anterior to this century, in Italy, Africa, and other provinces, convents of priests who lived in the manner of canons;[7] yet Chrodegang, about the middle of this century, subjected the priests of his church at Metz to this mode of living, requiring them to sing hymns to God at certain hours and perhaps to observe other rites; and by his example, first the Franks and then the Italians, the English and the Germans,

[1] See Le Quien's *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 96, &c. The Greek writers also, as Theophanes and others, acknowledge the fact, but differ a little in respect to the cause.

[2] See Mabillon. *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedicti*, sec. 1, p. 24; and sec. 4, par. i. p. 26, &c.

[3] Mabillon treats ingenuously of this corruption of the monks and of its causes, in the above work, *Præf. ad Sæcul.* iv. par. i. p. 64, &c.

[4] See the *Capitularia* of Charlemagne, published by Baluze, tom. i. p. 148, 157, 237, 255, 366, &c. 375, 503, and in various other places. These numerous laws so often repeated prove the extreme perverseness of the monks. [See also the 20th, 21st, and 22d canons of the council of Cloveshoo, in England, A.D. 747. Monasteria—non sint ludicrarum artium receptacula, hoc est, poëtarum, citharistarum, musicorum, scurrarum—Non sint sanctimonialium domicilia, turpium confabulationum, commessationum, ebrietatum, luxuriantiumque cubilia. Monasteriales sive ecclesiastici, ebrietatis malum non sectentur aut expetant—sed neque alios cogant intemperanter bibere; sed pura et sobria sint eorum convivia, non luxuriosa, neque deliciis vel scurrilitatibus mixta, &c.—*Mur.*

[5] See Le Beuf, *Mémoires sur l'Hist. d' Auxerre*, tome i. p. 174, Paris, 1743, 4to.

[6] For an account of Chrodegang see the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iv. p. 128; Calmet, *Hist. de Lorraine*, tome i. p. 513, &c.; *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. Martii, p. 452. The rule which he prescribed to his canons may be seen in Le Cointe's *Annales Francor. Eccles.* tome v. ad. ann. 757, sec. 35, &c. and in Labbé, *Concilia*, tom. vii. p. 1444. [In Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 1181, &c.—*Mur.*] The rule as published by D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. i. p. 565, &c. under the name of Chrodegang was the work of another person. A neat summary of the rule is given by Longueval, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tome iv. p. 435. [See also Bähr, *Gesch. der Römis. Liter.* Suppl. vol. part iii. p. 296. Cardinal Mai published a small tract, *De Officiis Clericorum*, which he believed to have been a work of this writer. See his *Scrip. Vet. nova collect.* tom. vi. par. ii. p. 127.—*R.*

[7] See Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 185, &c. also Thomassin's, *De Disciplina Ecclesiæ vet. ac nova*, par. i. lib. iii. cap. iv. &c. The design of this institution was truly excellent. For its authors, pained with the vices and defects of the clergy, hoped that this mode of living would abstract the consecrated men from worldly cares and business. But the event has shown how much the hopes of these good men were disappointed.

were led to introduce this mode of living in numerous places, and to found convents of canons.

15. Supreme power over the whole sacred order and over all the possessions of the churches, was both in the East and in the West vested in the emperors and kings. Of the power of the Greek emperors over the church and its goods and possessions, no one entertains a doubt.[1] The prerogatives of the Latin emperors and kings, though the flatterers of the popes labour to cloak them, are too manifest and clear to be concealed, as the wiser part of the Roman community themselves confess. Hadrian I. in a council at Rome, conferred on Charlemagne and his successors the right of appointing and creating the Roman pontiffs.[2] And although Charlemagne and his son Louis declined exercising this power, yet they reserved to themselves the right of accepting and confirming the election made by the Roman people and clergy; nor could the consecration of a pope take place unless the emperor's ambassadors were present.[3] The Roman pontiffs obeyed the laws of the emperors, and accounted all their decisions definitive.[4] The emperors and kings of the Franks, by their extraordinary judges whom they called Missi, that is, Legates, inquired into the lives and conduct of all the clergy, the superior as well as the inferior, and decided causes and controversies among them; they enacted laws respecting the modes and forms of worship; and punished every species of crime in the priests, just as in the other citizens.[5] The property belonging to churches and monasteries, unless exempted by the special indulgence of the sovereign, was taxed like other property for the common uses of the state.[6]

16. That the preservation of religion and the decision of controversies respecting doctrines, belonged to the Roman pontiff and to the ecclesiastical councils, was not denied by the Latin [or Western] emperors and kings.[7] But this power of the pontiff was confined within narrow limits. For he was not able to decide by his sole authority, but was obliged to assemble a council. Nor did the provinces wait for his decisions, but held conventions or councils at their pleasure, in which the bishops freely expressed their opinions, and gave decisions which did not accord with the views of the pontiffs; as is manifest from the French and German councils in the controversy respecting images. Moreover the emperors and kings had the right of calling the councils and of presiding in them; nor could the decrees of a council have the force of laws, unless they were confirmed and ratified by the reigning sovereign.[8] Yet the Roman pontiffs left no means untried to free themselves from these many restraints, and to obtain supreme authority not only over the church, but also over kings and over the whole world; and these efforts of theirs were greatly favoured by the wars and tumults of the following century.

17. Among the writers of this century very few deserve much praise either for their learning or their genius. Among the Greeks, Germanus bishop of Constantinople obtained some celebrity by his talents, but still more by his immoderate zeal in defence of images.[9] Cosmas of Jerusalem gained renown by his skill in composing Hymns.[10]

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1 For the authority of the Greek emperors in religious matters see Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 136.

2 Anastasius makes mention of this decree, which is preserved both by Ivo and Gratian. The same subject has been discussed by very many. [The existence of this council and of such a grant to Charlemagne is very uncertain. The earliest mention of the council is in Sigebert's *Chronicon* (ad ann. 773), written about A.D. 1111. But the passage is not in all the copies. From this questionable authority Gratian transcribed his account of it (*Distinct.* lxiii. cap. xxii. xxiii.), and also Ivo and the others. See De Marca, *De Concordia*, &c. lib. viii. cap. xiii. Pagi, *Critica in Baron.* ad ann. 774. Mansi, *Concil. Supplem.* tom. i. p. 721; and Walch, *Hist der Kirchenversamml.* p. 473.—*Mur.*

3 See Mabillon, *Commentar. in Ordinem Romanum; Musæum Ital.* tom. ii. p. 113, &c. Muratori, *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Eccles.* p. 87, &c.

4 This has been amply demonstrated by Baluze, *Præf. ad Capitularia Regum Francor.* sec. 21, &c.

5 See Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. i diss. ix. p. 470; De Roye, *De Missis Dominicis*, cap. x. p. 44; cap. viii. p. 118, 134, 168, 195, &c.

6 See especially Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. diss. xvii. p. 926. Also the Collection of various pieces in the contest of Louis XV., king of France, respecting the exemption of the clergy from taxation, published in Holland in seven volumes under the title of: *Ecrits pour et contre les Immunités Prétendues par le Clergé de France*: Hague, 1751, 8vo.

7 See Charlemagne, *De Imaginibus*, lib i. cap. iv. p. 48, ed. Heumann.

8 All these points are well illustrated by Baluze, *Præf. ad Capitularia*; and by the *Capitularia* themselves, that is by the laws of the French kings. And all those who have discussed the rights of kings and princes in matters of religion, take up and illustrate this subject. See also Basnage, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, tom. i p. 270, &c.

9 See Simon, *Critique de la Biblioth. Eccles. de M. du Pin.* tome i. p. 270. [Germanus was the son of Justinian, a patrician of Constantinople, and was deprived of his virility by Constantine Pogonatus. He was made bishop of Cyzicum and then patriarch of Constantinople from A.D. 715 to 730. During the last four years of his patriarchate he strenuously opposed the emperor Leo and defended image worship, until he was deposed. He now retired to a peaceful private life till his death, about A.D. 740, when he was more than ninety years old. His writings all relate to image worship, and the honour due to the Virgin Mary; and consist of letters, orations, and polemic tracts, which may be seen, in the *Acts of the Second Nicene Council*, the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and other collections. His orations in praise of the Holy Virgin are ascribed by some to another Germanus, bishop of Constantinople, in the thirteenth century. See Cave's *Hist. Liter.* vol. i.—*Mur.*

10 Cosmas was a native of Italy, captured by Saracen pirates, he was carried to Damascus, and there sold to

The histories of George Syncellus and Theophanes,[2] hold some rank among the writers of Byzantine history; but they must be placed far below the earlier Greek and Latin historians. The most distinguished of the Greek and Oriental writers was John Damascenus, a man of respectable talents and of some eloquence. He elucidated the Peripatetic philosophy as well as the science of theology by various works; but his fine native endowments were vitiated by the faults of his times-superstition and excessive veneration for the fathers; to say nothing of his censurable propensity to explain the Christian doctrines conformably to the views of Aristotle.[3]

18. At the head of the Latin writers stands Charlemagne, the emperor, who was a great lover of learning. To him are ascribed the *Capitularia*, as they are called, several Epistles, and four books concerning images; yet there can be little doubt that he often used the pen and the genius of another.[4] Next to him should be placed

the father of John Damascenus, who made him preceptor to his son. He was afterwards a monk in the monastery of St. Sabas, near Jerusalem, and at last bishop of Majuma. He flourished about A.D. 730, and has left us thirteen Hymns on the principal festivals, and some other poems, which are extant only in Latin, and may be seen in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xii. See Cave's *Hist. Liter.* vol i.—*Mur.*

1 George was a monk of Constantinople and *syncellus* to Tarasius the patriarch. A *syncellus* was a high ecclesiastical personage, the constant companion and inspector of the bishop, and resident in the *same cell* with him; whence his name σύγκελλος. See Du Cange, *Glossar. Mediæ et Infim. Latinitatis*, sub voce *Syncellus*. The Chronicon of George Syncellus extends from the creation to the times of Maximin; and is copied almost verbatim from the Chronicon of Eusebius. Scaliger made much use of it for recovering the lost Greek of Eusebius's work. It was published, Greek and Latin, with notes, by Goar, Paris, 1652, fol. See Cave's *Hist. Liter.* tom i.—*Mur.*

2 Theophanes surnamed Isaacius and Confessor, was a Constantinopolitan of noble birth, born A.D. 858. Leo, the patrician, obliged him in his youth to marry his daughter; but his wife and he agreed to have no matrimonial intercourse, and on the death of her father they separated and Theophanes became a monk. He had previously filled several important civil offices under the emperor Leo. He retired to the monastery of Polychronium near Singriana, A.D. 780; and thence to the island Calonymus where he converted his paternal estate into a monastery and spent six years. Then returning to Singriana he purchased the estate called *the Field*, converted it into a monastery, and presided over it as the abbot. In the year 787 he was called to the second Nicene council, where he strenuously defended image-worship. After A.D. 813 Leo, the Armenian, required him to condemn image-worship, which he resolutely refused to do. In 815 or a year later, he was imprisoned for his obstinacy, though now in declining health; and two years after was banished to the island of Samothrace, where he died at the end of twenty-three days. The patrons of image-worship accounted him a *confessor*, and honoured him as a *saint*. His *Chronicon*, which embraces both the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the Greek empire, continues that of George Syncellus from A.D. 285 to A.D. 813. It is written in a dry style, without method and with numerous mistakes. The *Chronicon* of Anastasius Bibliothecarius is a mere Latin translation of this so far as it extends. It was published, Greek and Latin, with the notes of Goar and Combefis, Paris, 1655, fol. See Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i.—*Mur.*

3 See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome ii. p. 950, and Leo Allatius' account of his writings, which Le Quien has published with the *Opera Damasceni* [ed. Paris, 1712, and Venice, 1748, 2 vols. fol. Also Du Pin, *Biblioth. des Aut. Eccles.* tome vi. p. 101, &c.; Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* vol. viii. p. 772, &c.; and Schroeckh, *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. xx. p. 222, &c. John Damascenus, called also Chrysorrhoas by the Greeks on account of his eloquence, and by the Arabs Mansur, was born at Damascus near the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century. His father, Sergius, a wealthy Christian and privy-councillor to the kalif, redeemed many captives, and among them a learned Italian monk named Cosmas, whom he made preceptor to his only son John. On the decease of his father, John succeeded him in office at the Saracen court. About the year 728 he wrote numerous letters in defence of image-worship, which the emperor, Leo the Isaurian, was endeavouring to suppress. This it is said induced Leo to forge a treasonable letter from John to himself, which he sent to the kalif in order to compass the destruction of John. The kalif ordered his right hand to be cut off. John replaced the severed hand, and by the intercession of the Virgin Mary had it perfectly restored the same night. This miracle convinced the kalif of John's innocence, and he offered to restore him to his office and favour, but John chose to retire to private life. He sold and gave away all his property, and repaired to the monastery of St. Sabas near Jerusalem, where he spent the remainder of his life in composing learned works on theology and science. His treatises are numerous, consisting of Orations, Letters, and Tracts, chiefly polemic, in defence of image-worship and against heresies, yet several are devotional and narrative. But few of his philosophical works have been published. His great work is *De Fide Orthodoxa*, libri iv. (Ἔκδοσις ἀκριβὴς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως) which is a complete system of theology derived from the fathers, and arranged in the manner of the schoolmen. *Mur.* [This treatise, properly speaking, forms the third part of a greater work, entitled Πηγὴ γνώσεως. An edition of it was published by Le Quien, Paris, 1712, 2 vols. fol. See his *Dissert. septem Damasc.* Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol xx. p. 222, &c. Rösler, *Biblio. der Kirchenvat.* Leip. 1776—86, vol. viii. p. 246—532. Dorner has recently said:—"John Damascenus is undoubtedly the last of the theologians of the Eastern church, and remains in later times the highest authority in the theological literature of the Greeks. He may himself be considered as the starting-point of the scholastic system of the Greek church, which is yet too little known."—*Entwickelungsges. der Christol.* p. 113; Hagenbach, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengesch.*; Buch's Transl. vol. i. p. 391.—*R.*

4 See Fabricius, *Biblio. Medii Ævi, Lat.* tom. i. p. 936. *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. iv. p. 368.—[Charlemagne was not only a great general and statesman, but a great promoter of learning. He possessed talents of no ordinary character; and though his very active life left him little time for study, he was a considerable proficient in all the branches of knowledge then generally pursued. He understood both Latin and Greek, was well read in civil history, and was no contemptible theologian. Eginhard indeed tells us he could never learn to write, having not undertaken it till too far advanced in life. But if he could not write a fair hand, he could dictate to his amanuenses; and by their aid and that of the learned men whom he always had about him, he composed and compiled very much that does him great credit. Besides a great number of Diplomas, Deeds, and Grants, which are to be seen in various collections, as those of Canisius, Duchene, D'Achery, Mabillon, &c. and numerous Letters interspersed in the later collections of councils, he wrote a Preface to the book of Homilies for all the festivals of the year, which Paul Diaconus compiled by his order; also a large part of the Edicts, chiefly in relation to ecclesiastical affairs, which are denominated his *Capitularia*. Of these the first four books, entitled *Capitularia sive Edicta Caroli Magni et Ludovici Pii*, were collected by the Abbot Ansegisus A.D. 827. Afterwards, three books more were collected by Benedict Levita. The whole are best published by Baluze, Paris, 1677, 2 vols. fol. The *Codex Carolinus* is a collection of ninety-nine Epistles of successive popes to him and to his father and grandfather, with theirs to the popes, made by order of Charlemagne A.D. 791. This was

Bede, called the Venerable on account of his virtues,[1] Alcuin, the preceptor of Charlemagne,[2] and Paulinus of Aquileia,[3] all of whom were distinguished for their industry and their love of learning. These writers composed treatises on nearly every branch of knowledge prosecuted in their day, which show that no want of genius

published by Gretser, Ingolst. 1613, 4to. The four books against image-worship (*De Imaginibus*), called also the *Capitulare Prolixum*, if not dictated entirely by him, was at least drawn up in his name, by his order, and in accordance with his views. He caused it to be read in the council of Francfort A.D. 794, where it was approved; and he then sent a copy of it to Pope Hadrian, who replied to it as being the work of Charlemagne. It was first published by John Tillet (Tilius), afterwards bishop of Meaux, A.D. 1549; and last, by C. A. Heumann, Hanover, 1731, 8vo. For the genuineness of this work see Schroeckh, *Kirchenges.* vol. xx. p. 583, &c.; and Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. i.—*Mur.*

[1] Concerning Bede, see the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. April, p. 866; *Nouveau Diction. Histor. Crit.* tome i. p. 178. A catalogue of his writings, drawn up by himself, is extant in Muratori, *Antiquit. Italic. Medii Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 825, &c. [Beda or Bedan (as St. Boniface calls him) was born at Jarrow near the mouth of the Tyne in Northumberland, and within the territories of the monastery of St. Peter in that place. At the age of seven years he was sent to that monastery for education, and afterwards removed to the neighbouring monastery of St. Paul. In these two monasteries he spent his whole life, except occasionally visiting other monasteries for literary purposes. At the age of nineteen he was ordained a deacon, and at the age of thirty a presbyter. He was a most diligent student, yet punctual in observing the discipline of his monastery and attending its devotional exercises. At the age of thirty he commenced author, and became one of the most voluminous writers of that age. His works published at Cologne 1612 and again 1688, fill eight volumes folio. They consist of Commentaries on the greater part of the Old Testament and the whole of the New, numerous Homilies and Letters, a large number of Tracts, and an ecclesiastical history of Great Britain from the invasion of Julius Cæsar to the year A.D. 731. Bede was a man of great learning for that age, of considerable genius, and an agreeable writer. Yet his Commentaries and theological Tracts are little more than compilations from the fathers. As a historian he was honest but credulous. As a divine he was a mere copyist, following Augustine, Gregory the Great, and the more sound Greek fathers. His piety stands unquestioned. His only work now of much value is his church history edited by Wheelock, Cambridge, 1644; and still better by Smith, ibid. 1722, fol. See Bede's account of his own life and writings in his *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. ii.; also Cave's *Hist. Liter.* tom. i.; Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. iii. p. 500—524; and Milner's *Church History*, cent. viii. chap. i.—*Mur.* [See also Lingard's *Hist. and Antiq. of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, 1845, vol. ii. p. 189; Wright's *Biogr. Britan. Liter. Anglo-Saxon period*; Turner's *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. iii. p. 406, &c. and especially Bähr, *Gesch. der Römis. Liter.* Suppl. vol. part ii. p. 475, &c. for an account of his writings and a critical estimate of his character and merits as a writer. His works have been frequently printed. His *Opera Omnia* appeared at Basil in 1544 and 1563, 8 vols. fol.; at Paris in 1554, 8 vols. fol.; at Cologne in 1612 and 1688, 8 vols. folio; his *Opera Theologica*, Lond. 1693, 4to. His *History* has been translated into English by Stapelton, Antw. 1565, 4to; by Stevens, Lond. 1723. 8vo; and recently by Dr. Giles, Lond. 1840, 8vo. The most complete edition of his works is the *Opera Omnia quæ supersunt*, &c. published by Dr. Giles in 12 volumes, 8vo, Lond. 1843-44, in the series of *Patres Eccles. Anglic.* Volumes ii. iii. and iv. comprising the historical works, have the Latin text and Dr. Giles's English translation, previously published, printed on opposite pages. There are also beautiful and accurate reprints of the *Historia*, and of the *Opera historica minora*, in 8vo, edited by Mr. Jos. Stevenson in 1838 and 1841, for the English Historical Society, to whom we are also indebted for excellent editions of Gildas, Nennius, Ricardus Divisiensis, Ricardus Monachus, and others.—*R.*

[2] *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tome iv. p. 295; *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. Crit.* tome i. p. 122. A new edition of the works of Alcuin is preparing in France by Catelinot, who has discovered his unpublished Tract on the Procession of the Holy Spirit. See the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome viii. *Préface*, p. x. [But this edition it appears was never published; and that of Du Chesne, Paris, 1617, fol. continued to be used. Flaccus Alcuin, Alchwin, or Albin was a native of York, England, and educated in the episcopal school there. He was well acquainted with Latin and Greek, and some say had a knowledge of Hebrew. He was a man of learning and genius, of sound judgment, and of good taste. As an orator, poet, philosopher, and theologian, he was perhaps the most distinguished man of his age. His writings consist chiefly of expositions of the Scriptures, letters, and treatises on theology and science. His expositions like those of Bede, are little more than compilations from the fathers, particularly from Augustine. His letters are numerous, well written, and useful for elucidating the history of his times. Being sent by his bishop to Rome, Charlemagne met him and became so pleased with him that he allured him to his court, about A.D. 780, made him his preceptor and his counsellor, employed him to confute the errorists, Felix and Elipandus, and committed to his care not only the palatine school, but several monasteries, and particularly that of St. Martin of Tours. To this monastery he retired A.D. 790 then advanced in years; there he established a school after the model of that at York, and spent the remainder of his days in high reputation as a scholar and a devout Christian. He died A.D. 804. See Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. v. p. 138—180; and Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. i.—*Mur.* [See also Lingard's *Hist. and Antiq. of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, 1845, vol. ii. p. 203; Turner's *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. iii. p. 383, 414, 438, and 450; Wright's *Biogr. Britan. Liter. Anglo-Saxon period.* A very ample and most satisfactory account of Alcuin and of his works, is given by Bähr, in the Supplement to his *Gesch. der Römis. Liter.* par. iii. His critical remarks on Alcuin as a poet may be found at page 78; on his biographical writings, at p. 192; and on his expository and controversial works from p. 302 to p. 347, where he gives a critical estimate of the character and style of Alcuin as a writer. The best edition of his works is that printed at the monastery of St. Emmeran at Ratisbon, under the editorial care and at the expense of the abbot Frobenius, who was also a prince of the empire, in the year 1777 in two volumes, folio. His life, written in German by Dr. Fr. Lorenz, has been translated into English by Jane M. Slee, Lond. 1837. His Commentary on the Apocalypse in five books, is published for the first time by Cardinal Mai in his *Scriptorum Vet. nova Collect.* tom. ix. p. 257, &c. It is however incomplete, extending only to the 12th chapter. On Bede and Alcuin as biblical expositors, see Conybeare's Bampton Lectures on the *Secondary and Spiritual Interpretation of Scripture*, and Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics*, p. 163, &c. A most interesting relic of Alcuin is still in preservation. It is a copy of Jerome's Latin version of the Bible written by him in double columns on vellum, with beautiful illustrations, and presented by him to Charlemagne on Christmas day, 801! It was offered for sale in London in 1836, and was then in excellent preservation. What became of it I have not learned.—*R.*

[3] See *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iv. p. 286; *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. Januar. p. 713. [Paulinus is said to have been a native of Austria and a celebrated grammarian. Charlemagne raised him to affluence and then made him archbishop of Aquileia in the year 776. From the year 793 to the year 799, in connexion with Alcuin he was very active in opposing and confuting the errors of Felix and Elipandus, and made a considerable figure in the councils of Francfort and Foro-Julii. He enjoyed the confidence of Charlemagne and the respect of his contemporaries, and died A.D. 804. His works are nearly all polemic, and opposed to the Adoptionists, namely, a Tract on the Trinity, against Elipandus, against Felix, with several epistles, and a few poems. They were published at Venice, 1737, fol. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. i.—*Mur.*

but the state of the times prevented their attaining eminence. If to these we add Boniface, who has been already mentioned;[1] Eginhard, the celebrated author of a *Biography of Charlemagne* and of other works;[2] Paul the deacon, known to after ages by his *History of the Lombards* and some other works;[3] Ambrose Authpert, who expounded the *Apocalypse of St. John*;[4] and Theodulphus of Orleans,[5] we have nearly all the writers of any merit who cultivated either sacred or profane learning.[6]

1 See above, p. 260, note 2.—*Mur.*

2 Eginhard or Einhard was a German of Franconia, educated in the court of Charlemagne, made tutor to his sons, chaplain, privy-councillor, and private secretary to the emperor. He was also overseer of the royal buildings at Aix-la-Chapelle. Whether his wife Emma or Imma was the natural daughter of Charlemagne has been questioned. After she had borne him one child, they mutually agreed to separate and betake themselves to monasteries. Charlemagne made Eginhard his ambassador to Rome in 806. In 816 he became abbot of Fontanelle; and the next year Lewis the Pious committed his son Lothaire to his instruction. In 819 he became the abbot of Ghent, and in 826 abbot of Seeligenstadt, where he died about A.D. 840. He was a fine scholar, and as a historian the first in his age. Besides sixty-two epistles and several tracts, he wrote the Life of Charlemagne, which has been compared with Suetonius' Cæsars for elegance; also annals of the reigns of Pepin, Charlemagne, and Lewis the Pious, from A.D. 741 to A.D. 829. The best edition of his works is that of Schminke, Utrecht, 1711, 4to. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. ii. and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxii. p. 150, &c.—*Mur.* [Ample information on the life, character, and writings of Eginhard with valuable references to other works respecting him, may be found in Bähr, *Gesch. der römis. Liter.* Suppl. vol. par. iii. p. 200—216. On the question of his wife Emma being the daughter of Charlemagne, see Fr. Schlegler, *Kritische Untersuchung des Leb. Eginhard's mit besond. Brück. der Frage—war Emma, eine Tochter Karls d. Gross.* Bamb. 1836.—*R.*

3 Paul Warnifrid or Diaconus, a Lombard by birth and deacon of the church of Aquileia, was private secretary to Desiderius, king of the Lombards. When that nation was conquered by Charlemagne A.D. 774, Paul was sent prisoner to France; afterwards being suspected of favouring the disaffected Lombards, he retired to the south of Italy and became a monk at Mount Cassino, where he ended his days some time in the following century. His history of the Lombards is of considerable value. His *Historia Miscella* is a meagre thing. The first ten books are those of Eutropius, with some interpolations. The next six were composed by Paul, and the remainder by some writer of even less value. His *Homiliarium* or Collection of Homilies for all the Sundays and holy days of the year in 2 vols. 4to, was compiled (not by Alcuin as some suppose, but by Paul) by direction of Charlemagne; and was intended to afford to preachers who could not frame discourses, some which they might read to their congregations. The collection is made from Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Origen, Leo, Gregory, Maximus, Bede, &c. Some discourses were added to it after the death of Paul. He also wrote the life of St. Benedict, and biographies of several other saints. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. i. and Bellarmin, *Scriptores Ecclesiast.* ed. Venice, 1728, fol. p. 258, &c.—*Mur.*

4 Ambrose Authpert or Autpert was a native of France, and became abbot of St. Vincent in Abruzzo, Italy, about A.D. 760. He must not be confounded with an abbot of Mount Cassino of the same name, who lived in the 9th century. To him has been attributed the work entitled, *The Conflict of the Vices and Virtues*, published among the works of Augustine, and also of Ambrose of Milan, and likewise some other pieces. But his great work is his Commentary on the Apocalypse, in ten books. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. i. and Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. iv. p. 234, &c.—*Mur.*

5 Theodulphus, an Italian, whom Charlemagne, patronised. He first made him abbot of St. Fleury, and then bishop of Orleans about A.D. 794. Lewis the Pious greatly esteemed him, employed him much at his court, and sent him as his envoy to the pope. But in the year 818, being suspected of treasonable acts, he was deposed and confined to the monastery of Angers. He died about A.D. 821. He wrote tolerable poetry, namely, *Carmina ad diversos*, besides *Poemata*. His prose is inferior to his poetry, consisting of forty-six Canons for his diocese, a Tract on Baptism, and another on the Holy Spirit. Most of the preceding were published by Sirmond, Paris, 1646, 8vo. There is still extant an elegant MS. Bible which he caused to be written, and to which he prefixed a preface, and some poems, in golden letters. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. i. and Bellarmin, *Script. Eccles.* p. 281, &c.—*Mur*

6 Among the Greek writers omitted by Mosheim, are the following:—

John, patriarch of Constantinople under Philip Bardanes, the Monothelite, A.D. 812—815. Being deposed after the death of Philip, he wrote an Epistle to the bishop of Rome, purging himself of the Monothelite heresy, which is printed in the *Concilia*.

Anastasius, abbot of St. Euthymium in Palestine, against whom John Damascenus wrote an epistle, flourished A.D. 741. He is author of a Tract against the Jews, published in a translation by Canisius, *Lect. Antiq.* tom. iii. and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xiii.

Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople. He was of noble birth and privy-councillor to the emperor when the empress Irene A.D. 785 raised him to the see of Constantinople, and employed him to restore image-worship in the East. He presided in the second Nicene council A.D. 787, and wrote several letters extant in the *Concilia*. He died A.D. 806.

Basil, bishop of Ancyra, a recanter in the second Nicene council A.D. 787. His recantation for having opposed image-worship is published in the *Concilia*.

Elias, metropolitan of Crete, flourished A.D. 787. He wrote Commentaries on Gregory Nazianzen's Orations still extant in a Latin translation, Answers to questions on cases of conscience by Dionysius, extant, Gr. and Lat. His exposition of the Scala of John Climax is said still to exist in MS.

The Latin writers omitted by Mosheim are much more numerous.

Acca, a celebrated English monk of York, who flourished A.D. 705—740, and was an intimate friend of Bede. He accompanied St. Wilfrid to Rome, became bishop of Hexham (Hagulstadiens) in Northumberland, and wrote lives of the saints of his diocese, several letters, &c.

John VII. pope A.D. 705—707, has left us one Epistle addressed to Ethelred, king of Mercia, and Alfrid, king of Deira, respecting Wilfrid, bishop of York, in the *Concilia*.

Constantine, pope A.D. 708—715, was called to Constantinople A.D. 710 by the emperor and treated with great respect. His Epistle to Brietwald, archbishop of Canterbury, is extant in the *Concilia*.

Gregory II. pope A.D. 715–31, famous for his opposition to Leo III. the emperor, who endeavoured to suppress image-worship. He has left us fifteen Epistles published in the *Concilia*. In his pontificate the *Liber Diurnus*, containing the ancient forms of proceeding in the Church of Rome, is supposed to have been compiled. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. i. p. 620, &c.

Felix, an English monk who flourished A.D. 715, was a writer of some distinction. His life of St. Guthlac, the anchorite of Croyland, is above the ordinary level of the legends of that age. It is in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. iii. p. 256, &c.

Heddius, surnamed Stephen, an English presbyter and monk, well skilled in church music. Wilfrid, archbishop of York, invited him from Canterbury to instruct his clergy in singing about A.D. 720. He composed an elaborate life of archbishop Wilfrid, which is in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. v. p. 631—709.

Gregory III. pope A.D. 731—741. He pursued the contest begun by his predecessor against the emperor Leo. III. and also invited Charles Martel to aid him

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND OF THEOLOGY.

1. THE fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion were preserved both by the Greek and the Latin writers. This will appear unquestionable to one who shall inspect the work of John Damascenus among the Greeks, on the orthodox faith, and the profession of faith by Charlemagne among the Latins.[1] But to this pure seed of the word more tares were added than can be well imagined. The very nature of religion and the true worship of God were corrupted by those who contended for image-worship, and for similar institutions, with a fierceness which extinguished all charity. The efficacy of the merits of our Saviour all acknowledged; and yet all tacitly depreciated them, by maintaining that men can appease God, either by undergoing voluntary punishments or by offering Him gifts and presents, and by directing those anxious about salvation to place confidence in the works of holy men.[2] To explain the other defects and superstitions of the times, would carry us beyond the limits prescribed in this work.

2. The whole religion or piety of this and of some subsequent centuries consisted in founding, enriching, embellishing, and enlarging churches and chapels, in hunting after and venerating the relics of holy men, in securing the patronage of saints with God by means of gifts and superstitious rites and ceremonies, in worshipping the images and statues of saints, in performing pilgrimages to holy places, especially to Palestine,[3] and in other similar practices. In

against the king of the Lombards. He has left us seven Epistles, and a Collection from the ancient canons, which are extant in Harduin, *Concilia*.

Fredegarius Scholasticus, a Frank, who flourished A.D. 740, wrote a History or *Chronicon de Gestis Francorum*, from A.D. 596 (where Gregory of Tours ends) to A.D. 739. It is commonly subjoined to Gregory's History.

Cuthbert, an English monk of Durham, a disciple and intimate friend of Bede. He wrote the life of Bede, some letters, &c.

Zacharias a Syrian monk and pope A.D. 741—752. He has left us eighteen Epistles, and a Greek translation of St. Gregory's Dialogues.

Chrodegand, Chrodegang, or Rodegang, a Frank of noble birth, educated in the court of Charles Martel, and bishop of Metz from A.D. 742 to 766. He first composed rules for regular canons. See sec. 14 of this chapter, and note 6, page 272 above.

Willibald, an English monk, traveller, and bishop of Eichstadt in Germany. He was an assistant of St. Boniface, and wrote his life. See note 3, p. 263, above.

Stephen II. pope A.D. 752—757 has left us six Epistles extant in the *Concilia*.

Isidorus, bishop of Badajos (Pacensis) in Spain, flourished A.D. 754. He continued Idacius' supplement to Jerome's *Chronicon*, from A.D. 609 to A.D. 754.

Paul I. pope A.D. 757—767. Twelve Epistles ascribed to him are extant in the *Concilia*.

Aribo, bishop of Freysingen A.D. 760—783. He was a monk educated by St. Corbinian, whose successor and biographer he was. See Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. iii. p. 470, and Meichelbeck's *Historia Frisingens.* tom. i. p. 61, &c.

Florus, a monk of St. Trudo in the diocese of Liege, who flourished about A.D. 760, and enlarged Bede's *Martyrologium*.

Godescalk, a deacon and canon of Liege who flourished about A.D. 780, and wrote the life of St. Lambert, bishop of Liege in this century. It is extant in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor.* &c. tom. iii. 59, &c.

Stephen III. pope A.D. 768—772, has left us three Epistles and some Decrees.

Hadrian or Adrian I. pope A.D. 772—795, has left us eighteen Epistles, an Epitome of Ecclesiastical canons addressed to Charlemagne, a collection of canons for the use of Inglram, a bishop, and a letter in confutation of Charlemagne's books against image-worship.

Donatus, a deacon of Metz about A.D. 790, who wrote the life of St. Trudo, extant in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. ii. p. 1022, &c.

Etherius or Heterius, bishop of Axuma in Spain, and Beatus, a Spanish presbyter of Asturia, distinguished themselves by their opposition to the error of Elipandus, which they endeavoured to confute, in a work still extant, in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xiii.

Leo III. pope A.D. 795—816, has left us thirteen Epistles.

Leidradus or Lerdrachus, bishop of Lyons A.D. 798—813, was twice sent into Spain by Charlemagne to reclaim Felix and Elipandus. He has left us three Epistles and a Tract on Baptism.

Jesse or Jessæus or Tesse, bishop of Amiens, A.D. 799—834, was much employed on embassies and in civil affairs by Charlemagne and his successors. He wrote a long Epistle to his clergy concerning sacred rites, particularly in relation to baptism, still extant in the *Biblio. Pat.—Mur.*

[1] See Charlemagne's Treatise *De Imaginibus*, lib. iii. p. 259, ed. Heumann. Add from among the Greeks the Profession of faith by Mich. Syncellus, published by Montfaucon, in the *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*, p. 90, &c. From among the Latins, an Exposition of the principal doctrines of religion by Benedict of Ariane, in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. v. p. 56, and the Creed of Leo III. which he sent into the East, also in Baluze, tom. vii. p. 18.

[2] We will quote a few passages as proof. Bede says (lib. i. on Luc. cap. i.) Decebat, ut, sicut per superbiam primæ nostræ parentis mors in mundum intravit, ita denuo *per humilitatem Mariæ* vitæ introitus panderetur. And (lib. iii. in Job. cap. i.) he says:—Cum confectus homo etque consumptus morti et infernalibus ministris appropinquaverit, si fuerit quispiam sanctorum, qui nomen sancti angeli habere mereatur: is pro hujusmodi, qui pro peccatis suis a Deo ita corripitur, poterit impetrare: si de multis operibus bonis, quæ operari debuerat, saltem *unum bonum opus ejus*, quod tanquam sacrificium pro eo placabile offerat, valuerit invenire. Commenting on Psalm iv. he says of the words, *Offer the sacrifices of righteousness*, that they mean: Ita dico, ut irascimini præteritis peccatis, ut sacrificetis sacrificium, id est, *mortificetis propria vitia vestra*, faciendo fructus dignos pœnitentia: *tantum scilicet pro singulis vos affligentes*, quam tum digna expetit pœnitentia: *quod erit sacrificium justitiæ*, id est justum sacrificium. Nam nihil justius est, quam qui punit aliena *peccata*, ut *puniat propria*: et ut quisque tantum se affligat, quantum fœdata ejus conscientia meruit, et sic se ipsum Deo faciat suave sacrificium.—*Schl*

[3] Such pilgrimages were likewise made to Rome, and they were called *pilgrimages for Christ*, and the performers of them, *Pilgrims of St. Peter*. Many disorders attended these pilgrimages. Hence Boniface in a letter to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury (to be found among the Acts of the council of Cloveshoo, in England, A.D. 747), desired that women and nuns might be restrained from their frequent pilgrimages to Rome, alleging this reason: Quia magna ex parte pereunt, paucis remanentibus integris. Perpaucæ enim sunt civitates in Longobardia, vel in Francia, aut in Gallia, in quibus non sit adultera vel meretrix generis Anglorum: quod scandalum est et turpitudo totius ecclesiæ vestræ. See Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iii. p 1950.—*Schl.*

hese services, which were supposed to have the greatest efficacy in procuring salvation, the virtuous and good were equally zealous with the vicious and profligate; the latter that they might cancel their crimes and wickedness, and the former that they might obtain earthly blessings from God, and secure a more ready admission to heavenly bliss. The true religion of Jesus Christ, if we except the few doctrines contained in the Creeds, was wholly unknown in this century even to the teachers of the highest rank; and all orders of society, from the highest to the lowest, neglecting the duties of true piety and the renovation of the heart, fearlessly gave themselves up to every vice and crime, supposing that God could easily be appeased and become reconciled to them by the intercessions and prayers of the saints, and by the friendly offices of the priests, the ministers of God. The whole history of these times avouches the truth of these remarks.

3. The Greeks believed that their forefathers had fully explained the sacred volume. They therefore conceived that they conferred a great favour on the biblical students by making extracts from the writings of the fathers, and embodying their interpretations of scripture, whether good or bad. How judicious these compilations were will appear, among others, from the Commentary of John Damascenus on St. Paul's Epistles, compiled from Chrysostom. The Latin interpreters are of two classes. Some, like the Greeks, collected and embodied the interpretations of the fathers. Among others Bede took this course in his Exposition of the Epistles of St. Paul, compiled from Augustine and others.[1] The other class made trial of their own skill in expounding the sacred volume; and among these, Alcuin, Bede, Ambrose Authpert (the interpreter of the Apocalypse), and a few others, stand conspicuous. But they lacked the ability requisite for this office; and neglecting altogether the true import of the words, they hunted after recondite meanings, which they distributed into the allegorical, the anagogical, and the tropological;[2] that is, they tell us not what the inspired writers say, but what they vainly suspect those writers would signify to us. We may name as examples, Alcuin's *Commentary on John*, Bede's *Allegorical Explanations of the Books of Samuel*, and Charlemagne's *Books on Images*, in which various passages of scripture are expounded after the manner of this age.[3]

4. Charlemagne's reverence for the sacred volume was so great[4] that it went beyond due bounds, and led him to believe the fundamental principles of all arts and sciences to be contained in the bible; a sentiment which he undoubtedly imbibed from Alcuin and the other divines whom he was accustomed to hear.[5] Hence originated his various efforts to excite the clergy to a more diligent investigation and explanation of the sacred books. Laws enacted by him for this purpose are still extant, and there are other proofs that on no subject was he more earnest.[6] That errors in the Latin translation might be no obstacle to his designs, he employed Alcuin to correct and improve it;[7] indeed he himself spent some time during the last years of his life in correcting such errors.[8] Some also tell us that he procured a translation of the sacred books into German, but others attribute this to his son, Lewis the Pious.[9]

5. These efforts of the emperor had the effect of awakening some of the slothful and indolent to exertion; yet it must be admitted that some of his regulations and plans tended to defeat in part his excellent purposes. In the first place, he sanctioned the practice, which had prevailed before his day, of reading and expounding only certain portions of the sacred volume in the assemblies of worship; and the diverse customs of the different churches he endeavoured to reduce to one uniform standard.[10]

[1] On the Commentaries of Bede, see Simon, *Critique de la Biblioth. Ecclés. de M. du Pin*, tome i. p. 280, &c. See also his Exposition of Genesis derived from the fathers, in Martene, *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 111, 116, 140; and the Interpretation of Habakkuk, ibid. p. 295, &c.

[2] See Charlemagne, *De Imaginibus*, lib. i. p. 138.

[3] See Charlemagne, *ubi supra*, lib. i. p. 84, 91, 123, 127, 131, 133, 136, 138, 145, 160, 164, 165, &c. passim.

[4] See Charlemagne, *ubi supra*, lib. i. p. 40.

[5] Charlemagne, *ubi supra*, lib. i. p. 231, 236.

[6] See Frick, *De Canone Scriptur. Sac.* p. 184.

[7] Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 778, sec. 27, &c.; Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 137; *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iv. p. 300.

[8] Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 950, &c.; Ussher, *De Sacris et Scripturis Vernaculis*, p. 110, &c. [See also Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xx. p. 196, &c.—*Mur.*

[9] See Du Chesne, *Scriptores Hist. Franc.* tom. ii. p. 326.—*Mur.*

[10] It must be acknowledged that it is a mistake to suppose the emperor Charlemagne to have first selected those portions of the sacred volume, which are still read and expounded every year in the assemblies of Christians. For it appears that in preceding centuries, in most of the Latin churches, certain portions of the inspired books were assigned to the several days for public worship. See Thamer, *Schediasma de Origine et Dignitate Pericoparum, quæ Evangelia et Epistolæ vulgo vocantur*; which has been several times printed. Also, Buddeus, *Isagoge ad Theologiam*, tom. ii. p. 1640, &c. [1426, &c.] Yet Charlemagne had something to do in this matter. For whereas before his time, the Latin churches differed or did not all read and expound the same portions of the Bible, he first ordained that all the churches throughout his dominions should conform to the custom of the Romish church. For those *Gospels* and *Epistles*, as they are called, which have been expounded in public worship from his times to the present, were used at Rome as early as the sixth century; and it is

In the next place, knowing that few of the clergy were competent to explain well the Gospels and Epistles, as the lessons were called, he directed Paul the Deacon and Alcuin to collect from the fathers homilies or discourses on these lessons, that the ignorant and slothful teachers might read them to the people. This was the origin of what is called his *Homiliarium* or *Book of Homilies*;[1] and his example led others, in this and the next century, to compile at their own pleasure similar works for the encouragement of laziness among the teachers.[2] Lastly, the emperor caused the lives of the most eminent saints to be collected into a volume, so that the people might have among the dead, examples worthy of imitation while they had none among the living. That all these regulations proceeded from honest and good intentions, and indeed that they were useful in that age, no one can doubt. But still, contrary to the intentions of the emperor, they contributed not a little to confirm the indolence of the public teachers, and to increase the neglect of the sacred volume; for from this time onward, most of the clergy directed their attention exclusively to those portions of the bible which were to be expounded to the people, and did not exercise themselves in reading and examining the whole volume of scripture; and few were to be found who were inclined to compose their own public discourses rather than resort to their Homiliarium.

6. The business of discussing formally and systematically the doctrines of Christianity was scarcely attempted by any one of the Latins; for the essays of some few respecting the person and natures of Christ, against Felix and Elipandus, and concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit and other subjects, exhibit no specimens of thorough investigation. The whole theology of the Latins in this century consisted in collecting opinions and testimonies out of the Fathers, that is, the theologians of the six first centuries; nor did any venture to go beyond their views or presume to rely upon his own understanding. None but Irish scholars, in that age called Scots, employed philosophy, which others detested in the explanation of religious doctrines.[3] But among the Greeks, John Damascenus, in his four books on the orthodox faith, embraced the entire theology of the Christians in a systematic form. In this work the two kinds of theology, which the Latins call scholastic and dogmatic, were united; for the author uses subtle ratiocination in explaining doctrines, and confirms them by the authority of the fathers. This work was received by the Greeks with great applause, and gradually acquired such influence that it was regarded among them as the only guide to true theology. Yet many have complained that the author relies more upon human reason and upon the faith of the fathers than upon the holy scriptures, and that

well known that Charlemagne took pains to render the Romish form of worship the common form of all the Latins. And hence down to this day those churches which have not adopted the Romish rites, use for lessons other *Gospels* and *Epistles* than those of ours and the other Western churches, which Charlemagne commanded to conform. The church of Milan is an example, which retains the Ambrosian ritual; likewise the church of Chur (Curia), according to Muratori, *Antiquit. Ital.* tom. iv. p. 836, and undoubtedly some others. What *Gospels* and *Epistles* were used by the French and other Western churches before the time of Charlemagne, may be learned from the ancient *Kalendars* published (among others), by Martene, *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 66; and from Bede's Discourses, ibid. tom. v. p. 339, &c.; from Mabillon, *De Antiqua Liturgia Gallicana;* and from others. See also Peyrat, *Antiq. de la Chapelle du Roi de France*, p. 566.

[1] See, on this subject, the very laborious and learned Jo. Hen. a Seelen, *Selecta Literaria*, p. 252. [Also Mabillon's *Annales ord. Bened.* tom. ii. p. 328, &c.—*Mur.*

[2] Halanus or Alanus, for example, an Italian abbot of Farfa, compiled in this same century a huge Homiliarium, the preface to which was published by Pezius, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. vi. par. i. p. 83. In the next century Haymo of Halberstadt made up a *Homiliarium*, which has been printed. In the same century Rabanus Maurus, at the request of the Emperor Lothaire, formed a *Homiliarium;* and likewise, Hericus, mentioned by Pezius, *ubi supra*, p. 93. All these made use of the Latin language. The first who composed a German Homiliarium I suppose was the celebrated Ottfrid of Weissenburg. See Lambecius, *De Biblioth. Vindobon. Augusta*, tom. ii. cap. v. p. 419.

[3] I was aware that Irishmen, who in that age were called *Scots*, cultivated and amassed learning beyond the other nations of Europe in those dark times; that they travelled over various countries of Europe for the purpose of learning, but still more for that of teaching; and that in this century and the following, Irishmen or Scots were to be met with everywhere in France, Germany, and Italy, discharging the functions of teachers with applause. But I was long ignorant that Irishmen were also the first who taught *scholastic theology* in Europe; and that so early as this century they applied philosophy to the explanation of the Christian religion. This fact I learned first from Benedict of Aniane, some of whose short pieces are published by Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. v. He says, in his *Epist. to Guarnarius*, p. 14: *Apud modernos scholasticos* (i. e. teachers of schools), *maxime apud Scotos* (who held the first rank among school teachers), *est syllogismus delusionis ut dicant, Trinitatem, sicut personarum, ita esse substantiarum* (by a syllogism which Benedict here calls *delusive*, i. e. sophistical and fallacious, these Irishmen proved the Persons in the Godhead to be *substances;* but the syllogism was a very captious one as appears from what follows, and brought the inexperienced into difficulties); *quatenus si adsenserit illectus auditor, trinitatem esse trium substantiarum Deum, trium derogetur cultor Deorum: si autem abnuerit, personarum denegator culpetur.* That is, these philosophic theologians perplexed and troubled their hearers with this syllogism. If any one assented to their reasoning they accused him of *tritheism;* if he rejected it they taxed him with *Sabellianism.* Either grant that the three Persons in God are three substances or deny it. If you grant it, you doubtless are a *tritheist* and worship three Gods; if you deny it, you destroy the Persons and fall into *Sabellianism.* Benedict strongly reprehends this subtlety in theological discussions, and recommends the love of simplicity. *Sed hæc de fide et omnis calliditatis versutia simplicitate fidei catholicæ est puritate vitanda, non captiosa interjectione linguarum, scæva invactione interpolanda.* The philosophic or

he thus subverts the true grounds of theology.[1] To this work must be added his *Sacred Parallels*, in which he carefully collects the opinions of the ancient doctors respecting the articles of faith. We may therefore look upon this writer as the Thomas and the Lombard of the Greeks.

7. Instructions for a Christian life and its duties were given by no one in a formal treatise. John Carpathius among the Greeks, left some *Hortatory Discourses* containing little that deserves much commendation. In the monasteries the opinions of the mystics, and of Dionysius Areopagita the father of them, received exclusive approbation; and John Darensis, a Syriac writer, in order to gratify the monks, translated *Dionysius*.[2] The Latins did no more than offer some precepts concerning vices and virtues and external actions; and in explaining these they kept close to the principles of the Peripatetics, as may be seen in some tracts of Bede, and in the treatise of Alcuin on the virtues and vices.[3] To exhibit examples of piety before the public, several reputable men, as Bede, Florus, Alcuin, Marcellinus, and Ambrose Authpert, composed biographies of persons who were distinguished for piety.

8. Only a small number in this century entered into controversies on important religious subjects, and among these there is hardly an individual who merits commendation. Most of the Greeks engaged in the contest about images, which they managed unskilfully and without precision of thought. The Latins entered less into this controversy, and expended more effort in confuting the opinion of Elipandus, concerning the person of Christ. John Damascenus assailed all the heretics, in a small but not a useless tract. He also contended resolutely against the Manichæans and Nestorians in particular, and ventured also to attack the Saracens. In these writings of his there is some ingenuity and subtilty, but a want of clearness and simplicity. Anastasius, an abbot of Palestine, attempted a confutation of the Jews.

9. Of the controversies which disquieted this age the greatest and the most pernicious related to the worship of sacred images. Originating in Greece, it thence spread over the East and the West, producing great harm both to the state and to the church. The first sparks of it appeared under Philippicus Bardanes, who was emperor of the Greeks near the beginning of this century With the consent of the patriarch John, in the year 712 he removed from the portico of the church of St. Sophia a picture representing the sixth general council, which condemned the Monothelites whom the emperor was disposed to favour; and he sent his mandate to Rome requiring all such pictures to be removed out of the churches. But Constantine, the Roman pontiff, not only protested against the emperor's edict, but likewise caused pictures of all the six general councils to be placed in the portico of the church of St. Peter; and moreover, having assembled a council at Rome, he caused the emperor himself to be condemned as an apostate from the true religion. These first commotions however terminated the next year, when the emperor was hurled from the throne.[4]

Scholastic theology is therefore much more ancient among the Latins than is commonly supposed.

[1] Hottinger. *Biblio. Quadrip.* lib. iii. cap. ii. sec. 3, p. 372; Chemnitz, *De Usu et Utilitate Locor. Commun.* p. 26.

[2] Assemar, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom ii. p. 120.

[3] It is extant in his *Opera* ed. of Du Chesne, tom. ii. p. 1218.

[4] See Spanheim, *Hist. Imaginum restituta*, which was published both separately and in his Works, vol. ii. Maimbourg's history of this controversy in French is full of fables. Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*, tom. iv. p. 221, &c. [For the history of this controversy see Walch's *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. x. p. 66—828, and vol. xi. p. 3—400; also Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xx. p. 513—602, and vol. xxiii. p. 345—432. The origin of this controversy is not generally carried back to the collision of Philippicus with the Roman pontiff, which related perhaps wholly to the doctrines of the Monothelites; nor is there good proof that the pontiff ventured to excommunicate the emperor. See Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. iii. p. 180, 181. The following remarks of Schlegel are worth inserting in this place. In order to understand the history of this controversy in its whole extent, it is necessary to go back to the earlier history of the church, and to investigate the origin of image-worship among Christians. It is certain, and even the impartial Catholics themselves admit it, that in the three first centuries and also in the beginning of the fourth, pictures were very rarely to be found among Christians. See Du Pin, *Bibliothèque*, tome vi. p. 152, and Pagi, *Crit. ad Annal. Baronii*, ad ann. 55, p. 43. Indeed there were Christian writers on morals who disapproved of a Christian's pursuing the trade of a painter or statuary. See Tertullian, *Contra Hermog.* cap. i. and *De Idolatria*, cap. iii. Even in the time of the seventh general council A.D. 787, the use of statues was not yet introduced into churches, as appears from the seventh Article of that council. Still less did the ancient Christians think of giving worship to images. The occasion of introducing images into churches was in a great measure the ignorance of the people, which rendered pictures a help to them, whence they have been called the *people's Bible*. On this ground it was that Gregory the Great censured Severus, bishop of Marseilles, who had removed the pictures out of the churches on account of the misuse the people made of them. Gregory's *Epistolæ*, lib. ix. ep. 91. *Quia eas (imagines) adorare vetuisses, omnino laudavimus; fregisse vero reprehendimus.* To this cause may be added, the superstition of the people and the monks, who were influenced very much by sensible objects, and who began as early as the close of the sixth century to ascribe to the images miracles of various kinds. They now began to kiss the images, to burn incense to them, to kneel before them, to light up wax candles for them, to expect wonders to be wrought by them, to place infants in their arms at baptism, as if they were godfathers and godmothers, to carry them with them in their military expeditions to secure a victory and give confidence to the soldiers, and in taking an oath to lay their hand on them just as upon the cross and upon the Gospels. Indeed nearly the whole of religion in this century consisted in the worship of images. In particular, the superstitious worship of images proceeded so far

10. Under Leo the Isaurian, a very heroic emperor, another conflict ensued, which was far more terrific, severe, and lasting. Leo, unable to bear with the extravagant superstition of the Greeks in worshipping religious images, which rendered them an object of reproach both to the Jews and the Saracens, in order to extirpate the evil entirely, issued an edict in the year 726 commanding all images of saints, with the exception of that of Christ on the cross, to be removed out of the churches, and the worship of them to be wholly discontinued and abrogated. In this proceeding the emperor obeyed the dictates of his own feelings, which were naturally strong and precipitate, rather than the suggestions of prudence, which recommends the gradual and unobserved extirpation of inveterate superstitions. Hence a civil war broke out, first in the islands of the Archipelago and a part of Asia, and afterwards in Italy; for the people, either spontaneously or urged on by the priests and monks, to whom the images were productive of gain, considered the emperor as an apostate from true religion, and of course supposed themselves freed from their oath of allegiance and from all obligations of obedience.

11. In Italy the Roman pontiffs, Gregory II. and Gregory III. were the principal authors of the revolt. The former of these pontiffs, when Leo would not at his command revoke his decree against images, did not hesitate to say that the emperor in his view had rendered himself unworthy of the name and the privileges of a true Christian. This opinion being known, the Romans and the other people of Italy who were subjects of the Greek empire, violated their allegiance, and either massacred or expelled the viceroys of Leo. Exasperated by these causes, the emperor contemplated making war upon Italy, and especially against the pontiff, but circumstances prevented him. Hence in the year 730, fired with resentment and indignation, he vented his fury against images and their worshippers much more violently than before; for, having assembled a council of bishops, he deposed Germanus, bishop of Constantinople, who favoured images, and substituted Anastasius in his place, commanded that images should be committed to the flames, and inflicted various punishments upon the advocates of them.[1] The consequence of this severity was, that the Christian church was unhappily rent into two parties—that of the Iconoduli or Iconolatræ, the adorers or worshippers of images, and that of the Iconomachi or Iconoclastæ, the enemies or breakers of images; and these parties furiously contended, with mutual invectives, abuses, and assassinations. The course commenced by Gregory II. was warmly prosecuted by Gregory III.; and although we cannot determine at this distance of time the precise degree of fault in either of these prelates, thus much is unquestionable, the loss of their Italian possessions by the Greeks in this contest, is to be ascribed especially to the zeal of these pontiffs in behalf of images.[2]

among the Greeks that the rich at Constantinople used to send their bread to the churches, and have it held up before an image previously to eating it. Schlegel's note.—*Mur.*

1 Leo was led on to one degree of innovation after another, by the opposition to his measures from the friends of images. At first he proceeded in the ordinary and legal way. He wished to have the subject discussed and determined in a general Council. But the pope would not agree to it, and urged that the emperor should remain quiet and not bring the subject under agitation. Leo's first requisition was that the images should be hung higher in the churches. But in this the patriarch Germanus opposed him. And as the opposition of this man was confined to no limits he was deposed; yet the emperor allowed him, as we are informed by Theophanes, to spend his life quietly in his father's house. Next followed the edict of the emperor, by which he forbade the worshipping of images, and required their removal, if the worship of them could not be prevented by the mere prohibition. And it was not till after the horrible tumult at Constantinople and the insurrections of the Italian provinces, that he ordered all images upon the church walls to be effaced and the walls to be whitewashed, and the moveable images to be carried away and burned; and laid heavy punishments upon the riotous monks and blind zealots, who insulted him to his face with the title of Antichrist, a second Judas, &c. See Spanheim, *ubi supra*, p. 115, &c. and Basnage, *ubi supra*, tom. ii. p. 1278.—*Schl.*

2 The Greek writers tell us that both the Gregories debarred Leo and his son Constantine from the sacred communion, absolved the people of Italy from their oath of allegiance, and forbade their paying their taxes or performing any act of obedience. And the advocates of the Roman pontiffs, Baronius, Sigonius (*De Regno Italiæ*), and numerous others who follow these writers, admit that all these things were facts. Yet some very learned men, particularly among the French, maintain that the Gregories did not commit so gross offences; they deny that the pontiffs either excommunicated the emperors, or absolved the people from their allegiance and their duties to them. See Launoi, *Epist.* lib. vii. ep. 7. p. 456, in his *Opp.* tom. v. par. ii.; Natal. Alexander, *Hist. Eccles. Select. Capita*, sæcul. viii. diss. i. p. 456; De Marca, *De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*, lib. iii. cap. xi.; Bossuet, *Defensio Declarationis Cleri Gallic. de Potest. Eccles.* par. i. lib. vi. cap. xii. p. 197; Giannone, *Histoire Civile de Naples*, tome i. pag. 400. These rest chiefly upon the authority of the Latin writers, Anastasius, Paulus Diaconus, and others; who not only are silent as to this audacity of the pontiffs in assailing and combating the emperors, but also tell us that they gave some proofs of their loyalty to the emperors. The facts cannot be fully ascertained on account of the obscurity in the history of those times and the question must be left undecided. Yet this is certain that those pontiffs, by their zeal for image-worship, occasioned the revolt of their Italian subjects from the Greek emperors. [The arguments adduced by the apologists for the popes above-named, seem to be conclusive as to this point, that the popes did not then feel themselves to have jurisdiction over kings and emperors, or to have authority to dethrone them and to transfer their dominions to other sovereigns. In particular, Gregory II. stated very well the boundary between civil and ecclesiastical power; and reproached Leo with overleaping that boundary.—*Mur.*

12. The son of Leo, Constantine surnamed Copronymus[1] by the furious tribe of image-worshippers, after he came to the throne A.D. 741, trod in his father's steps, for he laboured with equal vigour to extirpate the worship of images, in opposition to the machinations of the Roman pontiff and the monks. Yet he pursued the business with more moderation than his father; and being aware that the Greeks were governed entirely by the authority of councils in religious matters, he collected a council of eastern bishops at Constantinople in the year 754, to examine and decide this controversy. By the Greeks this is called the seventh general council. The bishops pronounced sentence, as was customary, according to the views of the emperor, and therefore condemned images.[2] But the pertinacity of the superstitious, who were borne on by their zeal for images, was not to be overcome by these decisions. None made greater resistance than the monks, who did not cease to disturb the public tranquillity and to excite sedition among the people. Constantine therefore being moved with just indignation, punished many of them in various ways, and by new laws bridled the turbulence of this restless class of people. Leo IV. who succeeded to the throne A.D. 775 on the death of Constantine, entertained the same views as his father and grandfather had done; for when he saw that the abettors of images were not to be moved at all by mild and gentle measures, he coerced them with penal statutes.

13. But Leo IV. being removed by poison, through the wickedness of his perfidious wife Irene in the year 780, images became triumphant; for that guilty woman who governed the empire during the minority of her son Constantine, with a view to establish her authority, after entering into a league with Hadrian, the Roman pontiff, assembled a council at Nice in Bithynia in the year 786, which is known by the title of the second Nicene council. Here the laws of the emperors, together with the decrees of the council of Constantinople, were abrogated, the worship of images and of the cross was established, and penalties were denounced against those who should maintain that worship and adoration were to be given only to God. Nothing can be conceived more puerile and weak than the arguments and proofs by which these bishops support their decrees.[3] And yet the

[1] This nickname was given to Constantine, from his having defiled the sacred font at his baptism.—*Mael.*

[2] This council was composed of 338 bishops, a greater number than had ever before been assembled in any council. In his circular letter calling the council, the emperor directed the bishops to hold provincial councils throughout the empire for discussing the subject; so that when met in the general council, they might be prepared to declare the sense of the whole church. The council held its sessions in the imperial palace of Hiera over against the city on the Asiatic shore, and deliberated from the 10th of February till the 7th of August; when they adjourned to the church of St. Mary ad Blachernas in Constantinople, and there published their decrees. The patriarch of Constantinople, Anastasius, died a few days before the council met, and the emperor would not appoint a successor to that see till the deliberations of the council were closed, lest it should be thought he placed a creature of his own at the head of it. Of course two other bishops—namely, Theodosius, exarch of Asia, and Pastillus, metropolitan of Pamphylia, presided in the council. Its Acts and deliberations have all perished, or rather been destroyed by the patrons of image-worship; except so much of them as the second Nicene council saw fit to quote, for the purpose of confuting them in their sixth act. (Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 325—444.) From these quotations it appears that the council deliberated soberly, and reasoned discreetly from Scripture and the Fathers; that they maintained that all worship of images was contrary to Scripture and to the sense of the church in the purer ages; that it was idolatry and forbidden by the second commandment. They also maintained that the use of images in churches and places of worship was a custom borrowed from the pagans, that it was of dangerous tendency and ought to be abolished. They accordingly enacted canons expressive of these views, and requiring a corresponding practice. See Walch's *Hist. der Kirchenversam.* page 463, &c.; Cave, *Hist. Liter.* vol. i. p. 646, &c.; Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. iii. p. 357—368. On the side of the Catholics may be consulted Baronius, *Annales*, and Pagi, *Critica*, ad ann. 754.—*Mur.*

[3] Chemnitz, *Examen Concilii Trident.* par. iv. loc. ii. cap. v. p. 52, ed. Frankf. 1707; Lenfant, *Préservatif contre la Réunion avec le Siège de Rome*, par. iii. lettre xvii. p. 446. [Irene was undoubtedly an ungodly, hypocritical, ambitious woman, eager after power, and from this passion prone to cruelties even the most unnatural, and she was at the same time much devoted to image-worship. Her first step was to grant liberty to every one to make use of images in his private worship. She next removed Paul, the patriarch of Constantinople, because he was an Iconoclast; and made Tarasius her secretary, who was devoted to images and to her, to be patriarch. And as the imperial guards were inclined to iconoclasm and might give her trouble, she caused them to be marched out of the city under pretence of a foreign invasion, and then disbanded them. At last, in the name of her son Constantine, who was a minor, she called the council of Nice. Tarasius directed the whole proceedings. Yet there were two papal envoys present. In the Acts which we still have entire (in Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 1—820), there is mention of the representatives (τοποτηρητῶν) of the two eastern patriarchs, those of Alexandria and Antioch. But according to credible accounts, under this high title two miserable and illiterate monks were designated, whom their fellow monks had arbitrarily appointed and whom forged letters legitimated. The bishops assembled were at least 350. Besides these, two officers of the court were present as commissioners, and a whole army of monks. At first Constantinople was appointed for the place of meeting; but the Iconoclasts, who had the greater part of the army on their side, raised such a tumult that the empress postponed the meeting, and changed the place to Nice. In the 7th act of this council, the decree was made that the cross and the images of Christ Mary, the angels and the saints, were entitled to religious worship (τιμητικὴ προσκύνησις); that it was proper to kiss them, to burn incense to them, and to light up candles and lamps before them; yet they were not entitled to divine worship (λατρεία). The proofs adduced by these fathers in support of their decree, and their confutations of the contrary doctrine, betray their gross ignorance and their total want of critical sagacity, if not also some intentional dishonesty. Their Acts are full of fabulous tales of the wonders wrought by images, of appeals to apocryphal books, of perversions of the declarations of the fathers, and of other false and puerile arguments. Even Du Pin and Pagi cannot deny the fact; and it seems strange that it was possible for doctrines sup-

Romans would have these decrees held sacred, and the Greeks were as furious against those who refused to obey them as if they had been parricides and traitors. The other enormities of the flagitious Irene, and her end, which corresponded with her crimes,[1] it belongs not to this history to narrate.

14. In these contests most of the Latins —as the Britons, the Germans, and the French—took middle ground between the contending parties; for they decided that images were to be retained indeed and to be placed in the churches, but that no religious worship could be offered to them without dishonouring the Supreme Being.[2] In particular, Charlemagne, at the suggestion of the French bishop, who were displeased with the Nicene decrees, caused four books concerning images to be drawn up by some learned man, which he sent in the year 790 to the Roman pontiff, Hadrian, in order to prevent his approving the decrees of Nice. In this work the arguments of the Nicene bishops in defence of image-worship are acutely and vigorously combated.[3] But Hadrian was not to be taught by such a master, however illustrious, and therefore issued his formal confutation of the book. Charlemagne next assembled in the year 794, a council of three hundred bishops at Frankfort on the Maine, in order to re-examine this controversy. This council approved of the sentiments contained in the books of Charlemagne, and forbade the worsip of images;[4] for the Latins it seems did not in that age deem it impious to dispute the correctness of the decisions of the Roman pontiff, and to discard his opinions.[5]

15. While these contests respecting images were raging, another controversy sprang up between the Greeks and the Latins respecting the procession of the Holy Spirit, which the Latins contended was from both the Father and the Son, but the Greeks that it was only from the Father. The origin of this controversy is involved in much obscurity, but as it is certain that the subject came up in the council of Gentilly, near Paris, A.D. 767, and was there agitated with the ambassadors of the Greek emperor,[6] it is most probable that the controversy originated in Greece amidst the collisions respecting images. As the Latins defended their opinion on this subject by appealing to the Constantinopolitan creed, which the Spaniards first and afterwards the French had enlarged, (though at what time or on what occasion is not known) by adding the words '*and from the Son*' to the article concerning the Holy Spirit, the Greeks charged the Latins with having the audacity to corrupt the creed of the church universal by this interpolation, which they denominated sacrilege. From a contest about a doctrine therefore it became a controversy about the insertion of a word.[7] In

ported by such false reasonings, to become the prevailing doctrines of the whole church.—See Walch's *Hist. der Kirchenversam*, p. 477, &c.—*Schl.*

[1] This most atrocious woman procured the death of her own son Constantine in order that she might reign alone. But in the year 802 she was banished by the emperor Nicephorus to the island of Lesbos, where she died the year following.

[2] On the abhorrence of the Britons of image-worship, see Spelman, *Concilia Mag. Britan.* tom. i. p. 73, &c.

[3] These books of Charlemagne, *De Imaginibus*, are still extant, republished when become very scarce with a very learned preface, by Heumann, Hanover, 1731, 8vo. The venerated name of the emperor Charlemagne is attached to the work; but it is easy to discover that it was the production of a learned man, bred in the schools, or of a theologian, and not of the emperor. Some very learned men have conjectured that Charlemagne employed Alcuin, his preceptor, to draw up the book. See Heumann's Preface, p. 51, and the illustrious Bünau, *Historia Imperii Germanici*, tom. i. p. 490. Nor would I contemn the conjecture. And yet it appears to me somewhat doubtful; for when these books were written Alcuin was resident in England, as is manifest from his history, he having gone to England in 789, whence he did not return till the year 792.

[4] See especially Mabillon, who is ingenuous on this subject in his *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. v. p. 5, &c.; also Dorscheus, *Collatio ad Concilium Francfordiense*, Argentor. 1649, 4to. [The council of Frankfort was properly a general council, for it was assembled from all the countries subject to Charlemagne, Germany, France, Aquitain, Gaul, Spain, and Italy. Delegates from the pope were present. Charlemagne presided. Two subjects were discussed, the heresy of Felix of Urgel, and the subject of image-worship. Charlemagne laid his books, *De Imaginibus*, before the council. The council approved of them, and passed resolutions in conformity with them; that is, they disapproved of the decisions of the Nicene council, and decided that while images were to be retained in churches as ornamental and instructive, yet no kind of worship whatever was to be given to them. See Walch, *Hist. der Kirchenversam.* p. 483; and Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 904, can. 2.—*Mur.*

[5] On this protracted and violent controversy see Milman's Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, &c. vol. ix. p. 113, &c.; Gieseler, *Lehrbuch*, &c. Cunningham's Transl. vol. ii. p 1, &c. with the valuable extracts in the notes; Waddington's *Hist. of the Church*, vol. ii. p. 357, &c. The student will see in Walch, *Biblio. Theol. Selecta*, tom. iii. p. 888, 889, the names of several important works on image-worship; the only English one referred to is by Jas. Owen, *The History of Images and of Image-worship*, &c. Lond. 1709, 12mo.—*R.*

[6] See Le Cointe, *Annales Ecclesiast. Francor.* tom. v. p. 698.

[7] Men of eminence for learning have generally supposed that this controversy commenced respecting the word *filioque*, which some of the Latins had added to the Constantinopolitan creed; and that from disputing about the word they proceeded to dispute about the thing. See above all others Mabillon (whom very many follow), *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. v. Præf. p. 4. But with due deference to those great men, I would say the fact appears to have been otherwise. The contest commenced respecting the doctrine, and afterwards extended to the word *filioque* or to the interpolation of the creed. From the council of Gentilly it is manifest that the dispute about the doctrine had existed a long time, when the dispute about the word commenced. Pagi, *Critica in Baronium*, tom. iii. p. 323, thinks that the controversy grew out of the contest respecting images; that because the Latins pronounced the Greeks to be heretics for opposing images, the Greeks retaliated the charge of heresy upon the Latins for holding that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son as well as

the following century this dispute became more violent, and accelerated the separation of the eastern from the western churches.[1]

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

1. THE religion of this century consisted almost wholly in ceremonies and external marks of piety. It is therefore not strange that everywhere more solicitude was manifested for multiplying and regulating these, than for correcting the vices of men and removing their ignorance and impiety. The mode of celebrating the Lord's supper, which was considered the most important part of the worship of God, was protracted to a greater length, and deformed rather than adorned by the addition of various ceremonies.[2] The manifest traces of private and solitary masses, as they are called, were now distinctly visible, although it is uncertain whether they were sanctioned by ecclesiastical law or introduced by the authority of individuals.[3] As this one practice is sufficient to show the ignorance and degeneracy of the times, it is not necessary to mention others.

2. Charlemagne, it must be acknowledged, was disposed to impede the progress of superstition to some extent; for, besides forbidding the worship of images as we have already seen, he limited the number of holidays,[4] rejected the consecration of bells with holy water,[5] and made other commendable regulations. Yet he did not effect much, and chiefly from this cause, among others, that he was excessively attached to the Roman pontiffs, who were the patrons of the lovers of ceremonies. His father, Pepin, had previously required the mode of singing practised at Rome to be everywhere introduced.[6] Treading in his steps, and in obedience to the repeated exhortations of the pontiff Hadrian, Charlemagne took vast pains to induce all the churches of Latin Christians not only to copy after the Romish church in this matter, but to adopt the entire forms of the Romish worship.[7] There were however a few churches, as those of Milan, Chur, &c. which could not be persuaded by any arguments or inducements to change their old forms of religious worship.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

1. THE ancient sects, the Arians, Manichæans, and Marcionites, though often depressed by the operation of penal laws, acquired new strength in the East, and allured many to join them amidst those perpetual calamities under which the Greek empire had to struggle.[8] The Monothelites, to whose cause the emperor Philippicus and other persons of distinction were well-wishers, made advances in many places. The condition also of the Nestorians[9] and

the Father. But this is said without authority and without proof, and is therefore only a probable conjecture.

[1] See Pithœus, *Hist. Controversiæ de Processione Spiritus Sancti*, subjoined to his *Codex Canonum Eccles. Roman.* p. 355, &c.; Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 354; Vossius, *De Tribus Symbolis*, diss. iii. p. 65, but especially Walch, *Hist. Controversiæ de Processione Spiritus Sanct.* Jena, 1751, 8vo. [Respecting the opinion of the fathers of the first six centuries on this point, see Müncher's *Dogmengeschichte*, vol. iii. p. 500—505.—*Mur.*

[2] We here subjoin a few facts, from which it will appear how much superstition then dishonoured this holy ordinance of Christ. Pope Gregory III. among his decisions (in Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1826, No. 23) gives the following:—"If any one through negligence shall destroy the eucharist, *i.e.* the sacrifice, let him do penance one year or three Quadrigesimas. If he lets it fall on the ground carelessly he must sing fifty Psalms. Whoever neglects to take care of the sacrifice, so that worms get into it, or it lose its colour or taste, must do penance thirty or twenty days; and the sacrifice must be burned in the fire. Whoever turns up the cup at the close of the solemnity of the mass must do penance forty days. If a drop from the cup should fall on the altar, the minister must suck up the drop and do penance three days; and the linen cloth which the drop touched must be washed three times over the cup, and the water in which it is washed be cast into the fire." This same passage occurs in the *Capitula* of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, cap. ii.—*Schl.*

[3] See Charlemagne, *De Imaginibus*, lib. ii. p. 245; Calixtus, *De Missis Solitariis*, section 12, and others. [The private or solitary masses were so called to distinguish them from the public, or those in which the eucharist was imparted to the congregation; and they were masses in which the priest alone partook of the eucharist. The introduction of these private masses led to a more rare distribution of the eucharist to the assembly; at first only on the three principal festivals, and at length but once a year.—*Schl.*

[4] At the Council of Mentz, A.D. 813 (Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 1015, Can. 24—28), the number of fast and feast days was defined, according to the pleasure of Charlemagne, as follows:—Four great fasts—namely, the first week in March, the second week in June, the third week in September, and the last full week in December previous to Christmas-day. In all these weeks there were to be public litanies and masses at nine o'clock on the Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays. The festivals, in addition to all the Sundays of the year, were to be Easter-day with the whole week, Ascension-day, Whitsunday, the nativity (martyrdom) of St. Peter and St. Paul, of St. John Baptist, the Assumption of St. Mary, the dedication of St Michael, nativities of St. Remigius, St. Martin, St. Andrew; Christmas, four days; the first day of January, Epiphany, and the purification of St. Mary, together with the festivals of the martyrs and confessors interred in each parish, and the dedication of a church.—*Mur.*

[5] Among the Capitula of Charlemagne, as given by Harduin (*Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 846) there is one, No. 18, "*Ut clocœ non baptizentur.*"—*Mur.*

[6] See the *Capitulare Aquisgranense*, No. 80, in Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 843.—*Mur.*

[7] So Charlemagne, *De Imaginibus*, lib. i. p. 52; Eginhard, *De Vita Caroli Magni*, cap. xxvi. p. 94, ed. Bessel. and others.

[8] Among the barbarous nations of Europe also, there were still some Arians remaining.

[9] From Asseman we obtain some knowledge of the Nestorian patriarchs, the most distinguished of whom were the following. Ananjesu, under whom the Sigan monument was erected A.D. 781. Timotheus who suc-

Monophysites[1] was easy and agreeable under the dominion of the Arabians; nor were they without ability to annoy the Greeks, their foes, and to propagate their faith abroad.

2. In the new Germanic churches collected by Boniface, there were many perverse men who were destitute of true religion, if confidence can be placed in Boniface and his friends. But this can scarcely be the case; because it appears from many circumstances that the persons whom he calls patrons of error were Irishmen, Franks, and others, who would not subject themselves to the control of the Roman pontiff, which Boniface was labouring to extend. Among others the most troublesome to him was Adalbert, a Frenchman, who obtained consecration as a bishop against the will of Boniface, and also Clement, a Scot or Irishman. The former, who created disturbance in Franconia, appears to have been not altogether free from error and crime;[2] for, not to mention other instances of his disregard to truth, there is still extant an Epistle which he falsely asserted was written by Jesus Christ, and brought down from heaven by Michael the archangel.[3] The latter excelled perhaps Boniface himself in knowledge of the true religion of Christ, and he is therefore not improperly placed by many among the witnesses for the truth in this barbarous age.[4] Both were condemned by

ceeded Ananjesu, and greatly extended the sect by the conversion of pagan nations near the Caspian sea and in Tartary. He left many sermons, an exposition of John's Gospel, ecclesiastical canons, polemic writings, a treatise on astronomy, and two hundred letters. From him we get a knowledge of several other writers and of the divisions caused by them. But as these had no influence on the churches of Europe we may pass them by. See Baumgarten's *Auszug der Kirchengesch.* vol. iii. p. 1315, &c.—*Schl.*

[1] Of the Monophysite patriarchs and writers we also obtain some knowledge from Asseman. Conspicuous as writers among them were Elias of Sigara who commented on the books of Gregory Nazianzen, and Theodosius of Edessa who wrote poems. Among the Maronites, the patriarch Theophilus obtained renown. He appears to have been the same person with that Maronite author of the same name who lived about A.D. 785, and who not only translated Homer into Syriac but also composed large historical works. See Baumgarten, *ubi supra*, p. 1318.—*Schl.*

[2] See *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iv. p. 82, &c.

[3] The Epistle is published by Baluze in the *Capit. Regum Francorum*, tom. ii. p. 1396. [Semler in his *Hist. Eccles. selecta Capita*, tom. ii. p. 185, &c. conjectures that this Epistle was fabricated by the enemies of Adalbert, and palmed upon him for the sake of injuring him. This however is doubtful. The caption of the epistle purports that it is an Epistle of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, which fell down at Jerusalem, and was found by the archangel Michael near the gate of Ephraim; that a priest read it, transcribed it, and sent it to another priest who sent it into Arabia. After passing through many hands it came at length to Rome, &c. Accompanying this letter, as transmitted by Boniface to the pope, was a biography of Adalbert, which stated that his mother had a marvellous dream before his birth, which was interpreted to signify that her child would be a distinguished man; also a prayer said to have been composed by him, in which he invoked four or five angels by name who are not mentioned in the Bible. The letter of Boniface containing the accusation against both Adalbert and Clement, states that Boniface had now laboured thirty years among the Franks, in the midst of great trials and opposition from wicked men; that his chief reliance had been on the protection of the Roman pontiffs whose pleasure he had always followed; that his greatest trouble had been with "two most base public heretics and blasphemers of God and the Catholic faith," Adalbert a Frenchman, and Clement a Scotchman, who held different errors but were equal in amount of criminality. And he prays the pontiff to defend him against these men, and to restrain them by imprisonment and excommunication from annoying the churches. "For," said he, "on account of these men I incur persecution, and the enmity and curses of many people; and the church of Christ suffers obstructions to the progress of the faith and holy doctrine." Of Adalbert he says:—"The people say respecting him that I have deprived them of a most holy apostle, patron and intercessor, a worker of miracles, and an exhibitor of signs. But your piety will judge from his works, after hearing his life, whether he is not one clad in sheep's clothing but within a ravening wolf. For he was a hypocrite in early life, asserting that an angel in human form brought to him from distant countries relics of marvellous sanctity but of whom it was uncertain; and that by means of these relics he could obtain from God whatever he asked. And then with this pretence, as Paul predicted, he entered into many houses and led captive silly women laden with sins and carried away by divers lusts; and he seduced a multitude of the rustics who said that he was a man of apostolic sanctity and wrought signs and wonders. He next hired some ignorant bishops to ordain him contrary to the canons, without assigning him a specific charge. He now became so insolent as to assume equality with the apostles of Christ, he disdained to dedicate a church to any apostle or martyr, and reproached the people for being so eager to visit the thresholds of the holy apostles. Afterwards he ridiculously consecrated oratories to his own name, or rather defiled them. He also erected small crosses and houses for prayer in the fields, and at fountains and wherever he saw fit, and directed public prayers to be there offered; so that great multitudes despising the bishops and forsaking the ancient churches, held their religious meetings in such places and would say:—The merits of St. Adalbert will aid us. He also gave his nails and locks of his hair to be kept in remembrance of him, and to be placed with the relics of St. Peter, the prince of apostles. And finally what appears the summit of his wickedness and blasphemy against God, when people came and prostrated themselves before him to confess their sins, he said: I know all your sins, for all secrets are known to me, return securely and in peace to your habitations. And all that the holy Gospel testifies as done by hypocrites he has imitated in his dress, his walk, and his deportment." The Epistle then describes the wickedness of Clement thus:—"The other heretic, whose name is Clement, opposes the Catholic church and renounces and confutes the canons of the church of Christ. He refuses to abide by the treatises and discourses of the holy fathers, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory. Despising the decrees of councils, he affirms that in his opinion a man can be a Christian bishop and bear the title, after being the father of two sons begotten in adultery [*i.e.* in clerical wedlock]. Introducing Judaism again he deems it right for a Christian, if he pleases, to marry the widow of his deceased brother. Also contrary to the faith of the holy fathers he maintains that Christ, the Son of God, descended into hell and liberated all that were there detained in prison, believers and unbelievers, worshippers of God and worshippers of idols. And many other horrible things he affirms respecting divine predestination and contravening the Catholic faith." See Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1936—1940.—*Mur.*

[4] The errors of Clement are enumerated by Boniface, *Epist.* cxxxv. p. 189. [See them stated in the concluding part of the preceding note.—*Mur.*] Among these errors there is certainly no one that is capital. See Ussher, *Sylloge Epist. Hiber.* p. 12, and *Nouveau Diction. Histor. Crit.* tome i. p. 133, &c. [For the history of the controversy with both Adalbert and Clement, see Walch's *Hist. der Ketzer.* tom. x. p. 3—66.—*Mur.*

the Roman pontiff Zacharias, at the instigation of Boniface, in a council at Rome A.D. 748; and both it appears died in prison.

3. Much greater commotions were produced in Spain, France, and Germany, towards the close of the century by Felix, bishop of Urgel in Spain, a man distinguished for his piety. Being consulted by Elipandus, archbishop of Toledo, respecting his opinion of the Sonship of Christ, the Son of God, he answered in the year 783 that Christ, as God, was by nature and truly the Son of God, but that as a man he was the Son of God only in name and by adoption. Elipandus imbibed this doctrine from his preceptor, and disseminated it in the provinces of Spain, while Felix spread it in Septimania [or Languedoc.] But in the view of the pontiff Hadrian and of most of the Latin bishops, this opinion seemed to revive the error attributed to Nestorius, or to divide Christ into two persons. Hence Felix was judged guilty of heresy, and required to change his opinion; first in the council of Narbonne A.D. 788, then at Ratisbon in Germany A.D. 792, also at Frankfort on the Maine A.D. 794, afterwards at Rome A.D. 799, and lastly in the council of Aix-la-Chapelle. And he revoked his opinion ostensibly but not in reality, for he died still maintaining it at Lyons, where he was banished by Charlemagne.[1] No creed could be imposed upon Elipandus by the Christians, because he lived under the Saracens of Spain. Many believe, and not without reason, that the disciples of Felix, who were called Adoptionists, differed from other Christians not in reality but only in words, or in the mode of stating their views;[2] but as Felix was not uniform in his language, those who accuse him of the Nestorian error have some grounds of argument.[3]

1 The authors who have treated of the sect of Felix are enumerated by Fabricius, in his *Biblio. Lat. Medii Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 482. To these add De Marca in the *Marca Hispanica*, lib. iii. cap. xii. p. 368, &c.; De Ferreras, *Hist. Générale d'Espagne*, tome ii. p. 518, 523, 528, 535, &c. 560; Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. v. Præf. p. 2, &c. Of Felix in particular, an account is given by Colonia, *Hist. Littér. de la Ville de Lyon*, tome ii. p. 79, and by the Benedictine monks in *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iv. p. 434, &c. [This sect is fully treated of in Walch, *Hist. der Ketzer.* vol. ix. p. 667—940, and in his *Hist. Adoptianorum*, Götting. 1755. 8vo. See also Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xx. p. 459—498.—*Mur.*

2 Dorscheus, *Collat. ad Concilium Francof.* p. 101; Werenfels, *De Logomachiis Eruditor.* in his *Opp.* p. 459; Basnage, *Præf. ad Etherium*, in Canisius, *Lection. Antiq.* tom. ii. par. i. p. 284; Calixtus in his Tract on this subject, and others. [Walch in his *Hist. Adoptianor.* considers Felix as not a Nestorian; and yet he regards the controversy as not merely about words. The substance of Felix's views he thus states. Christ as a man and without regard to the personal union of the two natures, was born a servant of God though without sin. From the condition of a servant he passed into that of a free person, when God at his baptism pronounced him his dear Son. This transaction was his adoption and likewise his regeneration. The title of God belongs to him indeed as a man, but not properly, for he is God only *nuncupatively*. Thus did Felix utter something unsuitable and new; but his innovation was not a ground for so great an alarm throughout the whole church, as if he had assailed the fundamental doctrines of Christianity.—*Mur.*

3 The Adoptians having lost their leaders soon sank into oblivion. In the middle ages Folmar, about 1160, defended the Adoptian notions; and Duns Scotus about 1300 and Durandus about 1320, admit the expression, *filius adoptionis*, in a certain sense. Walch, *Hist. Adopt.* p. 247 and 253. In later times the Adoptians have been defended among the Roman Catholics by the Jesuit Gabr. Vasquez, *Comment. in Thomam*, Ingols. 1606, fol. par. iii. diss. 89, cap. vii.; and among the Protestants by Geo. Calixtus, *De persona Christi*, &c. Helmst. 1663, p. 96, and by others. Walch, *Hist. Adopt.* p. 256, &c.; Giesseler, *Lehrbuch*, &c.; Cunningham's transl. vol. ii. p. 45.—*Ib.*

CENTURY NINTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

1. So long as Charlemagne lived, which was till the year 814, he omitted no means which he deemed requisite to propagate and establish Christianity among the Huns, the Saxons, the Frieslanders, and others.[1] But it is to be regretted that he did not omit to employ violence and war. His son, Lewis the Meek, had the same zeal for propagating Christianity, though greatly his inferior in other respects. Under his reign a convenient opportunity was presented for planting Christianity among the northern nations, especially the Danes and Swedes.[2] Harald Klack, a petty sovereign of Jutland, being expelled his kingdom by Regner Lodbrock in the year 826, applied to the emperor for his assistance. Lewis promised him aid on condition that he would embrace Christianity himself, and admit teachers of the Christian religion into his country. Harald acceded to the terms, was baptized at Mayence, A.D. 826, together with his brother, and took along with him to Jutland two preachers of Christianity, Ansgarius, a monk and schoolmaster of Corbey in Saxony, and Autbert, a monk of old Corbey [in France]; and these monks preached among the inhabitants of Jutland and Cimbria for two years with great success.

2. On the death of his fellow-labourer Autbert in the year 828, the indefatigable Ansgarius went over to Sweden; and there he pleaded the cause of Christ with equal success.[3] Returning into Germany in the year 831, Lewis the Meek constituted him archbishop of the new church of Hamburg,[4] and of all the North; and in the year 844 the episcopal see of Bremen was annexed to that of Hamburg. The profits of this high station were small,[5] while its perils

[1] Among these may be reckoned the Carinthians.—They had indeed partially received Christianity in the preceding century from Virgilius, bishop of Saltsburg. For Boruth, the duke of Carinthia, when he committed his son Corastus to the Bavarians as a hostage, requested that he might be baptised and educated as a Christian; and he also requested the same in regard to his nephew Chetimar. Now as both these afterwards became dukes of Carinthia, it may be readily conceived that the Christian religion had made considerable progress there before this century. In the present century A.D. 803, Charlemagne came to Saltsburg, and confirmed to Arno his ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Slavonia, or Carinthia in lower Pannonia. The presbyters whom Bishop Arno sent into Carinthia to build up the churches there, adopted a singular artifice to render Christianity respectable and paganism contemptible in the eyes of the people. They allowed Christian slaves to sit at table with them, while their pagan masters had to eat their bread and meat without the doors, and had to drink out of black cups whereas the servants drank from gilded cups. For the presbyters told the masters—"You unbaptised persons are not worthy to eat with those who are baptised." This enkindled such a desire to become Christians that great numbers of them were baptised. The story does as little credit to these missionaries as to their converts. See the Life of St. Ruprecht in Canisius, *Lectiones Antiq.* tom. vi. of the old ed. 4to.—*Schl.*

[2] Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, who had travelled as an imperial envoy in the northern countries, made an attempt as early as A.D. 822 to spread Christianity there, and together with Halitgarius of Cambray he obtained from Pope Paschal a full power for this purpose. See *Acta Sanctor. Antw.* ad 3 Februar. and Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. iv. par. ii. tom. vi. p. 91, 107, 122.—*Schl.*

[3] The Christians who were carried into captivity by the Normans in their frequent plundering expeditions, undoubtedly contributed much to give this people a favourable disposition towards Christianity; and especially by recounting to them the wealth and power of the Christian countries, which was ascribed to their religion. This will account for what historians affirm that Swedish ambassadors came to King Lewis, and stated among other things that many of their people had an inclination towards Christianity, and that their king would cheerfully permit Christian priests to reside among them. Anscharius and Vitmarn were sent thither with rich presents. Their voyage was unfortunate, for they fell into the hands of pirates who plundered them; yet they finally reached the port of Biork which belonged to the king, Bern or Biorn. There they collected a congregation and built a church in the course of six months, the king having given liberty to his subjects to embrace the new religion. On the return of these missionaries the congregation in Sweden was without a teacher, till Ebbo sent them his nephew Gausbert, who at his ordination to the episcopacy of that see took the name of Simon; but he was soon after driven out of Sweden.—*Schl.*

[4] The see of Hamburg was then very small, embracing but four parish churches. Lewis sent Anscharius to the pope, who conferred on him the archi-episcopal pall, and constituted him his legate for Sweden, Denmark, the Faro Islands, Iceland, &c. as also among the Slavonians and the northern and eastern tribes. See the *Acta Sanctor.* Feb. tom. i. and Mabillon, *ubi supra.*—*Schl.*

[5] Lewis the Meek assigned him the revenues of a

were very great and its labours immense. For Ansgarius while he lived took frequent journeys among the Danes,[1] the Cimbrians, the Swedes,[2] and other nations; and laboured, though at the peril of his life, to collect new churches and to strengthen those previously formed, till death overtook him A.D. 865.[3]

3. About the middle of this century two Greek monks, Methodius and Cyril, being sent as missionaries from Constantinople by the empress Theodora, taught first the Mœsians, Bulgarians, and Gazari, and afterwards the Bohemians and Moravians, to renounce their false gods and to embrace Christ.[4] Some knowledge of Christianity had indeed been previously imparted to these nations, through the influence of

monastery in Brabant, in order to meet the expenses of his missionary efforts. But the income of the monastery was very small, and soon after ceased altogether when the kingdom fell into disorder. Anscharius must therefore have been in want of resources. He at last received a small estate from a pious widow in Ramelslob near Bremen, which however yielded him but a small income.—*Schl.*

[1] The violent persecutions to which the Danish Christians were exposed was one cause of his repeatedly visiting that country. He was himself driven from Hamburg (by an invasion of the Normans), and the city being wholly laid waste he had to reside some time at Bremen. He was at length permitted to enter Denmark by King Erich; and being allowed to preach there, he erected a church at Hadebye or Schleswick in the year 850; but this king being slain in 856, during the minority of his son Erich Boern, there was fresh persecution and the church of Schleswick was shut up. When this king began to reign in person he was more favourable to the Christians, and permitted Anscharius to return and to erect a new church at Ripen A.D. 860. —*Schl.*

[2] To Sweden he sent the priest Ardgarius, and likewise went there himself a second time in the character of envoy from King Lewis to King Olaus, who was induced by presents to support Anscharius in two imperial Swedish diets, at which the establishment of Christianity was decided by casting lots. He now re-established Christian worship at Biork, and left Herimbert there as a Christian teacher.—*Schl.*

[3] The writers who treat of the life and labours of this holy and illustrious parent of the Cimbrian, Danish, and Swedish churches, are enumerated by Fabricius, *Bibioth. Latin. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 292, &c. and *Lux Evangelii toto Orbi exoriens*, p. 425, &c. To these add the Benedictine monks' *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tom. v. p. 277; *Acta Sanctor.* mens. Februar. tom. i. p. 391, &c.; Pontoppidan, *Annales Eccles. Danicæ Diplomatici*, tom. i. p. 18, &c.; Möller's, *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 8, &c. From these writers a knowledge may be gained of the others also, namely, Ebbo, Withmar, Rembert, &c. who were either the companions and assistants of Anscharius, or his successors in the field of labour. [The life of Anscharius, well written by Rembert, his disciple and successor in the see of Hamburg, is in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 78, &c. Among the recent writers, see Schmidt, *Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 108—119; Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxi. p. 314, &c. and Archbishop Münter's *Kirchengesch. von Dänem. und Norweg.* vol. i. page 319, Leips. 1823.—*Mur.*

[4] Stredowsky, *Sacra Moraviæ Historia*, lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 94, &c. Compare Kohl, *Introduct. in Historiam et Rem Literar. Slavorum*, p. 124, &c. and others. [A much ampler account of the missions and conversions mentioned in this and the following sections is given by Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxi. p. 396, &c. and by Schmidt, *Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 120, &c.; also by Asseman, *Kalendaria Ecclesiæ Universæ*, tom. iii. p. 3, &c. Rome, 1756, 4to. See likewise Giesceler's *Text-Book* by Cunningham, vol. ii. p. 128, &c. The following summary by Schlegel, derived from Semler and Baumgarten, contains the most material results of modern investigation. The seeds of Christianity had been previously scattered among the Bulgarians by some Christian captives. In the year 814 Crummus, the Bulgarian king, captured Adrianople and carried the bishop, Manuel, with other of the citizens, into captivity; and his successor afterwards put this bishop with other Christian captives to death, because they made proselytes among the Bulgarians. After this it appears that both the monk Theodorus Eupharus who was a captive in that country, and a sister of the Bulgarian king Bogoris, who had been taken prisoner and carried to Constantinople, where she was educated and taught the Christian religion and then exchanged for the monk Theodorus, contributed much to recommend Christianity to that people. The way being thus prepared Bogoris admitted several artists from Constantinople; among whom was the famous painter Methodius, who instead of drawing worldly scenes for the king formed religious pictures, and among them one of the judgment-day, and instructed him in the principles of Christianity. Not long after, the king in a time of famine openly professed Christianity, and invited teachers from abroad. But his subjects made insurrection against him for it; and he caused fifty-two of the ringleaders to be put to death, and at length brought the rest to embrace the new religion. In the year 848 (for thus Asseman has ascertained the true year in his *Kalendar. Eccles. Universæ*, tom. iii. p. 13, &c. whereas Kohl and Stredowsky state the year 843), Constantine, the brother of this Methodius, had been sent among the Chazari [or Gazari], whose king had likewise desired to have Christian teachers. Constantine laid the foundation of the Christian Church among this people, translated the Scriptures into the Slavonic language, and taught that barbarous nation the use of letters After this he came to the aid of his brother among the Bulgarians; and in the year 861 baptised King Bogoris, who assumed at the font the name of the Greek Emperor Michael. The two brothers, Constantine and Methodius, were natives of Thessalonica. The former, who was the oldest, afterwards took the name of Cyril, and on account of his learning was surnamed the Philosopher. The younger brother was distinguished as a painter. It is probable that both of them in early life fled from Constantinople to avoid the persecution which befel the worshippers of images, and especially the painters of them; and that they took refuge among the Slavonic tribes and there learned their language, which was afterwards of use to them in the propagation of Christianity. From the Bulgarians, Constantine, it is stated, travelled among the adjacent Dalmatians and Croatians, and baptised their king Budimir. See Baumgarten's *Auszug der Kirchengesch.* vol. iii. p. 1379, and Semler's *Selecta Hist. Eccles. Capita*, tom. ii. p. 263, 269. As to the Bohemians the *Chronicles of Fulda* ad ann. 845 state that under Lewis, King of the Germans, fourteen Bohemian lords with their subjects embraced the Christian religion. And it is well known that towards the close of the century the Bohemian Prince Borivoi or Borsivoi was baptised. Suatoplue or Zwentibold, king of the Moravians, appears to have greatly aided this conversion. For having been baptised himself, he treated this pagan prince roughly while residing at his court, and would not allow him to sit at his table; because as he told him it was not suitable for a pagan to eat with Christians. Perhaps also the assurance given him by Methodius may have contributed to his conversion; for he told him that if he embraced Christianity he would become a greater man than any of his ancestors. In short he consented to be baptised, and returning home he persuaded his wife, Ludomilla, with many others to receive baptism also; and afterwards, with the aid of his wife, greatly promoted the spread of Christianity—among other means, by erecting a famous school at Budec. See Semler, *ubi supra*, p. 261, 265. The Moravians were converted under their king, Radislav. He sent for the two monks, Constantine and Methodius, and they erected a school at Vetvar, baptised the king and his most distinguished subjects, translated many books into the Slavonic language, and set up public worship in this tongue. They erected churches in several places, particularly at Olmutz and Brünn; and they introduced also image wor-

Charlemagne and some of the bishops;[1] but that knowledge produced little effect and gradually became extinct. As the missionaries above named were Greeks, they inculcated on those new disciples the opinions of the Greeks, their forms of worship, and their rites;[2] from which the Roman pontiffs afterwards by their legates were able but partially to reclaim them. And from this source great commotions occasionally arose.

4. Under the Greek emperor, Basil the Macedonian, who ascended the throne A.D. 867, the Slavonic nations, the Arentani and others who inhabited Dalmatia, sent ambassadors to Constantinople and voluntarily placed themselves in subjection to the Greek empire; and at the same time they professed a readiness to receive Christianity. Greek priests were therefore sent among them who instructed and baptized them.[3] The same emperor, after concluding a peace with the warlike nation of the Russians, persuaded them by presents and other means to promise him by their ambassadors that they would embrace Christianity. The nation stood to their promise; and admitted not only Christian teachers among them, but also an archbishop commissioned by Ignatius, the Greek patriarch.[4] This was the commencement of Christianity among the Russian people. They were inhabitants of the Ukraine, and a little before had fitted out a fleet at Kiow, in which they appeared before Constantinople to the great terror of the Greeks.[5]

5. The Christian missionaries to the heathen in this century, were men of more piety and virtue than many of those who undertook the conversion of the pagans in the preceding century. They did not resort to coercive measures; they either disregarded altogether or promoted only in a moderate degree the private interests of the Roman pontiff; and their lives were free from arrogance, insolence, and the suspicion of licentiousness. Yet the religion they inculcated was very different from that simple rule of truth and holiness which the apostles of Christ preached, and was debased by many human inventions and superstitions. Among the nations which they converted, these preachers also allowed too many relics of the old superstitions to remain; and in truth they were more intent on inculcating an external form of piety than piety itself. Yet it must be allowed that these pious and good men were obliged to yield several things to the rudeness of those savage nations.

CHAPTER II.

THE ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

1. THE Saracens were in possession of all Asia as far as the borders of India, a few regions only excepted. They also held the best parts of Africa, and in the West, Spain and Sardinia. In the year 827, relying on the treason of individuals, they subjugated the very fertile island of Sicily.[6] And near

ship, to which they were addicted. See Baumgarten's *Auszug der Kirchengesch.* vol. iii. p. 1429, &c.—*Schl.*

[1] Stredowsky, *ubi supra*, lib. i. cap. ix. p. 55, &c.—[When Charlemagne in his wars with the Huns and Avares was victorious, he compelled the Moravian king Samoslav to embrace Christianity; and Arno of Saltsburg in particular undertook to convert these tribes. In this business the monk Godwin was employed, and also under Lewis the Pious, Orolph the archbishop of Lorch. See Pagi, *Critic.* ad ann. 824. In the year 822, Mogemir, the successor of Samoslav, became a confederate of the Emperor Lewis, and gave free toleration to the Christian worship, on which he himself attended. This good beginning in the conversion of the Slavonic nations in Moravia, was however much interrupted by the contests which arose between the bishops of Saltsburg and those of Passau; and besides, the ignorance of the Christian missionaries of the Slavonic language, and their introducing the Latin formulas of worship, were serious obstacles to success. At last the wars between the Germans and the Moravians—the latter having wholly renounced the dominion of the former—put a full stop to the progress of the Gospel among that people. See Baumgarten's *Auszug*, &c. vol. iii. p. 1430, &c.—*Schl.*

[2] Lenfant, *Hist. de la Guerre des Hussites*, liv. i. chap. i. p. 2, &c. and compare the *Biblioth. Germanique*, tome xxi. p. 2—4.

[3] This we learn from Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, cap. xxix.; in Banduri's *Imperium Orientale*, tom. i. p. 72, 73. Constantine also relates the same in his life of his grandfather, Basil the Macedonian, sec. liv. *Corpus Hist. Byzantin.* tom. xvi. p. 133, 134.

[4] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Vita Basilii Macedon.* sec. xcvi. in the *Corpus Hist. Byzant.* tom. xvi. p. 157; and *Narratio de Ruthenorum Conversione*, published Gr. and Lat. by Banduri, *Imperium Orientale*, in his notes to Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, tom. ii. p. 62.

[5] Le Quien, in his *Christianus Oriens*, tom. i. p. 1257, gives account of this conversion of the Russians to Christianity in the reign of Basil the Macedonian; but he has made a number of mistakes as others had done before him. He first tells us that the Russians here intended were those who bordered on the Bulgarians, but a little after he tells us they were the Gazari. For this opinion he has but one reason, namely, that among the teachers sent to instruct the Russians was that Cyril who was active in the conversion of the Gazari. The learned author was ignorant of both the Russians and the Gazari. He has made also other mistakes. The subject is developed much better and more accurately by Bayer, *Diss. de Russorum prima Expeditione Constantinopolitana*, published in the sixth volume of the *Commentar. Acad. Scientar. Petropolitanæ*, A.D. 1738, 4to. [See also Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxi. p. 507, &c. and Schmidt's *Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 166, &c.—*Mur.*

[6] Euphemius, a general in Sicily, became enamoured with a nun and forcibly took her to his bed. Her brothers complained to the viceroy, who laid the case before the emperor, and he ordered the nose of Euphemius to be cut off. Euphemius repelled the force sent to arrest him and fled to Africa. There he offered the Saracen governor to put him in possession of all Sicily if he would entrust him with an army and allow him to assume the title of a Roman *Imperator*. The governor consented, and Euphemius fulfilled his promise; but he had scarcely accomplished his design when he lost his life at Syracuse by assassination. See the ac-

the close of the century, the Asiatic Saracens got possession of many cities in Calabria, and spread terror to the very walls of the city of Rome. They also either ravaged or seized upon Crete, Corsica, and other islands. How great was the injury which the Christian cause everywhere sustained, from these successes of a nation accustomed to wars and rapine and hostile to the Christians, every one can easily comprehend. In the East especially numberless families of Christians embraced the religion of their conquerors, to render their lives comfortable. Those possessed of more resolution and piety gradually sunk into a wretched state, being not only stripped of the principal part of their property, but what was still more lamentable they fell by degrees into a kind of religious stupor and an amazing ignorance; so that they retained almost nothing Christian except the name and a few religious rites. The Saracens in Europe, and particularly those of Spain, became divested in a great measure of their ferocity, and they suffered their Christian subjects to live quietly, according to their own laws and institutions. Yet instances of cruelty were not wanting among them.[1]

2. Another and a more direful tempest came upon the European Christians from the regions of the North. The Normans, that is, the people inhabiting the shores of the Baltic, in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, who were accustomed to rapine and slaughter, and whose petty kings and chieftains practised piracy, had infested the coasts along the German and Gallic oceans as early as the reign of Charlemagne; and that emperor established garrisons and camps to oppose them. But in this century they became much more bold and made frequent descents upon Germany, Britain, Friesland, but especially France, plundering and devastating with fire and sword wherever they went. The terrific inroads of these savage hordes extended not only to Spain,[2] but even to the centre of Italy; for it appears from the writers of those times that they destroyed the city of Luna in the year 857, and Pisa and other cities of Italy in the year 860.[3] The early histories of the Franks detail and deplore at great length their horrid enormities.

3. The first views of these savages extended only to collecting plunder and slaves in the countries they invaded;[4] but by degrees becoming captivated with the beauty and fertility of those countries, they took up their residence in them, nor could the European kings and princes prevent their doing so. In this very century Charles the Bald was obliged, A.D. 850, to cede a considerable part of his kingdom to these bold invaders.[5] And a few years after in the reign of Charles the Fat, king of France, Godfred one of their most valiant chieftains persevered in his military enterprises till he had subdued all Friesland.[6] Yet those who permanently settled among Christians gradually became civilized, and intermarrying with them, they exchanged the superstitions of their ancestors for the religion of the Christians. Godfred, the conqueror of Friesland, did so in this century, when he had received for his wife Gisela, the daughter of King Lothaire junior, from the hands of Charles the Fat.

count given by John Curopalata, as cited by Baronius, *Annal.* tom. ix. ad ann. 827, sec. xxiv. &c.—*Mur.*

1 See for example the martyrdom of Eulogius of Corduba, in the *Acta Sanctor.* ad d. xi. Martii, tom. ii. p. 88, and those of Roderic and Salomon, Spanish martyrs of this century, in the same vol. ad d. xiii. Martii, p. 328. [The Saracens of Spain were tolerant to the Christians so long as they demeaned themselves as quiet and peaceable citizens, and they allowed them the free exercise of their religion; but they would not allow them to revile Mohammed and *his* religion, and this was the source of all the difficulties. Abdalrahman consulted Reccafrid, a Christian bishop, on the subject. The bishop stated that when Christians traduced the Mohammedan religion without urgent cause, and laboured to introduce their own in place of it, if they thereby lost their lives they could not be accounted martyrs. A number of Christians agreed with Reccafrid, but the majority dissented. And Eulogius wrote against Reccafrid, and compiled histories of the Spanish martyrs. He and those in his sentiments exerted all their efforts to run down Mohammedism, and to make converts to Christianity. They also courted martyrdom, and in several instances invited the judges to put them to death. The particular offence of Eulogius for which he was put to death was detaining and secreting a Spanish girl whom he had converted from the Mussulman to the Christian faith, and not giving her up to her parents and friends. See his three books—*De Martyribus Cordubensibus*, his *Apologeticus pro Martyribus ado. Calumniatores*, and his *Exhortatio ad Martyrium*, in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xv. p. 666, &c. also Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxi. p. 294, &c. and Gieseler's *Text-Book* by Cunningham, vol. ii. p. 55, &c. —*Mur.*

2 Ferreras, *Hist. Générale d' Espagne*, tome ii. p. 583. Piracy was esteemed among these northern nations a very honourable and laudable profession, and to it the nobility and the sons and the kindred of kings were trained. Nor will this surprise us if we consider the religion of those nations and the barbarism of the times. See Holberg, *Historia Danorum et Norvegorum navalis*, in the *Scripta Societ. Scient. Hafniensis*, tom. iii. p. 349, where he relates many interesting accounts respecting these maritime robberies from the annals of the Danes and Norwegians.

3 See the *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.* by Muratori, in various passages.

4 This object of the Normans [plundering] occasioned the destruction of a vast number of churches and monasteries in England, France, Germany, and Italy; for in these places were deposited large treasures, partly belonging to the establishments and partly placed there for safe keeping. These places were therefore generally fortified; and the bishops and abbots, who were also bound to do military service for their lands, were obliged to defend them against the incursions of foreign enemies.—*Schl.*

5 Annals by an unknown author in Pithœus, *Scriptores Francici*, p. 46.

6 Regino Prumiensis, *Annales*, lib. ii. p. 60, in Pistorius, *Scriptor. Germam.*

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LEARNING AND SCIENCE.

1. AMONG the Greeks many things occurred in this century which could not but damp their ardour for learning and knowledge. Still however the munificence of the emperors, some of whom were devoted to study, and the precautions of the patriarchs, among whom Photius shone conspicuous for erudition, prevented an absolute dearth of learned men, particularly at Constantinople. Hence there were among the Greeks some who excelled both in prose and in poetic composition, who showed their skill in argumentation by their writings against the Latins and others, and who composed histories of their own times not altogether destitute of merit. In particular, when their disputes with the Latins became warm, many who would otherwise have suffered their talents to be eaten up of rust were roused to cultivate elegance and copiousness of diction.

2. That the study of philosophy among the Greeks of this century continued for a long time neglected, is testified expressly by John Zonaras. But under the emperors Theophilus and his son Michael III. the study of it revived through the influence especially of Bardas, the Cæsar,[1] who, though himself not learned, was the friend of Photius, who was a very learned man and a great Mæcenas, and by whose councils no doubt Bardas was guided in this matter. At the head of all the learned men to whose protection he intrusted the interests of learning, Bardas placed Leo the Wise, a man of great learning, and afterwards bishop of Thessalonica.[2] Photius himself expounded what are called the Categories of Aristotle, and Michael Psellus wrote brief explanations of the principal books of that philosopher. Others I pass over.

3. Hitherto the Arabians, intent solely on making conquests, had entirely neglected the sciences; but now the kaliph of Babylon and Egypt, Al Mamum or Abu Gaafar Abdallah, by his love of learning and munificence to learned men, aroused them to make greater advances. For this excellent kaliph, who began to reign about the time that Charlemagne died and ended his days A.D. 833, founded celebrated schools at Bagdad, Cufa, Basora, and other places, drew learned men around him by conferring on them great rewards, established ample libraries, procured at great expense the translation of the best works of the Greeks into Arabic, and neglected no means which would do honour to a prince greatly attached to literature and science, and himself a distinguished proficient.[3] Through his influence the Arabians began to find pleasure in Grecian science, and to propagate it by degrees not only in Syria and Africa, but also in Spain and even in Italy. Hence they celebrate a long list of renowned philosophers, physicians, astronomers, and mathematicians of their nation, extending through several centuries.[4] Yet we must not take all that the modern Saracenic historians tell us of the merits and endowments of these men in the most literal sense.[5] From the Arabians the European Christians afterwards profited in the sciences, for what knowledge of mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and philosophy, was taught in Europe from the tenth century onward, was derived principally from the schools and the books of the Arabians in Italy and Spain. And hence the Saracens may in some measure be considered as the restorers of learning in Europe.

4. In the part of Europe subject to the Franks, Charlemagne while he lived cherished and honoured learning of all kinds with great earnestness. If his suc-

[1] *Annales*, tom. ii. lib. xvi. p. 126, in the *Corpus Byzant.* tom. x.

[2] Among the Greek emperors who advanced science, Basil the Macedonian should not be forgotten. He was himself not without learning, as is evident from his speeches, letters, and counsels to his son Leo, which are still extant. This son of his, who was surnamed the wise and the Philosopher on account of his learning, composed largely; the most important of his works are the sixty books of his *Basilicon* or Imperial Laws, his *Tactica*, and his speeches.—*Schl.*

[3] Abulpharajus, *Hist. Dynastiar.* p. 246; Elmacin, *Hist. Saracen.* lib. ii. p. 139; Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orientale*, article, *Mamun*, p. 545.

[4] See Leo Africanus, *Tract. de Medicis et Philosophis Arabibus*, republished by Fabricius, in his *Biblioth. Græca*, vol. xii. p. 259, &c.

[5] In the abstruse sciences they are said to have been mere copyists or rather plagiarists from the Greeks and Latins, particularly from Aristotle, Euclid, Galen, &c. Even Avicenna, whose Canon or system of physic was a classic in the European medical schools so late as the sixteenth century, we are told, advanced nothing very important but what is to be found in Galen and others. Their astronomy was more properly astrology or divination from the starry heavens. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxi. p. 279—292.—*Mur.*

cessors had followed him with equal strides or been capable of doing so, ignorance and barbarism would have been expelled; and indeed his example was partially imitated. Lewis the Meek, copying after his father, devised and executed several projects, suited to promote and advance the useful arts and sciences.[1] His son, Charles the Bald, went beyond his father in this matter, for this emperor was a great patron of learning and learned men; he invited men of erudition to his court from all quarters, took delight in their conversation, enlarged the schools and made them respectable, and cherished in particular the Palatine or court school.[2] In Italy his brother Lothaire, emperor after A.D. 823, laboured to restore the entirely prostrate and languishing cause of learning by founding schools in eight of the principal cities.[3] But his efforts appear to have had little effect, for during this whole century Italy scarcely produced a man of genius.[4] In England King Alfred obtained great renown, by promoting and honouring literary enterprise.[5]

5. But the infelicity of the times prevented these plans and efforts from imparting that prosperity to learning, which the rank and power of the noble actors might lead us to expect. In the first place, the wars which the sons of Lewis the Meek waged with their father and afterwards between themselves, interrupted very much the prosperity of the countries subject to the Franks. In the next place, the incursions and victories of the Normans, which afflicted a large portion of Europe during the whole century, were such an obstruction to the progress of learning, that at the close of the century in most of these countries and even in France itself, few remained who deserved to be called learned men.[6] What little, incoherent knowledge remained among the clergy was chiefly confined to the episcopal and monastic schools. But the more the priests and monks increased in wealth and riches, the less they attended to the cultivation of their minds.

6. And yet a large part of this century was adorned with the examples and the labours of men, who derived a literary spirit from Charlemagne and his institutions and laws. Among these, Rabanus Maurus held perhaps the first rank in Germany and France, and to his lectures the studious youth resorted in great numbers. As historians and not wholly without merit, appeared Eginhard, Freculphus, Theganus, Haymo, Anastasius, Ado, and others. In poetry, Florus, Walafrid Strabo, Bertharius, Rabanus, and others, distinguished themselves. In languages and philology, Rabanus (who wrote acutely concerning the causes and origin of languages), Smaragdus, Bertharius, and others, possessed skill. Of Greek and Hebrew literature, William, Servatus Lupus, John Scotus, and others, were not ignorant. In eloquence or the art of speaking and writing with elegance, Servatus Lupus, Eginhard, Agobard, Hincmar, and others, were proficients.[7]

7. The philosophy and logic taught in the European schools in this century scarcely deserved the name; yet there were in various places, and especially among the Irish, subtle and acute men who might not improperly be called philosophers. At the

[1] See the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iv. p. 583, &c. [The palatine school continued to flourish under Lewis the Meek. Also many monasteries were re-established or instituted anew in which the sciences were studied. From his *Capitul.* ii. (in Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 1251, No. 5) may be seen how desirous this emperor was of promoting learning and the establishment of schools. He there says to the bishops:—"The institution of schools in suitable places for the education of children and the ministers of the church, which you formerly promised us and which we enjoined upon you, wherever it has not been done must not be neglected by you."—*Schl.*

[2] Conringius, *Antiq. Academ.* p. 320; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 178; Launoi, *De Scholis Caroli M.* cap. xi. xii. p. 47, &c; *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome v. p. 483.

[3] See his ordinance or *Capitulare*, which is published by Muratori, *Rerum Italicar. Scriptor.* tom. i. par. ii. p. 151. [In this ordinance the emperor represents the cultivation of literature as wholly prostrate in the Italian states, in consequence of the negligence of the clergy and the civil officers; that he had therefore appointed teachers who should give instruction in the liberal arts, and whom he had directed to use all possible diligence to educate the rising generation. He also mentions the cities in which he had stationed these teachers—namely, Pavia, Ivrea, Turin, Cremona, Florence, Fermo, Verona, Vicenza, and Forum Julii or the modern Cividad del Friuli.—*Schl.*

[4] See Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 829, &c.

[5] See Wood, *Hist. et Antiq. Oxon.* lib. i. p. 13, &c.; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 211, and *Nouveau Diction. Histor. Crit.* tome i. article *Elfred*, page 234. [This excellent prince not only encouraged by his protection and liberality such of his own subjects as made any progress in the liberal arts and sciences, but invited over from foreign countries men of distinguished talents, whom he fixed in a seminary at Oxford, and of consequence may be looked upon as the founder of that noble university. Johannes Scotus Erigena, who had been in the service of Charles the Bald, and Grimbald, a monk of St. Bertin in France, were the most famous of those learned men who came from abroad; Asserus, Werferth, Plegmund, Dunwulf, Wulfsig, and the abbot of St. Neot's, deserve the first rank among the English literati who adorned the age of Alfred. See Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* vol. i. book iii. p. 165, 166, &c.; Rapin, in the reign of this illustrious monarch.—*Macl.*

[6] Servatus Lupus, *Epistolæ*, p. 69, ep. xxxiv.; Conringius, *Antiq. Acad.* p. 322; *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iv. p. 251, &c.

[7] Suitable illustrations of these remarks may be derived from the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, by the Benedictine monks, tome iv. p. 251, 271, &c. and especially from Le Beuf, *Etat des Sciences en France depuis Charlemagne jusqu'au Roi Robert*; in his *Recueil de divers Ecrits pour servir d'éclaircissement à l'Hist. de France*, tome ii. p. 1, &c. Paris, 1738, 8vo.

head of these was John Erigena[1] Scotus, *i. e.* the Irishman, a companion and friend of Charles the Bald, a man of superior genius, and not a stranger to either Grecian or Roman learning. Being acquainted with Greek he expounded Aristotle to his pupils, and also philosophized with great acuteness without a guide. His five books on *The Division of Nature* (De Divisione Naturæ) are still extant, an abstruse work, in which he traces the causes and origination of all things, in a style not disagreeable and with no ordinary acumen; and in which he so explains the philosophy of Christianity, as to make it the great aim of the whole system to bring the minds of men into intimate union with the Supreme Being. To express the thing in words better understood—he was the first of those who united Scholastic theology with that which is called Mystic. Some have viewed him as not very far from the opinion of those who suppose God to be connected with nature as the soul is with the body. But perhaps he advanced nothing but what the Realists, as they were called, afterwards taught, though he expressed his views with less clearness.[2] He did not so far as I know found a new sect. About the same time one Macarius, also an Irishman or Scot, disseminated in France that error concerning the soul which Averroes afterwards professed, namely, that all men have one common soul, an error which Ratram confuted.[3] Before these men, and in the times of Charlemagne and Lewis the Meek, Dungal, a Scot and a monk, taught philosophy and astronomy in France with great reputation.[4] Nearly contemporary with him was Heiric or Heric, a monk of Auxerre, a very acute man, who is said to have pursued his investigations in the manner of Des Cartes.[5]

[1] Erigena signifies properly a native of Ireland, as Erin or Irin was the ancient name of that kingdom.—*Mael.*

[2] This book was published by Thomas Gale, Oxon. 1681, fol.; Heumann made some extracts from it and treated learnedly of Scotus himself in the German *Acta Philosophorum*, tom. iii. p. 858, &c. [See also respecting his philosophical opinions Brucker's *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. iii. p. 614—25, and in the Appendix or tom. vi. p. 573. His life and works are noticed in the next chapter.—*R.*

[3] See Mabillon, *Præf. ad Sæcul.* iv. par. ii.; *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedicti*, sec. 156, p. 53, &c. [It is not to be supposed that Macarius held the *numerical* unity of all human souls, but only their *specific* unity or identity; *i.e.* their sameness of essence or sameness of nature. The doctrine of the sameness of all *generals* was often so stated as apparently to deny the separate existence of *individuals*, and even to approximate to pantheism. See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Spinoza*, note P.—*Mur.*

[4] *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iv. p. 493. [But Muratori, *Hist. of Italy*, vol. iv. p. 611; German ed. and elsewhere thinks this Dungal taught at Pavia in Italy, and not in the monastery of St. Denys, France. —*Mur*

[5] Le Beuf, *Mémoires pour l' Hist. d'Auxerre*, tome ii. p. 481; *Acta Sanctor.* tom. iv. m. Junii, ad diem xxiv. p. 829, et ad diem xxxi. Julii, p. 249. For this philosopher obtained a place among the saints.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS, AND OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

1. THE ungodly lives of most of those entrusted with the care and government of the church, are a subject of complaint with all the ingenuous and honest writers of this age.[6] In the East, intrigues, rancour, contentions, and strife, were everywhere predominant. At Constantinople or New Rome those were elevated to the patriarchal chair who were in favour at court; and upon losing that favour, a decree of the emperor hurled them from their elevated station. In the West, the bishops frequented the courts of princes, and indulged themselves in every species of voluptuousness;[7] while the inferior clergy and the monks were sensual, and by the grossest vices corrupted the people whom they were set to reform. The ignorance of the clergy in many places was so great that few of them could read and write, and very few could

[6] See Agobard, *De Privilegiis et Jure Sacerdotii*, sec. 13, p. 137, tom. i. of his Opp. ed. Baluze.

[7] See Agobard, *passim*; and laws (or canons) enacted in the councils of the Latins; also Servatus Lupus, *Epist.* xxxv. p. 73, 281, and the annotations of Baluze, p. 371. [The council of Pavia A.D. 850, canon third, says:—"It is our opinion that bishops should be contented with *temperate meals*, and should not urge their guests to eat and to drink, but rather set examples of sobriety. Let all provocations to debauchery be removed from their conviviality; let no ludicrous shows, no vain garrulity, no buffoonery of wits, no scurrilous tricks, there find a place." Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. v. p. 25. In a subsequent canon they forbid bishops keeping hounds and hawks for hunting, and their having superfluous trains of horses and mules and gaudy dresses for vain display. The council of Aix-la-Chapelle A.D. 836 forbade bishops getting drunk. Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 1392, No. 6. And they state with reprobation the fact that some of their order neglected their charges and travelled here and there, not from necessity but to gratify their avarice or their love of pleasure. Ibid. p. 1393, No. 12. Of presbyters and the inferior clergy they complain that they kept women in their houses to the great scandal of the ministry; and this notwithstanding the attempts of former councils and princes to remove the evil. Also that presbyters turn bailiffs, frequent taverns, pursue filthy lucre, practise usury, behave shamefully and lewdly in the houses they visit, and do not blush to indulge in revelry and drunkenness. Ibid. p. 1397, No. 7, 8. They say of the nunneries that "in some places they seemed to be rather brothels than monasteries." Ibid. p. 1398, No. 12. The council of Mayence A.D. 888 decreed:—"That the clergy be wholly forbidden to have females resident in their houses. For although there were canons allowing *certain* females [mothers and sisters] to reside in clergymen's houses, yet what is greatly to be lamented we have often heard that by such permission numerous acts of wickedness have been committed; so that some priests cohabiting with their own sisters have had children by them. (Sæpe audivimus, per illam concessionem plurima scelera esse commissa, ita ut quidam sacerdotum cum propriis sororibus concumbentes, filios ex eis generassent.) And therefore this holy synod decrees that no presbyter shall permit *any* female to live with him in his house; so that the occasion of evil reports or of iniquitous deeds may be wholly removed." Ibid. vol. vi. p. 406, No. 10.—*Mur.*

express their thoughts with precision and clearness. Hence whenever a letter was to be penned or anything of importance was to be committed to writing, recourse was generally had to some one individual, who was supposed to excel common men by possessing some dexterity in such matters. The example of Servatus Lupus is evidence of the fact.[1]

2. In Europe various causes operated to produce and to foster this corruption among persons who ought to have been examples to others. Among the principal must be reckoned the calamities of the times, such as the perpetual wars between Lewis the Meek and his sons and posterity, the incursions and ravages of the barbarous nations, the gross ignorance of the nobility, and the vast wealth which was possessed by the churches and monasteries. To these leading causes others of less magnitude may be added. If a son of an illustrious family lacked energy and talent, an elevated place was sought for him among the rulers of the church.[2] The patrons of churches, not wishing to have their vices exposed and reproved, gave the preference to weak and inefficient men for parish ministers and guardians of the souls of men.[3] The bishops and heads of monasteries held much real estate or landed property by a feudal tenure; and therefore whenever a war broke out they were summoned to the field, with the quota of soldiers which they were bound to furnish to their sovereigns.[4] Kings and princes moreover that they might be able to reward their servants and soldiers for their services, often seized upon consecrated property and gave it to their dependents; and the priests and monks who had before been supported by it, to relieve their wants now betook themselves to every species of villany, fraud, and imposition.[5]

3. The Roman pontiffs were elected by the suffrages of the whole body of the clergy and people [at Rome], but the emperors must approve of their appointment before they were consecrated.[6] There is indeed extant an edict of Lewis the Meek dated A.D. 817, in which this right of the emperors is relinquished, and power given to the Romans not only of electing a pontiff, but of installing and consecrating him without waiting for the consent of the emperor;[7] but eminent men have shown by arguments entirely satisfactory that this document is a forgery.[8] Yet I readily admit that after the time of Charles the Bald, who obtained the imperial dignity by the good offices of the Roman pontiff, the state of things was materially changed and the consent of the emperors was not asked by the Romans. It is at the same time true beyond a question, that from the time of Eugene III.[9] who was placed in St. Peter's chair A.D. 884, the election of a pontiff was nearly destitute of any rule or order, and was for the most part tumultuous; and this irregularity did not cease until the times of Otto the Great.

4. Few of those who in this century were raised to the highest station in the church, can be commended for their wisdom, learning, virtue, and other endowments proper for a bishop. The greater part of them by their numerous vices, and all of them by their arrogance and lust of power, entailed disgrace upon their memories. Between Leo IV. who died A.D. 855 and Benedict III. a woman who concealed her sex and assumed the name of John, it is said opened her way to the pontifical throne by her learning and genius, and governed the church for a time. She is commonly called the papess Joan. During the five subsequent centuries the witnesses to this extraordinary event are without number; nor did any one, prior to the reformation by Luther, regard the thing as either incredible or disgraceful to the church.[10] But in the

[1] See his Works; *Epist.* xcviii. xcix. p. 126, 148, 142; also his *Life*. To these add Rodolphus Bituricensis, *Capitula ad Clerum suum*, in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. vi. p. 139 and p. 148.

[2] Hincmar, *Opus Posterius contra Godeschalcum*, cap. xxxvi. in his *Opp.* tom. i. p. 318; Servatus Lupus, *Epist.* lxxix. p. 120.

[3] Agobard, *De Privilegiis et Jure Sacerdotum*, cap. xi. in his *Opp.* tom. i. p. 341.

[4] Baluze, *Appendix Actorum ad Servatum*, p. 508; Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 446, &c.; Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 587; Du Fresne, *ad Joinvillii Hist. Ludovici S.* p. 75, 76. [Yet military service was not always required for church lands, some donations expressly granting exemption from it. See Mabillon, *ubi supra.*—*Mur.*

[5] Agobard, *De Dispens. Rerum Eccles.* sec. xiv. *Opp.* tom. x. p. 270; Flodoard, *Hist. Eccles. Rhemensis*, lib. iii. cap. ix.; Servatus Lupus, *Epist.* lxv. p. 87, 437, &c.; but especially Muratori, *Antiq. Italicæ*, tom. vi. p. 302, &c. and Thomassin, *Disciplina Eccles. vet. et nova circa Beneficia*, par. ii. lib. iii. c. xi. The custom prevailed also among the Greeks and the Lombards. See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 142.

[6] See the illustrious De Bünau, *Hist. Imperii German.* tom. iii. p. 28, &c. 32, &c.

[7] Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 1236; le Cointe, *Annales Ecclesiæ Francor.* tom. vii. ad ann. 817, sec. 6; Baluze, *Capitular. Regum Francor.* tom. i. p. 591.

[8] Muratori, *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclés.* p. 54, &c. and *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 29, 30, where he conjectures that this document was forged in the eleventh century. Bünau, *Hist. Imper. German.* tom. iii. p. 34. And yet some popish writers, e. g. Fontanini and others, most earnestly defend this edict of Lewis, though ineffectually. [The evidence of the spuriousness of this edict is well summed up by Pagi, *Critica in Baron.* ad ann. 817, No. 7, vol. iii. p. 492.—*Mur.*

[9] Here is a mistake. It was Hadrian III. who became pope in the year 884, and not Eugene III. who was not raised to that dignity till A.D. 1145; *Von Einem.*

[10] The arguments of those who hold the story to be true are carefully and learnedly collected and stated by

seventeenth century learned men not only among the Roman Catholics but others also, exerted all the powers of their ingenuity both to invalidate the testimony on which the truth of the story rests, and to confute it by an accurate computation of dates.[1] But still there are very learned men who, while they concede that much falsehood is mixed with the truth, maintain that the controversy is not wholly settled. Something must necessarily have taken place at Rome, to give rise to this most uniform report of so many ages; but what it was that occurred does not yet appear.[2]

5. Great as the vices and enormities of many of the pontiffs were, they did not prevent the growth of the pontifical power and influence both in church and state during these unhappy times. It does not indeed appear from any authentic documents, that they acquired any new territories in addition to those they had received from the bounty of the French kings. For what they tell us of the donations of Lewis the Meek is destitute of probability;[3] nor is there more certainty in what many state that Charles the Bald in the year 875, when John VIII. had enabled him to gain the rank of emperor, relinquished all right and jurisdiction over the city of Rome and its territory, and bestowed various other gifts of immense value upon the pontiffs. Yet to all who read the history of those times it must be obvious, that the Roman pontiffs advanced in power, influence, wealth, and riches, from the age of Lewis the Meek onward, and especially after the commencement of the reign of Charles the Bald.[4]

6. Upon the decease of Lewis II. [A.D. 875] a violent war broke out among the descendents of Charlemagne, each of them contending for the imperial dignity. The Roman pontiff, John VIII., and with him the Italian princes, eagerly seized this opportunity to exclude the voice of all foreigners, and make the election of emperors depend wholly on themselves. Hence Charles the Bald, King of the Franks, by a vast amount of money and other presents, and by still greater promises, induced the Roman pontiff and the other Italian princes, to proclaim him King of Italy and Emperor of the Romans in a public assembly A.D. 876. His successors in the kingdom of Italy and in the imperial

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Spanheim, in his *Exercit. de Papa Fœmina*, *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 577; and Lenfant has exhibited them in a French translation better arranged and with various additions, in a third ed. at the Hague, 1736, 12mo.

[1] The arguments of those who deny the existence of a *papess* after David Blondell's appropriate treatise and some others, are ingeniously stated by Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tom. iii. art. *Papesse*, p. 2162. See also Eccard, *Hist. Franciæ Oriental.* tom. ii. lib. xxx. sec. 119, &c. p. 436, &c. who however so far as we know has followed the reasoning of Leibnitz on the subject. Le Quien, *Orien. Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 777, and in the Lutheran church, Heumann, in his *Sylloge Diss. Sacrar.* tom. i. par. ii. p. 352, &c. The arguments on both sides of the question are neatly stated by Wagensiel, in Schelhorn's *Amœnitates Literar.* par. i. p 146, &c. and by Basnage, *Hist. de l' Eglise*, tom. i. p. 408. The names of the other writers, who are very numerous, may be seen in Sagittarius, *Introductio in Hist. Eccles* tom. i. c. xxv. p. 676, &c. and in the *Bibliotheca Bremensis*, tom. viii. par. v. p. 935. [See also Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxii. p. 75—110; Schmidt, *Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 274—279; and Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. iv. p. 246—260. —*Mur.*

[2] So thought Sarpi, *Lettere Italiane*, lett. lxxxii. p. 452; Lenfant, *Biblioth Germanique*, tome x. p. 27; Hasæus, *Biblioth. Bremens.* tom. viii. par. v. p. 935; Pfaff, *Instit. Hist. Eccles.* p. 402, ed. 2. To whom might be added Wernsdorf, Boecler, Holberg, and many others. I will not undertake the office of judge in this controversy, yet I am of opinion there was something in this affair which deserves further investigation.—[Few if any in modern times admit the reality of a *female pope*, and among the English Pope Joan has become a proverbial epithet for a fictitious character too ridiculous to be mentioned in serious earnest. None of the contemporary writers mention such a pope, for the passage in Anastasius Bibliothecarius, who then lived at Rome and wrote the *Lives of the Popes*, is undoubtedly spurious. It was nearly two centuries before any writer affirmed the fact. But from that time to the reformation it was generally believed; yet not *universally* as Mosheim intimates. Platina (*Lives of the Popes*, John VII.) after relating the story says:—"Hæc quæ dixi, vulgo feruntur, incertis tamen et obscuris auctoribus: quæ ideo ponere breviter et nude institui, ne obstinate et pertinaciter omisisse videar, quod fere omnes affirmant." This surely is not the language of one who does not question the truth of the story. Yet Platina wrote before Luther was born. The history of this *papess* is briefly this, as stated by writers of the twelfth and following centuries. She was the daughter of an English missionary who left England to preach among the newly-converted Saxons. She was born at Ingelheim, and according to different authors was named Joanna, Agnes, Gerbert, Isabel, Margaret, Dorothy, and Jutt. She early distinguished herself for genius and love of learning. A young monk of Fulda conceiving a passion for her which was mutual, she eloped from her parents, disguised her sex, and entered the monastery of Fulda. Not satisfied with the restraints there, she and her lover eloped again, went to England, and then to France, Italy, and finally to Athens in Greece, where they devoted themselves to literary pursuits. On the death of the monk Joanna was inconsolable. She left Athens and repaired to Rome. There she opened a school and acquired such reputation for learning and feigned sanctity that on the death of Leo IV. A.D. 855, she was chosen pope. For something more than two years she filled the papal chair with reputation, no one suspecting her sex. But she had taken one of her household whom she could trust, to her bed, and by him she became pregnant. At length, being nearer her time than she had supposed, she ventured on Whitsunweek to join in the annual procession with all her clergy. While passing the street between the church of St. Clement and the Amphitheatre she was seized with violent pains, fell to the ground amidst the crowd, and while her attendants were endeavouring to minister to her, was delivered of a son. The child died, and some say the mother too, on the spot. Others say she survived but was sent immediately to prison, the object of universal execration. See Bower and Platina, *ubi supra.*—*Mur.* [The student will see an excellent summary of the controversy in Gieseler, *Lehrbuch*, &c. Cunningham's Transl. vol. ii. p. 20, 21. This eminent historian and critic has no hesitation in characterising the story of Pope Joan as "a fabrication of later times." —*R.*

[3] See above sec. 3.

[4] Bünau, *Hist. Imp. German.* tom. iii. p. 482, &c.; Eccard, *Hist. Franciæ Oriental.* tom. ii. lib. xxxi. p. 606, &c. [See Gieseler's *Text-Book* by Cunningham, vol. ii. p. 70, &c.—*Mur.*

dignity, Carloman and Charles the Fat, were likewise chosen by the Roman pontiff and the Italian princes. Afterwards turbulent times came on, in which those who promised most or who gave most, generally ascended the royal and imperial throne by the aid of the pontiffs.[1]

7. The power of the Roman pontiffs in matters of a religious nature, was augmented with equal rapidity and success, and nearly from the same causes. The wisest and most impartial among the Roman Catholic writers acknowledge and prove, that from the time of Lewis the Meek, the ancient system of ecclesiastical law in Europe was gradually changed, and a new system introduced by the policy of the court of Rome. Kings and emperors suffered their rights in matters of religion, which had been handed down to them from Charlemagne, to be insensibly taken from them. The power of bishops to make regulations in matters of religion was prostrated, and the authority of ecclesiastical councils was diminished. For the Roman pontiffs, exulting in their prosperity and the daily accessions to their wealth, endeavoured to instil into the minds of all, and notwithstanding the opposition of the reflecting and of those acquainted with the ancient ecclesiastical constitution, they actually did instil into many the sentiment, that the bishop of Rome was constituted by Jesus Christ a legislator and judge over the whole church; and therefore that other bishops derived all their authority solely from him, and that councils could decide nothing without his direction and approbation.[2]

8. To bring men to listen and assent to this new system of ecclesiastical law, so very different from the previous system, there was need of ancient documents and records with which it might be enforced and defended against the assaults of opponents. Hence the Roman pontiffs procured the forgery, by their trusty friends, of conventions, acts of councils, epistles, and other documents; by which they might make it appear that, from the earliest ages of the church, the Roman pontiffs possessed the same authority and power which they now claimed.[3] Among these fraudulent documents in support of the Romish power, the so-called *Decretal Epistles* of the pontiffs of the early centuries hold perhaps the first rank. They were produced by the ingenuity of an obscure man who falsely assumed the name of Isidore, bishop of Seville.[4] Some vestiges of these fabricated epistles appeared in the preceding century;[5] but they were first published and appealed to in support of the claims of the Roman pontiffs in this century.[6] Of similar origin and value are the decrees of a Roman council said to have been held under Sylvester (A.D. 324), but

[1] This is illustrated by Sigonius, *De Regno Italiæ*, and by the other writers of German and Italian history.

[2] See the excellent work of an unknown writer who signs himself D. B. entitled, *Hist. du Droit Ecclésias. Publique François*; first published, London, 1737, 2 vols. 8vo, and lately republished splendidly in a larger form. The author neatly and acutely points out the steps by which the Roman pontiffs advanced their power. Of the ninth century he treats in vol. i. p. 160, &c. [Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vols. iv. and v.; Planck, *Gesch. d. Christl. Kirchl. Gesellschafts-Verfassung*, vols. ii. and iii.—*Mur.*

[3] It is no improbable supposition that these and other documents, such as the donations of Constantine and Lewis the Meek, were fabricated with the privity and approbation of the Roman pontiffs. For who can believe that the pontiffs, who made use of these writings during many ages to substantiate their authority and their prerogatives, would have ventured to confront kings, princes, ecclesiastical councils, and bishops, with the fictions and impositions of private individuals? In that age frauds for the benefit of the church and of God were deemed lawful: so that it is not strange that the Roman pontiffs should suppose they did no moral wrong, by permitting and approving the fabrication of such papers as would be a rampart and bulwark to the see of St. Peter.

[4] That the author of these Epistles wished to be regarded as Isidore, a distinguished Spanish bishop of the sixth century, or to speak more definitely, that he wished to make the world believe that these Epistles were collected by Isidore, is perfectly clear. See Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 561. The bishops were accustomed in token of their humility to subjoin to their names the word *peccator* (*sinner*); hence the author of this forgery annexed the surname Peccator to the assumed name of Isidore. Some of the transcribers, ignorant of the ancient customs and literature, corrupted this signature by exchanging Peccator for Mercator. And hence the fraudulent compiler of the *Decretal Epistles* is called Isidorus Mercator. [On the whole subject of these Epistles, their origin, character, and effects, see Planck's *Gesch. d. Christl. Kirchl. Gesellschafts-Verfass.* vol. ii. p. 800—28; and Gieseler's *Text-Book* by Cunningham, vol. ii. p. 64—69.—*Mur.*

[5] See Calmet, *Hist. de Lorraine*, tome i. p. 528; Böhmer, *Præf. ad Novam Editionem Juris Canon.* tom. i. p. 10, 19. Notes. [Fleury says of them that "they crept to light near the close of the eighth century."—Fleury, in *Hist. Eccles.* Diss. iv. sec. 1; and in the History itself, livr. xliv. sec. 22.—*Mur.*

[6] The spuriousness of these Epistles has been demonstrated, not only by the *Centuriatores Magdeburgenses* and some others, but most learnedly and in an appropriate treatise by David Blondell, in his *Pseudo-Isidorus et Turrianus vapulantes*, Genev. 1628, 4to. And at the present day the friends of the Roman pontiffs who follow reason and truth confess the cheat. See Buddeus, *Isagoge in Theologiam*, tom. ii. p. 762. Add Constant, *Prolegom. ad Epistolas Pontificum*, tom. i. p. 130, &c.; Fleury, Diss. prefixed to his *Hist. Eccles.* tome xvi. [and still better in his *Hist. Eccles.* itself, livr. xliv. sec. 22. These Epistles bearing the names of various Romish bishops from Clement I. to Damasus I. A.D. 384, are in the early collection of councils by Binnius; but are not inserted in the *Bullarium Magnum* of Cherubini, published by authority of the court of Rome near the close of the seventeenth century. It is believed they are now universally given up even by the Roman Catholics. The oldest papal Epistles now admitted by any to be genuine are those collected by Dionysius Exiguus, who says he could find none by the pontiffs anterior to Syricius, who succeeded Damasus I A.D. 385. The earliest in the *Bullarium Magnum* are those of Leo I. A.D. 447.—*Mur.* [The best edition of this authentic collection of bulls, &c. is that of Luxembourg in 19 vols. fol. 1727—1758. There is now in course of publication at Rome a continuation of this collection, of which 10 vols. fol. have already appeared, A.D. 1835—47 and that portion of the 12th vol. which is published brings down these public documents of the Roman court to July, 1804.—*R.*

which was never heard of by any one till the ninth century, and than which nothing could be better suited to enrich and exalt above all human authority the Roman pontiff.[1]

9. There were indeed among the western bishops some discerning men who perceived that designs were formed against them and the church; in particular, the French bishops vigorously opposed the admission of these Epistles, and other spurious productions, among the received books of ecclesiastical law. But these men were overcome by the pertinacity of the Roman pontiffs, especially by Nicholas I. And as in the subsequent times all science and learning forsook the Roman world, there scarcely remained any one able or even disposed to controvert these pious frauds. How great the evils to which they gave rise, and how audaciously the Roman pontiffs abused them to overthrow the ancient system of church government, to weaken the authority of bishops, to increase their own revenues and emoluments, and to abridge the prerogatives of kings and princes, numberless facts in the history of the subsequent centuries will show. Nor is this denied at the present day by respectable and honest men, even though in other respects favourably disposed towards the Romish church and its supreme head.[2]

10. The estimation in which a monastic life was held was astonishingly great, both in the eastern and western empire. In the former, this excessive estimation had long existed; but among the Latins, it dates only from the preceding century. Hence even kings and dukes and counts, abandoning their honours and their wealth, voluntarily retired to monasteries, to devote themselves to the service of God. Of this a large number of examples occurred in Italy, France, Spain, and Germany, during this century; and there were several also in the preceding century. Those who in their lifetime could not bring themselves to the resolution of abandoning society, would yet demand the monastic garb when dying, and actually put it on before they left the world, that they might enjoy the prayers and spiritual succours of the fraternity among whom they were received. Another and a striking proof of the high estimation in which monks were held, was the custom of the emperors and kings of the Franks in this century of calling monks and abbots to their courts, and intrusting them with civil affairs and business of great moment, both at home and in foreign countries. For those unsuspecting princes thought that no persons could more safely be entrusted with the management of public affairs, than men of such sanctity and piety—men who had subdued all their natural desires and become free from all concupiscence. Hence it is that in the history of these times we read of so many abbots and monks who performed the functions of ambassadors, commissioners or extraordinary judges, and ministers of state, often indeed successfully, but not seldom unsuccessfully.

11. And yet those who conferred such honours upon monks and the monastic life, did not deny that most of that class led vicious lives; and they laboured to reform their morals and render them obedient to their monastic rules. The efforts of Lewis the Meek, especially, in this particular deserve notice. That emperor employed Benedict, abbot of Aniane and afterwards of Indre, a man distinguished for piety and the fear of God, to reform the monasteries, first in Aquitaine and then throughout the kingdom of France, and to purge them of the enormous vices which had crept into them; and afterwards in the council [of abbots assembled] at Aix-la-Chapelle A.D. 817, in which the same Benedict presided, he caused excellent canons to be enacted for restoring the prostrate discipline of the monasteries. This Benedict therefore who has been called the second father of the western monks, subjected all of them to the single rule of St. Benedict of Monte Cassino, suppressing all diversities of rites and customs and introducing one uniform rule; he also banished the grosser vices from the monasteries; and he brought all associa-

[1] See Launoi, *De Cura Ecclesiæ erga Pauperes et Miseros*, cap. i. observ. i. p. 576, of his *Opp.* tom. ii. par. ii. [Likewise Cabassut, *Notitia Eccles.* p. 132, and Pagi, *Critica in Baron.* ad ann. 324, sec. 17, 18, who do not hesitate to pronounce this council a fiction.—*Mur.* [The view of these decretals and other forgeries taken by German Roman Catholics of the present day may be seen in Döllinger's *History of the Church*, translated by Cox. vol. ii. p. 197, &c. He admits them to be spurious, but the reasons he assigns for their having been forged are different from those usually put forward by the French Romanist writers.—*R.*

[2] See Launoi, *De Regia Potestate in Causis Matrimonial.* in his *Opp.* tom. par. ii. p. 764; and Constant, *Præf. ad Epist. Rom. Pontif.* tom. i. p. 127, &c. [Fleury, Diss. vii. sec. 5, *in Hist. Eccles.* [Latin trans.] says:—"Falsæ Isidori Decretales, circa octavi finem sæculi invectæ, jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam in tribus articulis *admodum concusserunt*, scilicet quoad concilia, judicia episcoporum, et appellationes." See also diss. iv. sec. 1, &c.; De Marca, *De Concordia Sacerd. et Imp.* lib. vii. cap. xx. sec. 1, &c. "Sub secunda Regum nostrorum dynastia *novum jus canonicum* in ecclesiam Gallicanam, æque ac in ceteras Occidentis provincias, introduci cœptum est, *inventis eam in rem suppoditiis illis* veterum Pontificum Romanorum *epistolis*, in quibus extant quam plurima constituta prorsus adversa veterum canonum statutis." But while these and other Catholic writers trace the commencement of a great revolution in the constitution of the Catholic church to the *Decretal Epistles*, and other forgeries of the eighth and ninth centuries, they say it was only the commencement; for the revolution was not completed till after the publication of the *Decretum* of Gratian in the twelfth century.—*Mur.*

tions of monks, who had before been bound together by no ties, to become in a sense one body or society.[1] This discipline flourished for a while, but from various causes it gradually declined; and at the end of this century such devastations had everywhere occurred both in church and state, that only some slight traces of it remained in a few places.

12. The order of canons, which was devised by Chrodegang and had been extensively introduced in the preceding century, Lewis the Meek cherished with great care and extended through all the provinces of his empire. He also added an order of canonesses, which had been unknown in the Christian world till that time.[2] For both he caused rules to be drawn up in the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 817, superseding the rule of Chrodegang; and these new rules continued to be followed in most of the convents of canons and canonesses till the twelfth century, although they were disagreeable to the court of Rome. The compiler of the rule for canons was undoubtedly Amalarius, a presbyter of Metz; but whether he also drew up that for canonesses is uncertain.[3] From this time onward numerous convents of canons and canonesses were founded in every part of Europe, and endowed with ample revenues by pious individuals. But this institution degenerated like the others, and very soon became widely different from what it was designed to be.[4]

13. Of the writers among the Greeks the following were the most distinguished. Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, a man of superior talents and of various and extensive knowledge. His *Bibliotheca*,[5] Epistles, and other writings are yet highly valuable. Nicephorus, also patriarch of Constantinople, who wrote against the opposers of images and some other

1 See Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. iv. par. i. præf. p. 27, and præf. ad sæcul. v. par. xxv. also his *Annal. Ord. S. Bened.* tom. ii. p. 430, &c. and many other places in that volume; Calmet, *Hist. de Lorraine*, tome i. p. 596. Concerning Benedict of Aniane and his merits generally, see the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. Febr. p. 606, and *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iv. p. 447, &c. [Also the Life of Benedict by Ardo, one of his disciples, in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. iv. par. i. tom. v. p. 183—215. This Benedict appears to have been a very sincere man and a great reformer of the monasteries; that is, one who brought them to greater uniformity in dress, living, worship, and usages. He was himself most rigorous in voluntary mortifications; and the rule of St. Benedict he reverenced, as if it had come immediately from God and was the only true guide to heaven.—*Mur.*

2 See Mabillon, *Annal. Ord. Bened.* tom. ii. p. 428, &c.

3 Thomassin, *Disciplina Eccles. Vet. et Nova*, par. i. lib. iii. cap. xlii. xliii. &c.; Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 185, 540, &c. and all the writers who treat of the order of canons, though they are not all of equal value. The least worthy of credit are those who, belonging themselves to the order of canons, have treated of the origin and progress of that order; as *e.g.* Raymund Chapponel, *Hist. des Chanoines*, Paris, 1699, 8vo. For these writers are so attached to the order that they usually trace its origin back to Christ himself and his Apostles, or at least to the first ages of the Christian church. [This ordinance of Lewis for regulating the order of canons is in Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 1055—1180. The following abstract by Schlegel contains its most essential features:—"It contains 145 articles, of which the first 118 are mere extracts from the fathers, and acts of councils describing the duties of bishops and priests. These are followed by two sermons of Augustine on living in associations. Then commence the rules framed by this council. First the prevailing error, that the prescriptions of the Gospel were obligatory only upon monks and clergymen, is confuted; and then the distinction between monks and canons is defined. The latter may wear linen, eat flesh, hold private property, and enjoy that of the church; the former cannot. Yet equally with the monks they should avoid all vices and practise virtue. They should live in well secured cloisters containing dormitories, refectories, and other necessary apartments. The number of canons in each cloister should be proportioned to the exigencies of the church to which it belonged. In their dress they should avoid the extravagances of ornament and finery, and likewise uncleanliness and negligence, &c. The second part of the rule relates to canonesses, and contains twenty-eight articles. The first six are extracts from the fathers, and relate to the duties of ladies who consecrate themselves to God. They may have private property, yet must commit the management of it to some kinsman or friend by a public act or assignment. They may also have waiting-maids, and eat in the refectory and sleep in the dormitory. They are to be veiled and to dress in black. Their business must be prayer, reading, and labouring with their hands; and especially they must fabricate their own clothing from the flax and wool given to them."—*Mur.*

4 Calmet, *Hist. de Lorraine*, tome i. p. 591; *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iv. p. 536, &c.

5 See Camusat, *Hist. des Journaux*, tome i. p. 87, &c. [Photius was of noble parentage, well educated, and perhaps the greatest genius of his age. He certainly was a great scholar. While in civil life he cultivated all learning sacred and profane. He was commander of the imperial body-guards, first senator of Constantinople, and chief private secretary to the emperor. He was also employed on embassies. During a Syrian embassy he wrote his famous *Bibliotheca* or Μυριόβιβλος, giving a critical account of 280 authors whom he had read, and frequently also summaries of their contents with considerable extracts. As many of these authors are no longer extant, the account of them by Photius is extremely valuable. In the year 858 the emperor Michael III. deposed Ignatius, the patriarch of Constantinople; and Photius was ordained subdeacon, deacon, priest, and patriarch, in four successive days. The friends of Ignatius and the bishops of Rome refused to acknowledge Photius as a legitimate patriarch. Yet he held the office till A.D. 867, when having offended the emperor, he was deposed and Ignatius was restored. But in the year 877 Ignatius died, and Photius again took the chair till A.D. 886, when the new emperor, Leo the Philosopher, deposed and banished him to a convent in Armenia, where he died about A.D. 890. The *Bibliotheca* of Photius, Gr. and Lat. with the notes of Hæschelius (the very faulty Latin by Schott), was first published 1601, fol. and has been several times reprinted. The latest edition is that by Bekker, Berlin, 1824, in 2 vols. 4to. His treatise against the new Manichæans or Paulicians, is in Wolfius *Anecdota Græca*, and in Gallandius, *Biblio. Vet. Patrum*, tom. xiii. p. 603, &c. His Epistles to the number of 248 were published, Gr. and Lat. by R. Montague, Lon. 1651, fol. His *Nomocanon* or collection of canons, with the Commentary of Balsamon, was published, Gr. and Lat. by both the Justells; the last in his *Biblioth. Juris Canon.* Paris, 1662, tom. ii. p. 789. Several additional letters and tracts have crept to light in different collections; but his extensive commentaries on Scripture, his large lexicon, and several smaller works remain still in MS. For an account of his writings see Fabricius, *Biblio. Græca.* vol. ix. p. 311—519. Of his public life and the controversies in which he was involved, notice will be taken in the next chapter, sect. 27, &c.—*Mur.*

works.[1] Theodorus Studites is likewise indebted to the controversy respecting images, for the greater part of his reputation among those who have come after him.[2] Not much better or more learned were Theodorus Graptus, who suffered much in defence of image-worship;[3] Methodius, entitled the Confessor, because no penalties or pressure could induce him to abandon the defence of images;[4] Theodorus Abucara;[5] Petrus Siculus;[6] Nicetas David,[7] and others, whose names would perhaps have not been handed down to this day, had not the Greeks been involved in contests with the Latins on several subjects, and among themselves respecting image-worship.—Among the Syrians the name of Moses Barcepha is famous, and not undeservedly. For he possessed genius and skill in writing beyond most others, as his works evince.[8]

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1 See the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. Martii, ad diem xiii. p. 293; Oudin, *Scriptores Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 2, &c. [Nicephorus, after being secretary of state at Constantinople and in high honour, retired from the world and became a monk. He was learned, devout, and exceedingly zealous for image-worship. He was made patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 806, but was expelled his see ten years after by the emperor Leo V. who was opposed to image-worship, and died in exile A.D. 828. His best work is a *Compendious History* from Maurice A.D. 600, to A.D. 769, extant in the *Corpus Hist. Byzantinæ.* He also wrote a *Chronologia Tripartita* or a Catalogue of public men among the Hebrews, Greeks, Latins, &c. and a Στιχομετρία or Index of canonical, ecclesiastical, and apocryphal books; annexing to each the number of lines (στίχοι) it contained. Besides these historical works he wrote a long Epistle to Pope Leo III. containing his creed, several small collections of canons, and a number of books in defence of image-worship.—*Mur.*

2 Theodorus Studites was born at Constantinople A.D. 759, became a monk in 781, and abbot in 794, and four years after head of the monastery of Studium in Constantinople, whence his surname Studites. He was zealous even to madness in favour of image-worship; and for thirty years was the instigator of rebellions, and the dauntless leader of them (when out of prison) against the government which was opposed to image-worship. He died A.D. 826 aged 67. Besides a few tracts on monkery and monkish saints, he has left us 131 catechetical Discourses, and a vast number of inflammatory letters in defence of image-worship, most of which or at least parts of them Baronius has inserted in his Annals. He was a man of some learning and talent, but wasted all his strength on the controversy respecting images.—*Mur.*

3 Theodorus Graptus was a monk of Palestine, went to Constantinople A.D. 818, to plead the cause of image-worship; was banished four times for his abuse of emperors and others and his seditious movements in favour of images; and at last died in exile about A.D. 840. He has left us a Dispute, an Epistle, and Creed, all in defence of images.—*Mur.*

4 Methodius Confessor was well born at Syracuse in Sicily, went to Constantinople, and there became a monk. About A.D. 820 the patriarch sent him as his envoy to Rome. Here he was guilty of adultery and did penance. Returning to Constantinople he became very zealous in defence of image-worship, was banished and imprisoned and whipped. But in 842 he was made patriarch of Constantinople. He died A.D. 847, and has left us five orations in praise of monkery, and a collection of *Canones Pœnitentiales.* Some of his orations have passed for works of Methodius Patarensis who flourished A.D. 290.—*Mur.*

5 Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome i. p. 35, &c. *art. Abucaras.* [The word Abucara signifies *bishop of Caria.* He followed the party of Photius, but afterwards renounced it and joined that of Ignatius. According to Cave he flourished A.D. 867. He has left us about forty Dissertations, doctrinal and polemic, against heretics, Jews, and Muhammedans, which were published, Gr. and Lat. by Gret er, with the *Hodegus* of Anastasius, Ingol. 1606, 4to.—*Mur.*

6 Petrus Siculus (flourished A.D. 392) was a learned nobleman whom the emperor Basil I. sent to negociate an exchange of prisoners in Armenia. There he became acquainted with the sect of the new Manichæans or Paulicians, the history of whose origin, progress and decline he afterwards composed; published Gr. and Lat. Ingol. 1604, 4to, and partially in Latin, by Baronius, *Annal.* tom. ix; and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxii.—*Mur.*

7 Nicetas David, a learned bishop of Paphlagonia, flourished about A.D. 880, and was strongly attached to the party of Ignatius, whose life he composed full of reproaches against Photius. He also wrote encomiums on the twelve apostles and several other saints, a defence of the synod of Chalcedon, and a commentary on some parts of Gregory Naz. His life of Ignatius was published, Gr. and Lat. with the Acts of the eighth general Council, Ingol. 1604, 4to; and in Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. v. p. 944–1009.—*Mur.*

8 Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. ii. p. 127, &c. [Moses Barcepha was a Syrian bishop of Beth-Raman, and inspector of the churches in Babylonia. He probably flourished near the close of this century; Cave says about A.D. 990. His three books, *De Paradiso*, in a Latin translation from the Syriac by Masius, were published, Antw. 1569, 8vo; and then in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xvii. p. 456.—*Mur.*

The Greek writers omitted by Mosheim are the following:—

Nicephorus, Chartophylax, who flourished perhaps A.D. 801 and wrote two Epistles to Theodosius, a monk of Corinth, containing solutions of several difficult questions in ethics; extant, Gr. and Lat. in the *Jus Gr. et Roman.* lib. v. p. 341, and Lat. in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xii.

Josephus, archbishop of Thessalonica, brother of Theodorus Studites and also a zealot for image-worship. He was deposed A.D. 809, exiled, and died after A.D. 816. Gretzer (*De Cruce*, tom. ii. p. 1200) has published, Gr. and Lat. an Oration of his on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross; and Baronius (*Annales*, ad ann. 808, sec. 22) has given us an Epistle of his in Latin.

Ignatius, a grammarian and deacon at Constantinople and then metropolitan of Nice. He flourished A.D. 810 and was alive A.D. 828. His life of the patriarch Tarasius is extant, Lat. in Surius and in Bolland on Feb. 25th. His life of the patriarch Nicephorus was published, Gr. and Lat. by Henschenius and Papebroch, on March 12th.

Naucratius, a monk of Constantinople, very active in favour of image-worship for which he was often imprisoned. He flourished from A.D. 813 till after A.D. 820. Several letters addressed to him are given us by Baronius; and a very long one containing an account of the sufferings of the image-worshippers is inserted, Latin, in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xiv. p. 903. Cave (*Hist. Lit.* tom. ii.) gives a specimen of the Greek, but did not deem it worth publishing entire.

Theophanes, the brother of Theodorus Graptus (see note 3, on this page), and of the same character, conduct, and fortune. Yet he became metropolitan of Nice about A.D. 845. We have a Hymn consisting of nine odes in memory of his brother; edited by Combefis, Gr. and Lat in his *Orig. Constantinop.* p. 224.

Michael Syncellus, leader of the choir at Constantinople, a zealot for image-worship, in which cause he suffered much. He flourished about A.D. 830, and wrote an Encomium on St. Dionysius Areop. which is extant, Gr. and Lat. in the *Opp. Dionys. Areop.* tom. ii. p. 207; also an Encomium on the holy angels and archangels of God, extant, Gr. and Lat. in Combefis, *Auctar. Nov.* tom. i. p. 1525.

George Hamartolus, an Archimandrite, who flourished about A.D. 842, and wrote a *Chronicon* from the creation to A.D. 842, which still exists in MS. From it the succeeding chronologists, Cedrenus, Theophanes, Glycas, &c. have copied all that is valuable.

Ignatius, son of the emperor Michael Curopalata, castrated and banished by Leo the Armenian, lived a monk about thirty years, was made patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 847, quarrelled with Barda, and was

14. At the head of the Latin writers may justly be placed Rabanus Maurus, whose last office was that of archbishop of Mentz. He was the common preceptor of Germany and France, with whom no one in this century can be compared, either for genius or extent of learning or the multitude of books he composed. Whoever acquaints himself with the opinions of Rabanus Maurus, learns all that the best of the Latins thought and believed for about four centuries; for his writings were in the hands of all the learned.[1] Agobard of Lyons, a man of character and discernment and not destitute of learning, would have deserved more commendation, if he had not been a defender of the rebellion of the sons of Lewis the Meek against their own father.[2] Hilduin obtained notoriety by his work entitled *Areopagitica*.[3] Eginhard, abbot of Seligenstadt, the celebrated author of the life of Charlemagne and of other works, was particularly attentive to the elegance of

deposed and banished A.D. 858. In the year 867 Photius, his competitor, was deposed and Ignatius restored. He died in 878 aged 80 years. Two letters and one discourse of his are extant, Latin, in Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. v. p. 791, 872, 937.

Metrophanes, metropolitan of Smyrna, A.D. 858, 859, and A.D. 867—880. He was a strenuous opposer of Photius and rose as he fell. He has left us a letter giving us the history of Photius from A.D. 858 to 870, which is extant, in Latin, in Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 870, sec. 453, and Gr. and Lat. in Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. v. p. 1111.

Basil the Macedonian, Greek emperor from A.D. 867—886. He wrote exhortations to his son Leo, some orations, addresses, and epistles, still extant, besides some things which are lost.

Michael Psellus, a philosopher who flourished A.D. 870, is supposed to have written some of the pieces which go under the name of another Michael Psellus who lived in the eleventh century; particularly a paraphrase on most of the books of Aristotle, a Dialogue on the operations of demons, a tract concerning demons, &c.

Stylianus, surnamed Mapa, metropolitan of Neo-Cesarea in the Provincia Euphratensis, who flourished about A.D. 870. He was a strong partisan of Ignatius in opposition to Photius, for which he suffered a temporary deprivation of his see. He has left us two Epistles Gr. and Lat. in Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. v. p. 1122, 1130.

Michael, the monk, Syncellus to the patriarch, Ignatius, flourished A.D. 878, and wrote an Encomium on Ignatius, extant, Gr. and Lat. in Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. v. p. 1069, and a life of Theodorus Studites, from which Baronius in his *Annales* has made various extracts.

George, chartophylax of the great church at Constantinople, and archbishop of Nicomedia about A.D. 880. He was a warm friend of Photius. Several orations and some poems of his in praise of saints are extant, Gr. and Lat. in Combefis, *Auctar. Nov.* Paris, 1648, tom. i. p. 995.

Leo the Philosopher, Greek emperor from A.D. 886 to A.D. 911. He has left us sixteen sacred orations, some letters and tracts, Πρόχειρον νομικὸν sive *Delectus Legum* in lx. Tituli, a huge digest of the laws of the Greek empire, published, Paris, 1647, Gr. and Lat. in 7 vols. fol. *Novellæ Constitutiones* iii. and *Tactica seu de Re Militari*.

Nicolaus, surnamed Mysticus, patriarch of Constantinople from A.D. 892 to A.D. 903, when he was deposed and banished for opposing the divorce of the empress and the marriage of another. But in 911 he was restored and lived till 924. He has left us eight Epistles, extant in the *Concilia*, or in Baronius, *Annales*.—*Mur.*

[1] See the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. Febr. p. 500; *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome v. p. 151. [Also, Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 1—45. Rabanus, or Hrabanus, surnamed Maurus, was of French extract and born of respectable parentage at Mentz, A.D. 776. He studied first at Fulda, where he was made deacon in 801. The next year he removed to Tours to study under the famous Alcuin. After one or two years he returned to Fulda, and was made head of the school there at the age of twenty-five. As an instructor he was so celebrated as to draw young men of talents from a great distance. Among his pupils were Walafrid Strabo, Servatus Lupus, and others, who were among the first scholars of their age. In the year 822 he was made abbot of Fulda, in which office he was for a time popular; but at length the monks complained that he was so engaged in writing books as to neglect his active duties. He now resigned his abbacy and retired to a literary life. This was in 842. Five years after he was made archbishop of Mentz; in which office he continued till his death A.D. 857. He wrote commentaries on all the canonical books and several of the apocryphal; also, sermons, letters, and tracts.—Most of his works as published are comprised in 6 vols. fol. Cologne, 1627.—*Mur.* [This celebrated writer is entitled to a more extended notice than is here given. Those who are desirous to obtain further information on his life, character, and works, will find the amplest details in Bähr, *Geschichte der Römis. Liter.* suppl. vol. part iii. p. 415—443. For a brief notice of his poetical writings see the same vol. p. 105. See also Conringius, *De Scriptoribus*, sæc. ix. cap. i. p. 104, and Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Phil.* tom. i. p. 612.—*R.*

[2] Colonia, *Hist. Littér. de la Ville de Lyon*, tome ii. p. 93; *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. Critique*, tome i. p. 178; *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iv. p. 567, &c. [and Cave's *Hist. Liter.* tom. ii. Agobard was a Frank, called from Spain to be coadjutor of Leidrad, archbishop of Lyons A.D. 813, whom he afterwards succeeded. He was a man of an ardent, independent mind, of great learning and inflexibility. He attacked the superstitions of the age, so far as he discovered them, with boldness; was very zealous against the Jews, to whom the French kings were disposed to grant privileges; and taking sides with Lothaire and Pepin against their father, Lewis the Meek, he went so far that on a reconciliation between those sovereigns he was deprived of his bishopric. However he was restored and held his office till his death in 840. He attacked Felix of Urgel, wrote against image-worship, against the trial by ordeal, and against the belief that evil spirits can produce storms and hail and thunder; and when some pretended *witches* were arraigned before him he caused them to be whipped till they confessed that they deceived the people in order to gain a livelihood. His works were first published by Masson, Paris, 1605, 8vo; and much better, together with those of Leidrad his predecessor and Amulo his successor, by Baluze, Paris, 1666, 2 vols. 8vo. —*Mur.* [And in Gallandius, *Biblio. Vet. Patr.* tom. xiii. p. 405, &c. On his life and writings see Bähr. *Geschichte der Römis. Liter.* suppl. vol. par. iii. p. 383, &c.; Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Phil.* tom. iii. p. 629.—*R.*

[3] *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iv. p. 607 [and Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. ii. Hilduin was made abbot of St. Denys about A.D. 814, and of St. Germain near Paris in 816; also arch-chaplain of the palace. After being in great favour with Lewis the Meek, he joined the rebellion of his sons and was deprived of his offices, and banished to Corbey in Saxony A.D. 830. But soon after he was restored to his Parisian abbacies. Lewis now directed him to write a full history of St. Dionysius, the founder of his monastery and the reputed first bishop of Paris. This Hilduin executed in his famous *Areopagitica*. He there makes Dionysius the Areopagite, mentioned Acts xvii. 34, after being bishop of Athens, to have travelled to Rome, thence to Arles, and at last to Paris where he founded the monastery of St. Denys (Dionysius), converted vast numbers, was bishop of that region, and at length suffered martyrdom in the reign of Domitian. To him also he ascribes all the works which go under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite. This is his famous *Areopagitica*, a mere bundle of idle tales once indeed generally believed, but now universally rejected.—*Mur.*

his style and was not destitute of other excellences.[1] Claudius of Turin is in reputation at this day for his exposition of certain books of Scripture, and for his Chronology.[2] Freculphus of Lisieux, whose Chronicon is still extant compiled almost entirely in the very words of the ancient writers.[3] Servatus Lupus, whose Epistles and tracts are still extant, ranks among the most agreeable writers of those times; nor was he so much lacking in acuteness of mind as in elegance and extent of learning.[4] Drepanius Florus, called also Florus Magister, has left us Poems, Expositions of some books of Scripture, and a few other writings.[5] Christian Druthmar expounded the Gospel of St. Matthew.[6]

1 *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iv. p. 550; and his *Life of Charlemagne*, as published by Schmincke. [See above, p. 276, note 2.—*Mur.*

2 See Simon, *Critique de la Biblioth. Eccles. de M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 284. [Claudius was a native of Spain, and educated under Felix of Urgel. In 812 or 813 he became a presbyter in the court of Lewis the Meek, and commenced writing commentaries. In 821 Lewis made him bishop of Turin. He immediately set himself against all image-worship, and even removed and destroyed the pictures and images throughout his diocese. This excited strong opposition and involved him in controversy all his life. Yet he persevered, denounced image-worship as idolatry, denied that the cross was to be honoured, disapproved of pilgrimages, questioned the supremacy of the pope, &c. Hence some have considered him as a great reformer, and as the founder of the sect of the Waldenses. He certainly opposed some of the superstitions of the age; and probably contributed to preserve more independence of the pope and greater purity of doctrine and worship in the Alpine countries, than in most other parts of Europe. The catholics have never been partial to him. Indeed they tax him with great errors. Yet he was never arraigned as a heretic, nor removed from his bishopric till his death about A.D. 839. His commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians is in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xiv. p. 134. His other commentaries, though not inferior perhaps to those of Rabanus, still lie in MS. Probably they are unfavourable to popery, for it appears that he maintained the original parity of bishops and presbyters. He wrote on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, on the Gospel of Matthew, on the Epistles of Paul, a short Scripture Chronology, and tracts on the worship of images and saints which are lost except large fragments quoted by his antagonists. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.*; Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. xlvii. chap xx. xxi. Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxiii. p. 281, 407, &c. and Milner's *Church Hist.* cent. ix. chap. iii.—*Mur.* [See Simon, *Hist. Crit. des principaux comment. du Nov. Test.* p. 353. The *Prælitiones* of Claud, to his exposition of Leviticus and of the Epistle to the Ephesians, and his *Dicta in Lectionem* on Matthew's Gospel are given by Mabillon, *Vet. Anal.* tom. i. p. 40. Attention has been recently directed to his unpublished works; see Rudelbach, *Claudii Taur. Epis. inedituram operum specimina*, with a preliminary dissertation on his doctrines and works, Copen. 1824, 8vo. His *Prologue* to his commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles has been lately published by Cardinal Mai in his *Scriptorum Vet. nova collectio*, tom. vii. p. 274. Respecting this remarkable man, whose character has been viewed under opposing aspects by Romanists and Protestants, Bähr, *Ges. der Römis. Lit.* Suppl. vol. part iii. p. 372, refers to Oudin's, *Comment. de Script. Eccl.* tom. ii. p. 27, &c. Nicol. Anton. *Biblio. Vet. Hisp.* tom. vi. p. 5; Tiraboschi, *Storia della letterat. Ital.* vol. iii. p. 205, &c.; and some other authorities.—*R.*

3 Freculphus was a Benedictine monk of Fulda, and was made bishop before A.D. 824. Lewis the Meek sent him as an envoy to the pope A.D. 829. He was present in various councils A.D. 829, 835, 837, 846, and 849, and died about A.D. 850. His *Chronicon* is in twelve books; the first seven extend from the creation to the Christian era, the other five reach to A.D. 606. The work was published, Cologne, 1539, fol. Heidelb. 1597, 8vo, and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xiv. p. 1061. —*Mur.* [See also Bähr, *Geschichte der Röm. Lit.* Suppl. vol. part iii. p. 181. Freculphus was not a mere chronicler and compiler; he had also a high character for learning. Trithemius describes him as "vir in divinis scripturis studiosissimus et valde peritus, atque in docenda plebe satis idoneus, non minus conversatione quam 'scientia insignis." Of the first or scriptural portion of his *Chronicon*, Sigbertus Gemblacensis in his *De Script. Eccles.* cap. xc. says:—"Difficultatem etiam intercurrentium quæstionum enodare non neglexit et interponendo divinæ historiæ seculares historias, contemporalitates regnorum sibi coaptans, consummavit hoc opus in septem libris."—*R.*

4 *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome v. p. 255. [Lupus surnamed Servatus was a French Benedictine monk of Ferrara. From about A.D. 828 he spent eight years at Fulda under Rabanus; then some time at Seligenstadt with Eginhard. He next went to court, and in 842 was made abbot of Ferrara. He was in several councils and once envoy to Rome. His death was after A.D. 861. He wrote *Liber de Tribus Quæstionibus*, free-will, predestination, and the superabundance of Christ's merits; also a *Collectaneum* on the same subjects, the life of St. Wigbert, the life of St. Maximin of Treves, and one hundred and thirty Epistles; all well edited by Baluze, Paris, 1664, 8vo, and then in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xiv. p. 1.—Mosheim's account of his style seems not very consistent. Lupus wrote in an easy, flowing style, tolerably chaste for that age, but not very vigorous nor very brilliant, yet on the whole agreeable.—*Mur.* [His works appeared in an improved edition at Antwerp, 1710, 8vo. Du Pin in his *Biblio. des Auteurs Eccles.* tome vii. p. 175, gives a still more favourable view of his learning and his style of composition. "En considerant Loup comme docteur ecclesiastique, je puis dire que non seulement il étoit très versé dans les belles lettres et dans les sciences profanes, mais aussi dans la doctrine et dans la discipline de l'eglise, et dans les écrits des pères latins; et qu'il n'ecrivoit pas seulement avec pureté, avec ágrement et avec politesse, mais aussi avec beaucoup de solidité d'esprit et de justesse." Bähr, a still more competent critic of Latin style, describes this opinion of Du Pin as "ein gerechtes und nicht wohl zu bestreitendes Urtheil;" and he afterwards speaks in very decided terms of the eloquence and purity of Lupus's epistolary style:—"welcher die lateinische sprache mit eben so grosser Leichtigkeit als selbst Zierlichkeit zu behandeln verstand." *Geschichte der Römis. Lit.* Suppl. vol. part. iii p. 457 and 459.—*R.*

5 Colonia, *Hist. Littér. de Lyon*, tome ii. p. 135; *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome v. p. 213, &c. [Florus was a deacon in the church at Lyons, and flourished about A.D. 837, yet he was a writer as late as A.D. 852. His commentaries on all the epistles of Paul are printed as the work of Bede. They are a compilation from Cyprian, Hilary, Ambrose, and about nine other fathers. He also wrote on the canon of the mass, on using compulsion with the Jews, on the election and duties of a bishop, a commentary on the Psalms, three books on predestination against John Scotus, nine poetic paraphrases of some psalms, Hymns, and Epistles, and five other poems. Some of these are published, in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. viii. and xv. Mabillon, *Analect.* tom. iv.; D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. xii.; Mauguin, *Vindiciæ Gratiæ*, &c. tom. i. &c. The rest were never printed.—*Mur.* [See a full account of his life and an analysis of his various works in Bähr, *Gesch. der Röm. Lit.* Suppl. vol. part iii. p. 447, &c. —*R.*

6 *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome v. p. 84. [Druthmar was a French Benedictine monk of Corbey and flourished about A.D. 840. His commentary on Matthew is so opposed to the doctrine of transubstantiation that the friends of that doctrine have laboured hard to prove the work corrupted by the Lutherans, but in vain, for it was first published before Luther began to assail popery in the year 1514, by Edm. Albertin. It is now in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xv. p. 86. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. ii.—*Mur.* [I cannot find an edition of Druthmar's Commentary, by E. Albertin, though it is also quoted in Davidson's *Sacred Hermen.*

Godeschalcus, a monk of Orbais, is rendered immortal by the controversies respecting divine grace and predestination to which he gave rise.[1] Paschasius Radbert, a man of fame in the controversies respecting the Lord's supper, has left us beside other works a book on that subject, which afforded matter for a long debate in that age.[2] Bertram or Ratramn, a monk of Corbey, was the principal antagonist of Radbert. His tract on the Lord's supper, drawn up by order of Charles the Bald, occasioned likewise much debate among the learned.[3] Haymo of Halberstadt wrote books of various sorts, which are specimens rather of industry than of genius and learning.[4] Walafrid Strabo deserved well of the church in that age by his Poems, his Lives of Saints, and his Exposition of difficult passages of Scripture.[5] Hincmar of Rheims deserves a very honourable place among the Latin writers of this century For his writings on various subjects show that his mind was not of the ordinary class, but elevated, independent, and zealous for

p. 168. The edition of 1514 was at Strasburg by Jacobus Wimphelingus. See also Bähr, *ubi supra*, p. 401.

[1] See below, chap. iii. sec. 22, 23, of this century, Godeschalcus or Gotteschalcus was of Saxon origin, and educated in the monastery of Fulda. When arrived at manhood he wished no longer to lead a monastic life; but was compelled to it on the ground that his father had devoted him to such a life in his childhood, and that no human power could vacate the transaction. He now removed to Orbais, was ordained a presbyter, and was so distinguished as a scholar that he was surnamed Fulgentius. Upon some disaffection between him and the bishop of the diocese, he travelled to Italy and thence to Dalmatia and Pannonia. Augustine was his favourite author, and he now began to advance the opinions of Augustine respecting divine grace and a twofold predestination. Many favoured those views, but more were opposed to them. The synod of Mentz A.D. 847 condemned his sentiments; and the president, Rabanus Maurus, sent him to Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, to whose diocese he belonged. The next year he was arraigned before the synod of Chiersey, condemned, degraded, and shut up by Hincmar in the monastery of Hauteville; and after twenty-one years' confinement died in prison. He persevered to the last in his opinions and was denied Christian burial. He wrote two statements of his faith, a longer and a shorter, both of which are extant. In one of them he offered to be cast into boiling water or oil, and to stake the truth of his doctrine on the issue. He also wrote a letter or two and a tract on predestination; but they are lost. See Cave's *Hist. Liter.* Mauguin, *Vindiciæ Prædestinationis et Gratiæ*, tom. ii. p. 45, &c.; Cellot, *Hist. Gotteschalci Prædestinatiani*; Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxiv. p. 5, &c. Milner, *Church Hist.* cent. ix. chap. iv.—*Mur.* [See also Ussher's tract, *Gotteschalci et Predest. Controv. ab eo motæ historia*, &c. Dub. 1631, 4to. At the end he published for the first time the two Confessions of Gotteschalcus, which are reprinted by Mauguin in his *Veter. Auctor. de Prædest. et Gratia*, &c. tom. i. p. 5. Various other authorities ancient and modern, referring to this persecuted monk and his controversies, may be seen in Bähr, *ubi supra*, p. 480.—*R.*

[2] Paschasius Radbert was a French monk born about A.D. 786. In the year 844 he became abbot of Corbey in France. He was a member of the synod of Chiersey which condemned Godeschalcus A.D. 849; and died Apr. 26, A.D. 851. The Protestants regard him as the man who introduced the doctrine of transubstantiation into the Romish church. Berengarius taxed him with this, and even Bellarmin (*De Script. Eccles.* p. 288) says: Hic auctor *primus* fuit, qui *serio et copiose scripsit* de veritate corporis et sanguinis Domini in Eucharistia. But Mabillon (*Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. vi. præf. p. ix. &c.) endeavours to confute this charge. He wrote expositions of Matthew, of the book of Lamentations, of the 44th Psalm, *De Sacramento Corporis et Sanguinis D.N. Jesu, ad Pacidum Liber;—De Corpore et Sang. Domini, ad Frudegardum Epistola*; the life of St. Adelhard, the passion of SS. Rufinus and Valerius, all which were published by Sirmond, Paris, 1618, fol. He also wrote the life of St. Wala, and *De Partu Virginis*. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. ii. and Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 126—142.—*Mur.* [There is a full account of this writer, with a critical estimate of his works, several of which are omitted in the preceding list of them, in Bähr, *ubi supra*, p. 462.—*R.*

[3] Concerning both Radbert and Ratramn see the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome v. p. 287 and 332. [Bertram or Ratramn was a French monk of old Corbey, and afterwards abbot of Orbais. He flourished as early as 840, and was still alive in 870. He was a devout, modest, and learned man, and wrote *De Partu Virginis*, proving that the Saviour was born in the ordinary manner, which Radbert answered, maintaining the perpetual virginity of Mary, *De Prædestinatione*, in vindication of the sentiments of Godeschalcus, *contra Græcorum Errores, De Corpore et Sang. Domini*, in opposition to Radbert, and *De Anima Liber.*—*Mur.* [The Benedictines in their *Hist. Littér. de la France* (tome v. p. 333), quoted by Mosheim, have shown that he was not abbot of Orbais, as here stated by Dr. Murdoch. For an account of Ratramn, of his works, several being omitted by Dr. Murdoch, and of the controversy respecting his work against transubstantiation, I may refer once more to that valuable storehouse of information on the mediæval as on the earlier Christian and classical Latin writers, Bähr's work so frequently quoted, with the authorities referred to in the notes. See Suppl. vol. part iii. p. 471, &c.—*R.*

[4] Of the works commonly ascribed to Haymo, a considerable part are not his, but the productions of Remigius of Auxerre. See Oudin, *Comment. de Scriptor. Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. p. 330; *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tom. v. p. 111, tome vi. p. 106; Le Beuf, *Recueil des Diss. sur l'Hist. de la France*, tom. i. p. 278. [Haymo or Aymo was a disciple of Alcuin, an intimate friend and fellow student of Rabanus Maurus, a monk of Fulda, abbot of Hersfeld, A.D. 839, and bishop of Halberstadt, A.D. 841. He was at the synod of Mentz in 848, and died 853. Among the writings ascribed to him are Commentaries on the Psalms, on Isaiah, on the epistles of Paul, on the Apocalypse, all of which are mere compilations from the fathers; *Historiæ Eccles. Breviarium sive de Christianorum Rerum Memoria*, a mere abridgment of Rufinus, some Homilies, *De Amore Patriæ Cœlestis*, and *De Corpore et Sang. Domini Tractatus*. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. ii. and Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. v. p. 585, &c.—*Mur.* [Also Bähr, *ubi supra*, p. 408, where the student will see the several editions of Haymo's separate works, as they have not yet been published in one collection.—*R.*

[5] See *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome v. p. 59. [Walafrid Strabo (or Strabus *i.e.* squint-eyed) was a Swabian, studied in the monastery of Richenau, then at Fulda under Rabanus, became head of the school, and at last abbot of Richenau A.D. 842. His death is placed in the year 849. He was learned and a pleasing writer, yet bathed in monkish superstition. He wrote *De Officiis divinis, sive de Exordiis et Incrementis Rerum Ecclesiasticarum*, Lives of several saints, various poems, a Tract on the destruction of Jerusalem, and the *Glossa Ordinaria Interlinearis in S. Scripturam*, which is extracted chiefly from the writings of Rabanus Maurus.—*Mur.* [and first published at Rome in 1472, in 7 vols. folio; seven other editions have since appeared, the latest being at Antwerp in 1634, 6 vols. folio. Ample notices of this writer and his works may be seen in Bähr, *ubi supra*, as a *poet* at p. 100, as a *historical writer* at p. 217, and as a *theologian*, at page 398.—*R.*

truth. But at the same time he was arrogant and of a restless temper. His works throw much light on both the civil and the ecclesiastical history of that age.[1] John Erigena Scotus, the friend and companion of the emperor Charles the Bald, combined the study of philosophy with that of theology, and acquired great reputation and fame by the acuteness of his mind, and by his translations from Greek into Latin, as well as by his original compositions.[2] Remigius,[3] Bertharius,[4] Ado,[5] Aimoin,[6]

[1] *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome v. p. 544. [Hincmar was a Frenchman of noble birth, educated under Hilduin in the monastery of St. Denys near Paris. He was distinguished as a scholar and a theologian, and in great favour at court. In the year 830 he had leave to accompany Hilduin in his banishment to Saxony. In the year 845 he was made archbishop of Rheims, in which office he continued till his death A.D. 882. Possessing talents of the first order and great activity and perseverance, his influence at court and in all the ecclesiastical transactions of that part of the country, was immense. Against Augustinianism and in favour of the liberties of the Gallican church, he was equally strenuous. Yet he was not free from superstition, as appears from his justification of a trial by ordeal (*Opera*, tom. ii. p. 676) and his belief in purgatory and visions. (*Ibid.* p. 805.) Most of his writings are still extant edited by Sirmond, Paris, 1645, 2 vols. fol. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. ii. Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxiv. p. 20, &c.—*Mur.* [Ample notices of Hincmar's life and works, and a critical estimate of his character and acquirements, may be seen in Bähr, *ubi supra*, p. 507—523. Among many other authorities, he refers to these more recent ones; W. F. Gess, *Merkwürd. von Leben u. Schriften Hincmars*, Gött. 1806; Guizot, *Cours d'Histoire Moderne*, tome iii. p. 86, &c. Brussels Ed.—*R.*

[2] See Conringius, *Antiquit. Academ.* p. 309; *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome v. pag. 416, &c. and others. [John Scotus Erigena was a native either of Scotland or Ireland, and a very profound scholar. He passed most of his life in France, and at the court of Charles the Bald. About the year 850 he wrote his tract *De Prædestinatione Dei contra Gotteschalcum*. Being well acquainted with Greek, he acquired the subtlety of an Aristotelian and the propensity to mysticism of a Platonist. His great work he entitled Περι φυσικων μερισματος, *De Divisione Naturæ seu de Rerum Naturis*, ed. Oxon. 1681, fol. He translated the works of the Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, and the *Scholia* of St. Maximus on difficult passages of Gregory Naz. and composed a tract on the Lord's Supper, which is lost, but in which he is said to have denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. Several writers confound him with John, a Saxon monk, whom King Alfred invited over from France to England to teach in his school at Oxford, and who was murdered by the envious monks. But Mabillon (*Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 114, &c.) shows that he was a different person, and that there is no evidence of his going to England in the days of Alfred. He was alive A.D. 872.—*Mur.* [There can be no doubt that Scotus was an Irishman, especially from his name Erigena. The English reader will see an account of him in Kippis's *Biographia Britannica*, vol. v. p. 597, &c.; in Lanigan's *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 288, &c.; Turner's *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. iii. page 416, &c.; and in Moore's *Hist. of Ireland*, vol. i. page 301, &c. He will also see some striking remarks on Erigena's learning and his influence on the literature and philosophy of the West, in Hampden's Bampton Lectures, *On the Scholastic Philosophy*, p. 35, and note i. p. 415. This most competent judge has not hesitated to speak of Erigena in the following terms:—"He is one of the most remarkable persons in the history of the middle age. He was quite the meteor of the 9th century; as no one of his contemporaries appears to have approached him in the depth of his learning or the acuteness of his philosophy. His great learning, particularly his knowledge of languages, the Greek, the Hebrew, and the Arabic, appears to have been acquired by travels. Ireland was in high repute, in his time, for its learned men. But he was not satisfied to learn there only, but visited every place, and made inquiries of every one where information might be obtained respecting works of philosophy." With regard to the work of Erigena on the Lord's Supper supposed to be lost, some critics conceive that it is the same work which is extant under the name of Bertram or Ratramn of Corbey; but the evidence against this supposition seems to preponderate. I find it stated that a MS. has lately been found in the Vatican, containing a commentary of Erigena upon the *Monarchia Cœlestis* of Dionysius, which he had previously translated from the Greek, containing sentiments opposed to transubstantiation, and which has recently led a German Romanist critic to ascribe the Protestant view of the Eucharist to him as its first proposer, and not, as the divines of the papal church usually teach, to Berengarius. Though his work be lost we can now be under no doubt as to his real sentiments on this vital point. Bähr has treated, with his usual research and critical skill, the life and writings of this remarkable man, and given us by far the best account which is extant. He refers to the following recent works on Erigena: P. Hjort, *J. Scotus Erigena oder von d. Ursprunge einer Christ. Phil.* &c. Copen. 1823; H. Schmid, *Mysticismus des Mittelalters*, &c. Jena, 1824; F. A. Staudenmaier, *J. Scotus Erigena und die Wissenschaft seiner Zeit.* Frankf. 1834; Guizot, *Cours d'Histoire Mod.* tome iii. p. 116, &c. leçon. 29; with two dissertations, one by C. F. Höck in the Bonn *Zeitschrift* for 1835, and the other by Frommüller in Steudel's *Tubing. Zeitschrift* for 1830.—*R.*

[3] There were two eminent men in this century of the name of Remigius. The one bishop of Lyons and active from A.D. 850 to A.D. 875, in several councils in behalf of Augustinianism and Godeschalcus. He wrote *De tribus Episcoporum Epistolis* (in defence of Augustinianism), *Libellus de tenenda Scripturæ veritate et Sanct. Patrum authoritate sectanda* and *Absolutio questionis de generali per Adamum damnatione, et speciali per Christum ex eadem ereptione electorum.* These tracts are in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xv.: and in Mauguin, *Collectio Scriptor. de Prædestinatione*, &c. tom. i. The other Remigius was a Benedictine monk of St. Germain in Auxerre, and hence called Autissiodorensis. In the year 882 or subsequently he was called to Rheims to take charge of the bishops school. He died about A.D. 900. His works are Commentaries on all the Psalms of David, on the last eleven minor prophets, on the Epistles of St. Paul (sometimes ascribed, though falsely, to Haymo of Halberstadt), and an exposition of the mass. All these are compilations from the fathers.—*Mur.* [Of Remigius of Lyons see Bähr, *ubi supra*, p. 503, and of Remigius of Auxerre and his various works see p. 526, &c.—*R.*

[4] Bertharius was of noble French origin, and first a monk and then abbot of Monte Cassino in Italy from A.D. 856 till his death in the year 884. The Saracens frequently plundered that monastery and at last slew Bertharius at the altar. See Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 472, &c. He wrote several discourses, poems, and lives or eulogies of saints, most of which remain unpublished in the archives of his monastery.—*Mur.* [He was also a "philosophus et medicus insignis," as we are told by Trithemius. See Bähr, *ubi supra*, p. 240, for a notice of his poetical, and p. 525, of his other works.—*R.*

[5] Ado, a French monk, born about A.D. 800, made archbishop of Vienne A.D. 860, and died A.D. 876. He was much esteemed and active in several councils in favour of Augustinianism. He wrote a *Martyrology* before he was a bishop, and afterwards a brief chronology from the creation to about A.D. 870; also the lives of some saints. See Mabillon, *ubi supra*, tom. vi. p. 278—290.—*Mur.*

[6] Aimoin, a Benedictine monk of St. Germain near Paris, near the close of this century. He wrote the history of the miracles and of the removal of the relics of St Germain and St. George, extant in Mabillon, *ubi supra*, tom. iv. p. 96, &c.; and tom. vi. p. 45, &c. This Aimoin must not be confounded with Aimoin the Benedictine monk of Fleury in the 11th century, the author of the *Historia de Rebus gestis Francorum*. See Labbé, *De Script. Eccles. ad Bellarminum*, p. 305, &c.—*Mur.*

Heric,[1] Regino of Prum,[2] and others are here passed over, as a sufficient knowledge of them may easily be obtained from common writers.[3]

[1] Herricus or Erricus, born at Hery a village near Auxerre, and a Benedictine monk at Auxerre near the close of this century. He wrote six books of poetry on the life of St. Germain, and two books of prose respecting his miracles, besides numerous Homilies some of which are now inserted in the *Homiliarium* of Paul Diaconus. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. ii.—*Mur.* [See also Bähr, *ubi supra*, p. 111.—*R.*

[2] Regino was a German, a monk of Prum in the diocese of Treves, chosen abbot there A.D. 892, opposed and induced to resign A.D. 899. He died A.D. 908. His *Chronicon* from the Christian era to the year 907, and continued by another hand to A.D. 972, relates chiefly to the affairs of the Franks and Teutones. It is printed among the *Scriptores rerum German.* ed. of Pistorius, tom. i. His two books *De Discipl. Eccles. et Rel. Christ.* (a collection from councils and the fathers relating to ecclesiastical law) are best edited by Baluze, Paris, 1671, 8vo.—*Mur.* [Of Regino as a chronicler see Bähr, *ubi supra*, p. 184, and as a theologian, *ibid.* page 535, &c. The latest and best edition of his *De Discip. Eccles.* &c. is that by F. G. A. Wasserschleben, Leip. 1840, 8vo.—*R.*

[3] The Latin writers omitted by Mosheim are the following:—

Benedictus Anianensis, born in Lower Languedoc A.D. 751, educated at court, and for some years employed in civil life. In the year 774 he retired to a monastery; and six years after to avoid being made abbot, withdrew to a cell near the river Aniane, where monks gathered around him, and he became abbot of that and a dozen other monasteries propagated from it. He died A.D. 814. See his life written by Ardo, his disciple, in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. v. p. 183—215. He wrote *Codex Regularum Monasticar.* (a collection of the rules of most orders of monks previous to his time), edited by Holstenius, 1661, and Paris, 1664, 4to, *Concordia Regularum*, a collection of exhortations to monks, *Modus diversarum Pœnitentiarum*, and some epistles. [See page 297, above.—*R.*

Ludger, a monk of Utrecht who spent some time in England, and travelled in Italy, became abbot of Werden and bishop of Mimeguen, A.D. 802, and died A.D. 809. See his life written by Altfrid, the second bishop after him, in Mabillon, *ubi supra*, tom. v. p. 14—33. He wrote the life of St. Gregory, bishop of Utrecht, and some letters still extant.

Smaragdus, abbot of St. Michael in the diocese of Verdun, flourished about A.D. 810, and wrote commentaries on the Lessons from the Gospels and Epistles, *Diadema Monachorum* a commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict, *Via Regia* a letter for Charlemagne to the pope, Acts of a conference at Rome A.D. 810, and a grammatical commentary on Donatus never published.

Amalarius, a deacon and perhaps rural bishop of Metz. He flourished from A.D. 812 to A.D. 836, and wrote *De Divinis sive Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, and *De Ordine Antiphonarum* (both in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xiv); also some epistles, *Ecloga in Canonem Missæ*, and *Regula seu Institutio Canonicorum.*

Hatto, abbot of Richenau and bishop of Basil, A.D. 811—836. He wrote some capitula for his diocese, and an account of the visions of Wettin, Hildegard, and other monkish saints.

Hettius or Hetto, archbishop of Treves A.D. 814, &c. has left us two epistles.

Frotharius, abbot of St. Aper and bishop of Toul, A.D. 817—837. He wrote *Epistolarum Liber*, addressed to various bishops, published by Du Chesne among the *Script. rer. Francic.* tom. ii. p. 719.

Ebbo or Ebo, a German, educated at the imperial court, employed some time in civil affairs, then abbot of St. Remigius, and A.D. 816 archbishop of Rheims. In 822 he went to Rome, and obtained a commission to convert the northern nations; in consequence of which he made two journeys to Denmark. In the year 833 he joined the revolt of Lothaire against his father Lewis, for which he lost his bishopric and was kept in custody at Fulda and other places. In 840 he was restored to his see, but lost it the next year. In 841 he was made bishop of Hildesheim, and died A.D. 851. Of this restless prelate we have nothing remaining but his *Apologeticum* presented to the council of Hildesheim, and published in the *Concilia.*

Halitgarius, bishop of Cambray and Arras A.D. 816. He accompanied Ebbo in one of his excursions to Denmark. In 828 the emperor Lewis sent him as envoy to Constantinople. He returned the next year with abundance of relics, and died in 831. He wrote *De Vitiis et Virtutibus, Remediis Peccatorum, et Ordine et Judiciis Pœnitentiæ*, published by Canisius, and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xiv. p. 906.

Paschal II. pope A.D. 817—824, has left us three Epistles, which are in the *Concilia.*

Sedulius, a Scot who flourished about A.D. 818, and compiled from the fathers a *Collectaneum seu Explanatio in Epistolas S. Pauli*, extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. vi. p. 494. He is to be distinguished from Sedulius the poet. See Labbé, *De Scriptor. Ecclesi. apud Bellarminum, de Scriptor. Eccles.* p. 149—152 [Cardinal Mai, in his *Script. Vet. nova Collectio*, tom. ix. p. 159—181, has given this writer's *Expositiones in argumenta evangeliorum Matth. Marc. et Lucæ.* Lanigan, in his *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iii. page 255, claims him as an Irishman and abbot of Kildare from 821 to his death in 829.—*R.*

Dungal, a monk of St. Denys near Paris A.D. 821, He wrote a confutation of Claudius of Turin in vindication of image-worship, which is in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xiv. p. 196, and a letter to Charlemagne, *De Eclipsi Solari.* [That Dungal was an Irishman is admitted by the Benedictine authors of the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iv. *sub voce.* See a brief notice of him in Lanigan's *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 256, and of his works in Bähr, *ubi supra*, p. 372.—*R.*

Jonas, bishop of Orleans, A.D. 821—843. He was much employed on councils, and wrote against Claudius of Turin an *Apologeticum* for retaining images but without worshipping them; also *De Institutione Laicorum*, and *De Institutione Regia*, extant in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, tom. xiv. p. 166.

Eugenius II. pope A.D. 824—827, has left us two Epistles and nine Decreta, extant in the *Concilia.*

Gregory IV. pope A.D. 828—844. Three of his Epistles are in the *Concilia*, and another concerning the monastery of Fleury in Baluze, *Miscell.* tom. ii. p. 145.

Ansegisus, abbot of various monasteries in France from A.D. 807 till his death in 833. He collected the *Capitularia Caroli Magni de Rebus præsertim Ecclesiasticis*, best edited by Baluze, Paris, 1677, 2 tom. fol. His life written by a contemporary is in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. v. p. 593, &c.

Ardo, called Smaragdus, abbot of Aniane and author of the life of his predecessor Benedictus Anianensis, which is in Mabillon, *ubi supra*, tom. v. p. 183, &c. Several other works have been attributed to him, but some ascribe them to another of the same name.

Theganus, a learned French gentleman and suffragan to the archbishop of Treves. He flourished about A.D. 837, and wrote *Annales de gestis Ludovici Imp. ab ann.* 813 *usque ad ann.* 837, extant among the *Script. Rerum Francicar.* ed. Du Chesne, tom. ii.

Amulo, Amulus, or Amularius, archbishop of Lyons A.D. 841—852, or longer. He wrote *Epistola ad Theobaldum*, exploding certain relics and the venders of them, *Ad Godeschalcum Epistola* disapproving his opinions, and three tracts on free-will, predestination, and grace; all which were published by Baluze, subjoined to the works of Agobard, and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xiv. p. 329.

Nithardus, grandson of Charlemagne, first a courtier and soldier and then a monk. He flourished A.D. 843, and died in 853. He has left us *De Dissidio filiorum Ludovici Pii* from A.D. 814—843, published by Pithœus, and by Duchesne, *Script. Rer. Francic.* tom. ii. pag. 259.

Sergius II. pope A.D. 844—847 has left one Epistle, extant in the *Concilia.*

Prudens or Prudentius, a Spaniard, but bishop of Troyes in France. He flourished A.D. 846 and died in 861. He wrote several tracts on predestination, &c. against John Scotus, Hincmar, &c. which are extant in the *Biblio. Pat.* tom. xv. p. 598; and also in Mauguin, *Vindiciæ Gratiæ*, tom. ii.

Pardulus, bishop of Laon A.D. 847—856. His Epistle to Hincmar of Rheims is printed in the *Opera Hincmari*, tom. ii. p. 838.

Eulogius of Corduba flourished from A.D. 847 to 859,

when he was beheaded by the Saracens for his opposition to their laws. He wrote *Memoriale Sanctorum sive de Martyribus Cordubensibus, Apologeticus pro Martyribus, Exhortatio ad Martyrium*, and several Epistles; all extant *inter Rerum Hispanic. Script.* tom. iv. and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xv. p. 242.

Alvarus, a Spanish Christian of Corduba, the intimate friend of Eulogius. He wrote the life of Eulogius, several epistles, and a tract entitled *Scintillæ Patrum*, all of which, except the last, are published with the works of Eulogius.

Leo IV. pope A.D. 847—855, has left us two entire epistles and fragments of several others, besides a good homily addressed to presbyters and deacons on the pastoral duties, extant in the *Concilia*.

Wendelbert, a Benedictine monk of Prum, who flourished A.D. 850. He wrote the life and miracles of St. Goar (in Mabillon, *Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened.* tom. ii. p. 269, &c.); also a martyrology in heroic verse published among the works of Bede, tom. i. under the title of *Ephemerides Bedæ*.

Æneas, bishop of Paris, A.D. 854—869. He wrote *Adversus Objectiones Græcorum*, published by D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. vii. and a short epistle to Hincmar.

Benedict III. pope A.D. 855—858. Four of his Epistles are in the *Concilia*.

Herard, archbishop of Tours A.D. 855—871, has left us 140 *Capitula* addressed to his clergy, and some other papers, in the *Concilia*.

Hincmar, bishop of Laon, A.D. 856—871, when he was deposed. This proud and tyrannical prelate quarrelled with his uncle Hincmar archbishop of Rheims, with the king, with his clergy, and others; appealed to Rome and obtained support from the pope, but was finally put down. He died about A.D. 881. There remain of him several epistles and documents relating to his contests, extant among the works of Hincmar of Rheims, and in the *Concilia*.

Angelomus, a Benedictine monk of Luxeuil in Burgundy who flourished A.D. 856. He wrote *Stromata* or Commentaries on the four books of Kings, and also on the Canticles, extant in the *Biblio. Patrum*, tom. xv. p. 307.

Nicolaus, pope A.D. 858—867. He began the controversy with Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, and opposed King Lothaire's divorce of his queen. He has left us about 100 epistles, a reply to the interrogatories of the Bulgarians in 106 *Capitula*, besides decrees and rescripts on various subjects. His letters were published at Rome, 1542, fol. and with his other works are now in the *Concilia*.

Isaac, bishop of Langres, A.D. 859—878, or longer. He, or Isaac abbot of Poictiers wrote a long epistle *De Canone Missæ*, published by D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. xiii. He is the author of a *Collectio Canonum* like the Greek Nomo-canon, compiled from the Capitula of the French kings and the decisions of councils, which was published by Sirmond, and since in other Collections of Councils.

Hulderic, Udalric or Hulric, bishop of Augsburg A.D. 860—900. He was a distinguished prelate, and wrote a long letter to Pope Nicolaus reprobating his rigid enforcement of celibacy upon the clergy. This famous letter, which Pope Gregory VII. condemned as heretical A.D. 1079, has been often printed by the Protestants.

Hadrian or Adrian, pope A.D. 867—872. He continued the contest with Photius, and assumed great power in France. Twenty-six of his epistles, besides some addresses and papers, are extant in the *Concilia*.

Anastasius Bibliothecarius, an abbot, presbyter, and librarian at Rome, who was papal envoy to Constantinople, to Naples, &c. He was one of the most learned men of his time (A.D. 870—886) and well acquainted with the Greek language. He wrote *Acta Concilii Constantinop. IV.* in Latin, falsely called the eighth general Council, A.D. 869, *Acta Concilii Nicæni II.* A.D. 787, in Latin, *Hist. Eccles.* sive *Chronographia Tripartita* compiled from Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, George Syncellus, and Theophanes Confessor, *Historia de vitis Romanorum Pontificum, seu Liber Pontificalis* from St. Peter to Pope Nicolaus I. *Collectanea de iis quæ spectant ad Historiam Monothelitarum;* besides various letters and tracts, either original or translations and abstracts, published by Sirmond, Paris, 1620, 8vo. His Acts of councils and his lives of the popes are inserted in the *Concilia*.

John VIII. pope A.D. 872—882. He was an active pope but greatly harassed by the Saracens, who infested all southern Italy. There are extant in the *Concilia* and elsewhere 326 of his epistles.

Hartmutus or Hartmannus, abbot of St. Gall A.D. 872—883. He wrote some poems and hymns published by Canisius, *Lectiones Antiq.* tom. v. also the life of St. Wiborada, a virgin martyr, extant in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. vii. p. 42, &c.

John, a deacon at Rome and the friend of Anastasius Biblioth. who flourished A.D. 875. He wrote the life of St. Gregory the Great, which is in all the editions of the works of Gregory, and in Mabillon, *Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened.* tom. i. p. 389, &c.

Usuardus, a French monk of St. Germain near Paris, who flourished A.D. 876. Displeased with the brevity of the martyrologies of Jerome and Bede, he wrote one more full and particular, under the countenance of Charles the Bald. It was published, Louvain, 1568, 8vo, and with omissions of what displeased the Papists, at Antwerp, 1587, 8vo.

Abbo, a monk of St. Germain, having witnessed the siege of Paris by the Normans in the year 887, composed a history of it, in very uncouth verses, published among the *Script. Hist. Franc.*

Stephen V. pope A.D. 885—891, has left us three Epistles and part of another.

Wolfhardus, a Benedictine monk and presbyter in the diocese of Eichstadt, who flourished A.D. 886, has left us a life of St. Walpurga or St. Walpurgis, extant in Mabillon, *Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened.* tom. iv. p. 260, &c.

Herembertus or Erchembertus, a monk of Monte Cassino A.D. 887. He wrote a *Chronicon* or a full history of the Lombards continued to A.D. 888; an abridgment of which, made (it is supposed) by the author himself, was published at Naples, 1626, 4to, together with three other Chronicons.

Adrevaldus or Adalbertus, a Benedictine monk of Fleury A.D. 890, wrote the history of the removal of the remains of St. Benedict and St. Scholastica from Monte Cassino to Fleury; extant in Mabillon, *Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened.* tom. ii. p. 338, &c. He also wrote *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, in opposition to the views of John Scotus, extant in D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. xii.

Asserus, a British monk, much employed by Alfred the Great and by him made bishop of Sherborne. He flourished A.D. 890, and wrote a history of the life and achievements of King Alfred, published among the *Script. Rerum Anglic.* ed. Francf. 1602, p. 1, &c. [There was another Asserus, or Ingulfo Asker, a disciple of John Scotus Erigena and bishop of St. David's, with whom this Asserus of Sherborne is confounded by Cave and Fabricius. The former wrote the *Chronicon Vani St. Neot*, which is to be found in the first volume of Gale's *Historiæ Britannicæ*, &c. *scriptores viginti*, Oxf. 1687-91, 2 vols. fol. But Lappenberg is of opinion that this *Chronicon* "can hardly be earlier than the eleventh century." *England under the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. p. 39, Intro.—*R.*

Gullelmus, librarian of the church of Rome A.D. 890. He continued Anastasius' lives of the popes from A.D. 867 to A.D. 891.

Solomon, a German monk, abbot, and at last bishop of Constance A.D. 890—920. He left several poems, published in the *Biblio. Patr.* tom. xvi.

Formosus, pope A.D. 891—896. He had sharp contests with the citizens of Rome; and when dead his successor, Stephen VII. dug up his remains, deposed him, mutilated his body, and cast it into the Tiber. Two of his Epistles are extant in the *Concilia*.

Auxilius, a writer little known, who flourished about A.D. 894, and composed a history of Pope Formosus and the contests respecting him, in the *Biblio. Patrum*, tom. xvii. p. 1.

The popes, Stephen VII. A.D. 896—897, John IX. A.D. 898—900, and Benedict IV. A.D. 900—904, have left the first two epistles, the next four, and the third two, which are in the *Concilia.—Mur.* [On all these minor Latin writers of the ninth century, and on several others not mentioned by Cave, the student will find much valuable information in Bähr's work so frequently cited, to wit, the Supplementary volume of his *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, part iii. Carlsruhe, 1840.—*R.*

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

1. In the West, so long as those persons survived whom the liberality of Charlemagne and his zeal for Christianity had prompted to the study of the bible and to a candid investigation of truth, a barrier existed to the ingress of many errors and superstitions among the Latins. And accordingly not a few proofs may be collected out of the writers of this century, showing that the truth had some strenuous vindicators. But as these men were gradually removed, and barbarism regained its former ascendency, a flood of superstitious and pious follies and of base and degrading opinions rushed in from all quarters. None were more zealous and active in the propagation of them, than the professed teachers and patrons of piety and religion, who were corrupted partly by their great ignorance and partly by their selfish passions. The state of things was not much better in the East and among the Greeks, although here and there an individual arose who was disposed to succour the sinking cause of pure religion.

2. The causes of this unhappy state of things will be readily apprehended by those acquainted with the occurrences among Christians in this century. The oriental doctors, wholly occupied with their intestine broils and their foreign controversies, became disqualified for more grave investigations; and as one error generally draws others in its train, it was the natural consequence of their fierce disputes among themselves respecting image-worship, and with the Latins respecting the superiority of their discipline and the divinity of their dogmas, that many other evils should result. Moreover, the uncomfortable and irrational mode of life pursued by those who retired to deserts and solitary retreats, was inconsistent with a sound mind and a sober judgment. Yet persons of this class were immensely numerous, and their influence by no means inconsiderable. In the West, the incursions of the barbarous tribes, the wars and abominable crimes of the sovereigns, the neglect of every branch of learning, the infatuated policy of the Roman pontiffs to display and extend their power, and the impositions and falsehoods of the monks, were ruinous to the cause of virtue, of mental cultivation, and piety.

3. How great were the ignorance and perverseness of this century appears from the single fact of the extravagant and stupid veneration paid to saints, and to their bones and carcasses; for in this consisted the greatest part of their piety and religion. They all believed that they should never find God propitious to them, unless they obtained some intercessor and patron among the glorified saints; and each separate church, and almost each individual person, sought for some particular and appropriate patron, as if afraid that a patron engaged to manage the concerns of others would neglect theirs if committed to him; for they were inclined to estimate the condition of the blessed according to the maxims and principles of human life. Hence arose the rage for creating almost daily new tutelar deities. And the priests and monks were most successful in dispelling the darkness which concealed the wondrous deeds of many holy men, or rather in fabricating the names and the histories of saints who never existed, so that they might have patrons enough for all the credulous and senseless people. Many however provided for themselves, by committing their interests and their salvation to phantoms of their own creation, or to delirious persons who, as they supposed, had led very holy lives, because they had lived like fools and madmen.

4. To this licentiousness of multiplying daily the number of ministers at that celestial court which ill-informed men pictured to themselves, the ecclesiastical councils endeavoured to set bounds; for they ordained that no person should be accounted a glorified saint, unless he was declared worthy of that honour by a bishop and provincial council, in presence of the people.[1] This fallacious remedy laid some restraint upon the inconsiderateness of the people. There were also some in this age who deemed it not absolutely necessary, though useful and proper, that the decisions of bishops and councils should be sanctioned and confirmed by the approbation of the supreme head of the church, that is, by the bishop of Rome. Nor will this excite surprise, if we consider the great increase of the papal power in that unenlightened, rude, and superstitions age. There is indeed no example to be met with prior to the tenth century, of any one being solemnly enrolled among the saints by the Romish bishop;[2] yet that he was some-

[1] Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened* sæcul. v. [tom. vii.] Præf. p. 44, &c. [p. 57, &c. ed. Venice]; Launoi, *De Lazari, Magdalenæ et Marthæ in Provinciam appulsu*, cap. i. sec. 12, *Opp.* tom. ii. par. i. p. 342; Pagi, *Breviarium Pontif. Romanor.* tom. ii. p. 259, tom. iii. p. 30.

[2] See Papebroch, *De Solennium Canonisationum Initiis et Progressu*, in his *Propylæum, Acta. Sanct. mense Maii*, p. 171, &c. [Mabillon, *ubi supra*; Budeus, *De Origine Ἀποθεώσεως, seu Canonisationis, in Eccl. Rom.* in his *Miscell. Sacr.* p. 463, &c.] and the authors referred to, on this subject, by Fabricius, *Bibliogr. Antiq.* cap. vii. sec. 25, p. 270.

times consulted on such matters, and his opinion asked respecting those to be consecrated, may be shown by some testimonies.[1] In this gradual manner it was that the practice of canonization, or creation of saints, arrived at maturity in the church.

5. The number of celestial or glorified saints being so preposterously multiplied, nothing better was to be expected than that their biographies would be written, filled with falsehoods and fables, and that accounts should be published of transactions which no one ever performed. There is still extant a great mass of such idle tales, which it appears was produced not long after the time of Charlemagne, and for the most part by the idle monks. Nor were these crafty deceivers ashamed to contaminate with false accounts and fictitious miracles, the histories of those who really suffered persecution and death for the cause of Christ in the earlier ages; and there are not wanting some respectable writers of those times who chastise this temerity.[2] Some were led to practise these impositions by their false notions of religion; for in this rude and ignorant age it was supposed that the saints in heaven delight in praise, and will therefore show special favour to their eulogists. Others were prompted to such presumptuous conduct by their lust for honour or for lucre. Because in their perplexities and seasons of danger, the populace in great numbers resorted with presents to the temples of those saints who were said to be ancient, and to have performed many wonders while alive. Hence, such as were appointed to write the history of the patron saint of any associated body deemed it necessary to practise deception, and to add false miracles to their account.[3]

6. In the bones of those who were accounted saints, and the utensils which they used while alive, and even in the very ground which they had touched, there was supposed to reside a marvellous power of repelling all evils, both bodily and mental, and especially of paralyzing the machinations of the prince of darkness. Hence, scarcely any one was willing to be destitute of these useful safeguards. The eagerness for relics led some to encounter severe toils and troublesome journeys to no purpose, while it prompted others to delude the wretched people with base impositions. To obtain a sufficiency of relics for those who were desirous of them, the latent carcasses of departed saints were first sought for by the priests with prayer and fasting, and then were discovered by the guidance and monitions of God. The exultation on the discovery of such a treasure was immense. Some made journeys into the East, and travelled over the regions and places made famous by the presence of Christ and his friends, in order to bring from them what would afford comfort to the faint-hearted, and protection to their country and their fellow-citizens. Nor did such travellers return empty; for the cunning Greeks, always versatile and knavish, took from the honest Latins their genuine coin, and sent them home loaded with spurious merchandise. In this way the numerous holy bodies, and parts of bodies, of Mark, James, Bartholomew, Cyprian, Pantaleon, and others, in which the West still exults, were introduced among the Latins. Those who were unable to procure these precious treasures by either journeys, prayers, or frauds, deemed it expedient to steal them, or to seize them by violence and robbery; for whatever means were resorted to in such a cause as this, were supposed to be pious and acceptable to God, provided only they were successful.[4]

7. There were few among the Greeks who attempted to explain the sacred volume except Photius, who has left *Questions on the Holy Scriptures*,[5] an explanation of St.

[1] See the very temperate and ingenuous discussion of this subject, by the sovereign pontiff, Benedict XIV. previously Prosper Lambertini, *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Beatorum Canonizatione*, lib. i. cap. vii. in his *Opera*, tom. i. p. 50, ed. Rome. It were to be wished the historians of the church of Rome would learn to imitate the discretion and fairness of their pontiff. [The earliest solemn canonization by the popes, of which we have authentic records, is that of Ulrich bishop of Augsburg, by John XV. A.D. 995. Yet bishops, metropolitans, and provincial councils, were concerned in such acts for more than a century after this. And it was not till the pontificate of Alexander III. A.D. 1160—1181, that the popes claimed the exclusive power of adding new saints to the calendar. See Mabillon, *ubi supra*, p. 59, sec. 91, and p. 68, sec. 99, &c.—*Mur.*

[2] See Servatus Lupus, *Vita Maximini*, p. 275, 276; and the ingenuous and learned remarks on this subject made in several places by Launoi; *Dispunctio Epistolæ Petri de Marca, de tempore quo in Gallia Christi fides recepta*, cap. xiv. p. 110; Diss. iii. *De primis Christ. Relig. in Gallia initiis*, Diss. ii. p. 142, 144, 145, 147, 168, 169, 184; *De Lazari, Magdal. et Marthæ in Galliam appulsu*, p. 340; *De duobus Dionysiis*, in his *Opp.* tom. ii. par. i. p. 527, 529, 530. See also Martene, *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. i. p. 151, and the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iv. p. 273.

[3] Among all the lives of saints composed in this age, none are more to be suspected than those written by Britons and Armoricans. See Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. i. pref. p. viii. [The student will find extended notices of these *Vitæ Sanctorum* of the Western church and of their compilers, in Bähr, *Gesch. der Römis. Liter.* Suppl. vol. part iii. p. 247, &c.—*R.*

[4] Read Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 6, &c. who presents us with examples.

[5] This work is entitled *Amphilochia*, because it was addressed to Amphilochius, bishop of Cyzicum. Though several manuscripts of it still exist it has never been published entire. Among other large extracts, J. C. Wolf has subjoined one of sixty-five pages to the fourth [it should be, fifth.—*R.*] volume of his *Curæ Philologicæ*, Hamb. 1741. He also gives account of the work in his preface to that volume. Most of the questions relate to difficult texts in the Old and New Testaments

Paul's Epistles, and some other things of this nature. He made use of his own reason and sagacity, and yet he cannot be esteemed a good interpreter. All the other Greeks who attempted expositions of the Scriptures, merely collected passages from the writers of preceding ages, and attached them to the declarations of the sacred volume. Thus in this century and among the Greeks it was, that what are called catenæ, that is, expositions of Scripture compiled from the writings of the fathers, of which no small number has come down to us, first began to be drawn up; for most theologians, feeling their incompetence to more arduous labours, supposed they could best accomplish their object by collecting together the eloquent thoughts of the ancient fathers.

8. The Latin interpreters were far more numerous, for Charlemagne had awakened in the preceding century an ardour for the study and exposition of the sacred volume. Among these interpreters there is here and there one not wholly destitute of merit, as Christian Druthmar, whose Commentary on Matthew has come down to us,[1] and Bertharius, to whom are ascribed two books reconciling difficult texts, or Ἀντικειμένων. But most of them were incompetent to their work; and, like the interpreters of the preceding century, they may be divided into two classes, those who trod in the steps of former expositors and collected their opinions, and those who searched for mysteries and various recondite meanings in the plainest texts, and generally without much discrimination. At the head of the former class stands Rabanus Maurus, who confesses that he drew his expositions of Matthew and of Paul's Epistles from the writings of the fathers. Of the like character were Walafrid Strabo, author of what is called the *Glossa Ordinaria*, and who drew his materials chiefly from Rabanus; Claudius of Turin, who followed Augustine and Origen; Hincmar [of Rheims], whose Stromata on the four Books of Kings, compiled from the fathers, are still extant; Remigius of Auxerre, who elucidated the Psalms of David and other books of Scripture from the same source; Sedulius, who expounded the Epistles of Paul according to the views of the fathers; Florus Magister, who chose Augustine for his guide; Haymo of Halberstadt; and others.

9. At the head of the latter class we again find Rabanus Maurus, whose very diffuse work on the Allegories of the Scriptures is yet extant.[2] He is followed by Smaragdus, Haymo, Scotus, Paschasius Radbert, and many others whose names it would be needless to mention. The expositors of this class all agree, that besides the literal import there are other meanings of the sacred books, but as to the number of these meanings they are not agreed; for some of them make three senses, others four or five, and one, who is not the worst Latin interpreter of the age, Angelome, a monk of Lisieux, maintains that there are seven senses of the sacred books.[3]

10. In explaining and supporting the doctrines of religion, the Greeks as well as Latins were neglectful of their duty. Their manner of treating such subjects was dry, and better suited to exercise the memory than the understanding. The Greeks for the most part followed Damascenus—the Latins acquiesced in the decisions of Augustine. The authority of the ancients was substituted for arguments and proofs, as may be clearly seen by the *Collectaneum de tribus quæstionibus* of Servatus Lupus and the Tract of Remigius on holding firmly the truths of Scripture and adhering faithfully to the authority of the holy and orthodox fathers. Those who appealed to the testimony of the sacred writers either attached to their words what is called the allegorical sense, or deemed it wrong to put any other construction upon them than had been sanctioned by councils and the fathers. The Irish doctors alone, and

but others of them are theological, philosophical, grammatical, historical, and literary. About one sixth part of the whole is to be found in the Epistles of Photius published by R. Montague, London, 1651.—*Mur.* [Cardinal Mai in his *Script. Vet. nova Collectio*, tom. i. par. ii. p. 1, &c. published, for the first time, an additional portion of these *Questiones Amphilochianæ* in Greek and Latin amounting to twenty. He afterwards discovered a larger portion of the same work amounting to 130 *Quæstiones*, which he published in the original Greek, but without a Latin version, in the 9th volume of the above collection, under the title of *Questiones Amphilochianæ* cxxx. *quibus sacrorum plerumque librorum controversiæ solvuntur*. The work is still incomplete, as the number of *Questiones* appears to have originally amounted to 260.—*R.*

[1] See Simon, *Hist. Critique des Principaux Commentat. du N. T.* chap. xxv. p. 348; and *Critique de la Biblio. Ecclés. de M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 293, &c. He treats of most of the other commentators here noticed; *ibid.* chap. xxvi. xxvii. [See also Bähr, *Gesch. der Römis. Liter.* Suppl. vol. part iii. p 279, &c.—*R.*

[2] On Rabanus Maurus as an interpreter of Scripture, see Conybeare's Bampton Lectures, *On the Secondary and Spiritual Interpretation of Scripture*, p. 195-6; Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics*, p. 165-6; and especially Bähr, *Gesch. der Röm. Liter.* Suppl. vol. part iii. p. 423, &c.—*R.*

[3] See the Preface to his Commentary on the books of Kings in the *Biblio. Patrum Max.* tom. xv. p. 308. The commentary of Angelome on the book of Genesis was published by Pezius, *Thesaurus Anecdot.* tom. i. par. i. But it would have been no loss to sacred literature had it remained in obscurity. [Trithemius says of him:—"Vir in divinis scripturis exponendis nobile sortitus ingenium, ut, quæ ipse exposuit, veteres in ejus comparatione non exposuisse videantur, secularium quoque scripturarum non ignarus." *De Script. Eccles.* p. 266.—*R.*

among them John Scotus [Erigena], ventured to explain the doctrines of Christianity in a philosophical manner. But they generally incurred strong disapprobation, for the Latin theologians of that age would allow no place for reason and philosophy in matters of religion.[1]

11. Practical theology was treated negligently and unskilfully by all who cultivated it. Some gleaned sentences from the writings of the ancients relating to piety and the duties of men, as may be seen in the *Scintillæ Patrum* of Alvarus. Others composed treatises on the virtues and vices, as Halitgarius, Rabanus Maurus, and Jonas of Orleans; but it is not easy to discover in them a likeness to the pattern left us by Christ. Some endeavoured to explain the divine will, and make it intelligible to the unlearned by a tissue of allegories, a method the faults of which are manifest. The writers of sermons and of treatises on penance, of whom the number was not inconsiderable among the Latins, I pass over in silence. Some of the Greeks began to apply themselves to the solution of what are called cases of conscience.[2]

12. The doctrines of the mystics, which originated from Dionysius falsely called the Areopagite, and which taught men to abstract their minds from all sensible things, and to join them in an inexplicable union with God, had long been in the highest estimation among the Greeks, and especially the monks. And the praises of this Dionysius were magniloquently sung in this century by Michael Syncellus and Methodius, who thus endeavoured to multiply the admirers and followers of the man. The Latins had hitherto been unacquainted with this imposing system. But when Michael the Stammerer, emperor of the Greeks, sent a copy of Dionysius as a present to Lewis the Meek, A.D. 824,[3] at once the whole Latin world became remarkably attached to it; for Lewis, to put the Latins in possession of so great a treasure, ordered the works of Dionysius to be forthwith translated into the Latin language.[4] Afterwards Hilduin, abbot of St. Denys, by the order of Lewis, published his Areopagitica, or Life of Dionysius, in which, according to the custom of the age, he not only states many things void of truth, but he basely confounds Dionysius the Areopagite with Dionysius bishop of Paris, designing, no doubt, to advance the glory of the French nation.[5] And this fable, hastily admitted by credulous ears, became so firmly fixed in the minds of the French, that it is not yet fully eradicated. The first translation of Dionysius made by order of Lewis the Meek was perhaps rather obscure and barbarous; therefore his son, Charles the Bald, procured a new and more exact translation to be made by the celebrated John Scotus Erigena; and the circulation of this translation swelled the number of the patrons of mystic theology in France, Germany, and Italy. Scotus himself was so captivated with this new system of theology that he did not hesitate to accommodate his philosophy to its precepts, or rather to explain its principles by the rules of his philosophy.[6]

13. In defence of Christianity against Jews, pagans, and others, only a few took the field, because the internal contests among Christians engrossed all the attention of those who were inclined to be polemics. Agobard inveighed against the arrogance and other faults of the Jews in two short tracts. Amulo and Rabanus Maurus likewise assailed them. The Saracens were confuted by the emperor Leo, by Theodorus Abucara, and by others whose writings are lost. But these and other opposers of the Mohammedans advanced various false and unsubstantiated statements respecting Mohammed and his religion, which, if brought forward designedly, as would seem to be the fact, prove that the writers did not aim so much at convincing the Saracens as at deterring Christians from apostacy.

14. Among themselves the Christians had more strenuous and animated contests

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1 Respecting the dislike of Scotus, see Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. i. p. 182. Add the life of John of Gortz in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* Sæcul. v. [tom. vii.] p. 392.

2 See Nicephorus Chartophylax, Epistol. ii. in the *Biblioth. Magna Patrum*, tom. iii. p. 413.

3 Ussher, *Sylloge Epistolarum Hibernic.* p. 54, 55.

4 This we are explicitly taught by Hilduin in his epistle to the emperor Lewis the Meek, prefixed to his *Areopagitica*, p. 66, ed. Cologne, 1563, 8vo, in which he says:—"De notitia librorum, quos (Dionysius) patrio sermone conscripsit et quibus petentibus illos composuit, lectio nobis per Dei gratiam et vestram ordinationem, *cujus dispensatione interpretatos*, scrinia nostra eos petentibus reserat, satisfacit." Those err, therefore, who tell us that the Latin translation of Dionysius was not made till the reign of Charles the Bald. And those err also who say (with Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. ii. lib. xxix. sec. 59, p. 488, and the authors of the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome v. p. 425, &c.) that Michael the Stammerer sent to Lewis the works of Dionysius translated from Greek into Latin. The contrary is most clearly signified by Hilduin in the place cited; "Authenticos namque eosdem (Dionysii) libros *Græca lingua conscriptos*, cum echonomus ecclesiæ Constantinopolitanæ et cæteri missi Michaelis legatione—functi sunt—pro munere magno suscepimus."

5 Launoi, *Diss. de Discrimine Dionysii Areop. et Parisiensis*, cap. iv. *Opp.* tom. ii. par. i. p. 38, and the other writings of this great man, and of others concerning the two Dionysii.

6 Scotus was partial to the Platonic philosophy, which being one of the primary sources of the mystic theology, would easily amalgamate with it, and serve to explain and enforce it.—*Mur.* [On this subject, see the elaborate opinion given by Bähr, *Gesch. der Römis. Lit.* Suppl. vol. iii. p. 495, &c.—*R.*

than against the common enemy, and these contests involved them continually in new calamities, and brought reproach upon the cause of true religion. Upon the banishment of Irene [A.D. 802] the contest about image-worship was renewed among the Greeks, and it continued with various success for nearly half this century. For Nicephorus [who now ascended the throne], though he would not revoke the Nicene decrees, nor remove the images from the temples, yet laid restraints upon their patrons, and would not allow them to use any violence or do any harm to the opposers of image-worship. His successor, Michael Curopalates, was a timid prince, who feared the rage of the monks and priests who contended for images, and therefore during his short reign [A.D. 811—813] he favoured the cause of images, and persecuted their opponents. Leo the Armenian had more vigour,[1] and assembling a council at Constantinople A.D. 814, he explicitly rescinded the Nicene decrees respecting the worship of the images of saints; yet he did not enact any penal laws against their worshippers.[2] As this temperate procedure was not satisfactory to Nicephorus the patriarch, and to the other friends of images, and as dangerous tumults seemed ready to break out, the emperor removed Nicephorus from his office, and repressed the rage of some of his adherents with punishments. His successor, Michael the Stammerer, who was also opposed to image-worship, found it necessary to pursue the same course; for although he at first showed great clemency to image-worshippers, he was obliged to depart from that clemency, and to chastise the restless faction which venerated images, and especially the monks.[3] His son, Theophilus [A.D. 829—842] bore harder upon the defenders of images, and even put some of the more violent of them to death.[4]

15. But after the death of Theophilus in the year 842, his surviving consort, Theodora, who administered the government of the empire, wearied out and deluded by the menaces, the entreaties, and the fictitious miracles of the monks, assembled a council at Constantinople A.D. 842, and there re-established the decisions of the Nicene council and restored image-worship among the Greeks.[5] Thus after a contest of one hundred and ten years image-worship gained the victory; and all the East, except the Armenian church, embraced it; nor did any one of the succeeding emperors attempt to cure the Greeks of their folly in this matter. The council of Constantinople

[1] And more ingenuousness too. For, before calling the council, the emperor in an interview with Nicephorus requested him to show the fact by proofs from the writings of the apostles and of the earlier fathers, if as the patriarch asserted the worship of images was in early use in the church. The answer he received was that in this case we must be satisfied with unwritten tradition; and that what had been decided in a general council was never to be controverted. After this the emperor brought the contending parties to a conference in his presence, which Theodorus Studites and his party frustrated, by telling the emperor to his face that doctrinal controversies were not to be discussed in the palace but in the church; and that if an angel from heaven should advance a doctrine contrary to the decrees of the Nicene council, they would treat him with abhorrence. The emperor punished this insolence by merely sending the monks back to their cloisters, forbidding them to raise disturbances about images, and requiring them to be peaceable citizens.—*Schl.*

[2] According to Mansi (*Supplem. Concil.* tom. i. p. 755) there were several councils held at Constantinople under Leo the Armenian, in regard to images. One was held under the patriarch Nicephorus A.D. 814, and condemned Anthony, bishop of Sillæum, as an Iconoclast, and established image-worship. The next council was called by Leo himself in the year 815; and this it was that deposed Nicephorus and declared him a heretic. The third was held under the new patriarch Theodorus, and established the doctrines of the Iconoclasts. Images were now removed; and the unsubmissive monks were banished, but restored again to their cloisters as soon as they promised to remain quiet and to hold communion with the new patriarch Theodorus. There were, however, among them blind zealots who, with Theodorus Studites at their head, belched forth most shameful language against those bishops and monks who yielded obedience to the emperor's commands, and even against the emperor himself. The former they declared to be enemies of Christ, deniers of him, and apostates; the emperor they called an Amorite, another Og of Bashan, the great Dragon, a vessel of wrath, an Ahab, a second Julian; and to insult him they extolled their images, by chanting their praises in the most public places. These indeed were taken up and punished, and Theodorus Studites was sent into exile; and as this did not tame him he was imprisoned, yet so as to be allowed free correspondence by letter.—*Schl.*

[3] Notwithstanding Michael ascended the throne under a very dubious title, the image-worshippers described him as a second David and a Josiah, so long as they accounted him one of their party; because he released those imprisoned and recalled the exiles. He in fact showed great gentleness towards the image-worshippers. He caused conferences to be held for allaying the controversies; and these proving ineffectual he allowed them to retain their images, though not to display them in Constantinople, and only required silence from both parties, so that the bitterness between them might subside. This gentleness was the more remarkable as the superstition of the image-worshippers knew no bounds and led on to the grossest follies. For they set up images instead of the cross, lighted candles before them, burned incense to them, sung to their praise, made supplications to them, used them as sponsors for their baptized children, scraped off the colours from the pictures and mixed them with the wine of the eucharist, and placed the bread of benediction in the hands of the images in order to receive it as from them. See the Epistle of Michael to the emperor Lewis the Meek, in Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 824, sec. 26.—*Schl.*

[4] It is impossible to believe all that the Greek monks tell us of the cruelties of this emperor against the image-worshippers, as he was in other respects an upright ruler. And it is well known that he was very indulgent and kind towards Theoktista, the mother of his empress, who worshipped images in her house and endeavoured to instil the love of them into the young princesses of the emperor. And if some persons did actually suffer severely under him, they suffered rather on account of their slanderous language, their disobedience to the laws, and their seditious conduct, to which they were prompted by their mad zeal for promoting image-worship.—*Schl.*

[5] See Spanheim, *Hist. Imaginum*, sec. viii. *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 815, &c.; Lenfant, *Préservatif contre la Réunion avec le Siége de Rome*, tome iii. lettr. xiv, p. 147, &c. lettr. xviii. xix. p. 509, &c.

held under Photius in the year 879, and which is reckoned by the Greeks the eighth general council, fortified image-worship by new and firm ramparts, approving and renewing all the decrees of the Nicene council. The Greeks, a superstitious people and controlled by monks, regarded this as so great a blessing conferred on them by heaven, that they resolved to consecrate an anniversary in remembrance of it, which they called the Feast of Orthodoxy.[1]

16. Among the Latins image-worship did not obtain so easy a victory, although it was warmly patronised by the Roman pontiffs. For the people of the West still maintained their ancient liberty of thinking for themselves in matters of religion; and could not be brought to regard the decisions of the Romish bishop as final and conclusive. Most of the European Christians, as we have seen, took middle ground between the Iconoclasts and the image-worshippers. For they judged that images might be tolerated as helps to the memory, but denied that any worship or honour was to be paid to them. Michael the Stammerer, emperor of the Greeks, when he sent an embassy to Lewis the Meek A.D. 824, for the purpose of renewing the confederation with him, instructed his ambassadors to draw Lewis over if possible to the side of the Iconoclasts. Lewis chose to have the subject thoroughly discussed by the bishops in the council assembled at Paris A.D. 824.[2] They decided that they ought to abide by the opinions of the council of Frankfort—namely, that the images of Christ and the saints were not indeed to be cast out of the temples, yet that religious worship should by no means be paid to them. Gradually however the European Christians swerved from this opinion, and that of the Roman pontiff, whose influence was daily increasing, got possession of their minds. Near the close of the century, the French first decided that some kind of worship might be paid to the sacred images, and the Germans and others followed their example.[3]

17. Still there were some among the Latins who inclined to the side of the Iconoclasts. The most noted of these was Claudius bishop of Turin, a Spaniard by birth and educated under Felix of Urgel. As soon as the favour of Lewis the Meek had raised him to the rank of bishop in the year 823, he cast all the crosses and sacred images out of the churches and broke them. The next year he published a book not only defending this procedure, but advancing other principles which were at variance with the opinions of the age. Among other things he denied the propriety of worshipping the cross, which the Greeks also conceded, spoke contemptuously of all sorts of relics maintaining that they had no efficacy, and disapproved of all pilgrimages to the tombs of saints and to holy places. He was opposed by the adherents of the inveterate superstition; and first by the abbot Theodemir, and afterwards by Dungal, Scotus, Jonas of Orleans, Walafrid Strabo, and others. But this learned and ingenious man defended his cause with energy;[4] and thence it was that long after his death, there was less superstition in the region about Turin than in the other parts of Europe.

18. The controversy which commenced in the preceding century respecting the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, and respecting the words,

[1] See Gretser, *Observat. in Codinum de Officiis Aulæ et Ecclesiæ Constantinop.* lib. iii. cap. viii. and the *Ceremoniale Byzantinum*, lately published by Reiske, lib. i. cap. xxviii. p. 92, &c.

[2] Fleury, Le Seur, and the other historians unanimously place this council in the year 825. It may be proper to observe here that the proceedings of this council evidently show, that the decisions of the Roman pontiff were by no means looked upon at this time as either obligatory or infallible. For when the letter of Pope Adrian in favour of images was read in the council, it was almost unanimously rejected as containing absurd and erroneous opinions. The decrees of the second council of Nice relating to image-worship were also censured by the Gallican bishops; and the authority of that council, though received by several popes as an *œcumenical* one, absolutely rejected. And what is remarkable is that the pope did not on this account declare the Gallican bishops heretics, nor exclude them from the communion of the apostolic see. See Fleury, livr. xlvii. sec. 4.—*Mael.*

[3] Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. ii. p. 488; Idem. Præf. ad *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* Sæcul. iv. par. i. p. vii. viii.; Le Cointe, *Annales Eccl. Francor.* tom. iv. ad ann. 824, and many others.

[4] Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. ii. p. 488, Præf. ad Sæcul. iv. *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* p. viii. *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome iv. p. 491, and tome v. p 27, 64. Among the Reformed, Basnage, *Hist. des Eglis. Refor.* tome i. period iv. p. 31, &c. ed. in 4to. [It is to be regretted that we have only those testimonies of Claudius against the superstitions of his time, which his opposers and especially Jonas of Orleans have quoted from his writings. Yet in these quotations there is much that is solid, and expressed in a nervous and manly style. Against images he thus expresses himself: "If a man ought not to worship the works of God, much less should he worship and reverence the works of men. Whoever expects salvation which comes only from God to come from pictures, must be classed with those mentioned Rom. i. who serve the creature more than the Creator." Against the cross and the worship of it he thus taught:—"God has commanded us to bear the cross, not to pray to it. Those are willing to pray to it who are unwilling to bear it, either in the spiritual or in the literal sense. Thus to worship God is in fact to depart from him." Of the pope he said (when accused for not yielding to his authority), "He is not to be called the Apostolical" (a title then commonly given to the pope), "who sits in the apostle's chair, but he who performs the duties of an apostle. For of those who hold that place yet do not fulfil its duties, the Lord says:—They sit in Moses' seat," &c. See Bishop Jonas, lib. iii. *De Imag.* in the *Biblioth. Patr. Max. Lugd.* tom. xiv. p. 166.—*Schl.* [See also Milner's *Hist. of the Church of Christ*, cent. ix. chap. iii. vol. iii. p. 211.—*R.*

[filioque] '*and from the Son*,' inserted by the Latins in the Constantinopolitan creed, broke out with greater vehemence in this century; and from being a private dispute it gradually became a public controversy of the whole Greek and Latin church. The monks of Jerusalem contended about this matter and particularly about those words filioque; and one John was despatched by them on the subject into France to the emperor Charlemagne A.D. 809.[1] This subject was discussed in the council of Aix-la-Chapelle held in this year; and also at Rome before the pontiff Leo III. whither Charlemagne had sent envoys. Leo III. approved of the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, but disapproved of the alteration of the creed, and wished the words filioque to be gradually disused.[2] And his successors held the same sentiments; but the interpolation once admitted retained its place in spite of the pontiffs, and was at length received by all the Latin churches.[3]

19. To these ancient controversies new ones were added among the Latins. The first was respecting the manner in which the body and blood of Christ are present in the sacred supper. Though all Christians believed that the body and blood of Christ were presented to the communicants in the Lord's Supper, yet up to this time their views had been various and fluctuating respecting the manner in which the body and blood of Christ are present, nor had any council definitely prescribed what was to be believed on this subject. But in this century Paschasius Radbert, a monk and abbot of Corbey, in his treatise on the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ written A.D. 831, attempted to give more clearness and stability to the views of the church.[4] Upon the presentation of this book enlarged and improved to Charles the Bald in the year 845, a great dispute arose. Paschasius taught in general that in the Lord's supper after the consecration, there remained only the form and appearance of bread and wine, and that the real body or the flesh and blood of Christ were actually present; and indeed that identical body which was born of the virgin, suffered on the cross, and arose from the tomb.[5] This doctrine seemed to many to be new and strange, and especially the last part of it. Therefore Rabanus Maurus, Heribald and others, opposed it but on different grounds. And the emperor, Charles the Bald, commanded two men of distinguished learning and talents, Ratramn and John Scotus, to give a true exposition of that doctrine which Radbert was supposed to have corrupted.[6] Both of them did so; but the work of Scotus is lost, and that of Ratramn which is still extant has given occasion to much disputation, both in former ages and in the present.[7]

20. The writers who treat of this controversy, are not agreed among themselves, nor are they self-consistent throughout their respective treatises. Indeed the mover of the controversy, Radbert himself, showed little consistency, and not unfrequently

[1] See Baluze, *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 14. [The occasion of this transaction was as follows; some French monks residing at Jerusalem as pilgrims chanted the creed in their worship, as was common with their countrymen, with the addition of *Filioque*. The Greeks censured this custom, and the Franks sought the protection and the determination of the emperor.—*Schl.*

[2] The conference of the imperial envoys with Pope Leo III. is still extant in Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 970, &c. From this it appears that Leo was displeased not with the doctrine itself, but with the unauthorised interpolation of the creed; and disapproved the recent decision of the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, the confirmation of which was requested by the imperial envoys. Pope John VIII. in a letter to Photius went still further; for he called the expression, that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Son, blasphemy; though the abolition of it was attended with difficulty and required time.—*Schl.*

[3] See Le Cointe, *Annal. Eccles. Francor.* tom. iv. ad ann. 809, &c. Longueval, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tome v. p. 151, and the other writers above cited. [The pope had not, either in the eighth century or the early part of the ninth, such influence and authority over the Spanish and French churches, as to be able to compel them directly to expunge the interpolation.—*Schl.*

[4] See Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. ii. p. 539. The treatise of Paschasius was published in a more accurate manner than before by Martene, *Ampliss. Collectio Veter. Scriptor.* tom. ix. p. 378, &c. The life and character of Paschasius are formally treated of by Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* Sæcul. iv. par. ii. p. 126, &c. and by the Jesuits, in the *Acta Sanctor. Antw.* ad diem 26 Aprilis; and by many others.

[5] Far too corporeal conceptions of the presence of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist had existed in preceding times, and indeed ever since Cyril's notion of the nature of Christ's becoming flesh had been received, and the holy supper had been compared to an *offering* or sacrifice. But such gross corporeal expressions as Paschasius employed no one had before used; nor had any carried their conceptions so far. In his book, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, he says: Licet figura panis et vini hic sit, omnino nihil aliud quam caro et sanguis post consecrationem credenda sunt—nec alia (caro) quam quæ nata est de Maria, passa in cruce, resurrexit de sepulcro; et hæc, inquam, ipsa est, et ideo Christi caro est, *quæ pro vita mundi adhuc hodie offertur*.—*Schl.*

[6] Concerning Ratramn or Bertram, and his book which has caused so much discussion, see Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Med. Ævi*, tom. i. p. 661, &c. [Concerning Ratramn's book there has been dispute as to its genuineness, some ascribing it to John Scotus, and also as to the doctrine it contains. The Romanists would make it teach transubstantiation; the Lutherans, consubstantiation; and the Reformed, only a mystical or sacramental presence of Christ.—*Mur.* [See also Bähr, *Gesch. der Römis. Liter.* Suppl. vol. part. iii. p. 473, &c.—*R.*

[7] This controversy is described at length though not without partiality, by Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* [tom. vi.] Sæcul. iv. par. ii. p. 8, &c. With him, compare Basnage, *Hist. de l' Eglise*, tome i. p. 909, &c. [See also Gieseler's *Text-book* translated by Cunningham, vol. ii. p. 45, &c.—*Mur.*

recedes manifestly from what he had asserted. His principal antagonist, Bertram or Ratramn, seems in general to follow those who think that the body and blood of Christ are not truly present in the eucharist, but are merely represented by the bread and wine; and yet he has passages which appear to depart widely from that sentiment; and therefore it is not without apparent reason that he has been diversely understood and explained.[1] John Scotus being a philosopher, was the only one who expressed his views perspicuously and properly; teaching that the bread and wine are signs and representatives of the absent body and blood of Christ. All the others vary, asserting in one place what they gainsay in another, and rejecting at one time what they presently after maintain. Among the Latins therefore in this century, there was not yet a determinate, common opinion as to the mode in which the body and blood of Christ are present in the eucharist.

21. The disputants in this controversy, as is usual, taxed each other with odious consequences chargeable upon their opinions. The most considerable of these consequences was that which, in the eleventh century, was denominated stercoranism. Those who held with Radbert that after the consecration only the forms of bread and wine remained, contended that from the sentiments of their adversaries, who believed that in the holy supper there was nothing more than the figure or signs of Christ's body and blood, this consequence would follow, namely, that the body of Christ was ejected from the bowels with the other fæces. On the other hand those who rejected the transmutation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, taxed the advocates of this doctrine with the same consequence. Each party probably cast this reproach upon the other without reason. The crime of stercoranism, if we do not mistake, was a fabricated charge, which could not justly fall on those who denied the conversion of the bread into the body of Christ; but which might be objected to those who believed in such a transmutation, although it was probably never admitted by any one in his right mind.[2]

22. At the time when the sacramental controversy was at its height, another controversy sprang up relating to divine grace and predestination. Godeschalcus, a Saxon of noble birth, and contrary to his own choice a monk first at Fulda and then at Orbais in France, returning from a journey to Rome in the year 847, lodged with his friend (and perhaps also his relative) Count Eberald; and there in presence of Nothingus, Bishop of Verona, entered into discussion respecting predestination, maintaining that God had from eternity predestinated some to everlasting life and others to the punishment of hell. When his enemy, Rabanus Maurus, heard of this, he first by letter charged him with heresy; and afterwards when Godeschalcus came from Italy to Germany in order to purge himself, and appeared before the council of Mentz, A.D. 848, Maurus procured his condemnation, and transmitted him as one found guilty to Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims in France.[3] Hincmar who was a

[1] Bertram's Treatise in a new English translation was published at Dublin A.D. 1753; and with a learned historical Dissertation prefixed. Mabillon (*Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. vi. Præf. p. 30, &c.) evinces triumphantly the genuineness of the book; and then goes into an elaborate argument to prove, in opposition to John Claude, that the author was a believer in the *real presence*. But the mere reading of his argument with the full and candid quotations it contains, has left on one mind at least the conviction, that Mosheim has truly stated the character and contents of that work.—*Mur.* [The translation published at Dublin was not a new one, it was merely a republication of an earlier translation by one G. Hopkins, Lond. 1686, 12mo, and 1688, 8vo. It has been reprinted at Oxford, 1839, 8vo.—*R.*

[2] Respecting the Stercoranists see Mabillon, *Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened.* [tom. vi.] Præf. ad Sæcul. iv. par. ii. p. 21. Basnage, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, tome i. p. 926, &c. and the late treatise of the venerable Pfaff, Tubing. 1750, 4to. [It is not easy to determine the precise form of this indecent charge as advanced by either party. The believers in transubstantiation supposed the sacramental elements not to pass through the human body like ordinary aliments, but to become wholly incorporated with the bodies of the communicants; so that on their principles they could not be justly charged with stercoranism. On the contrary, the opposers of transubstantiation supposed the substance of the sacramental elements to undergo the ordinary changes in the stomach and bowels of the communicant; so that by assuming that these elements had become the real body and blood of Christ, they might be charged with stercoranism; but it was only by assuming what they expressly denied, namely, the truth of the doctrine of transubstantiation. Thus, neither party could be justly taxed with this odious consequence; and yet a dexterous disputant, by resorting to a little perversion of his antagonist's views, might easily cast upon him this vulgar and unseemly reproach.—*Mur.* [On the whole of this sacramental controversy, the student should consult the brief outline in Gieseler, *Lehrbuch*, &c. Cunningham's transl. vol. ii. p. 45, &c. for the sake of the extracts in the notes, on the right interpretation of which the greater part of the dispute turns. For the Roman Catholic view of this remarkable controversy, see the outline given by Döllinger, in his *History of the Church*, translated by Cox, vol. iii. p. 69, &c.—*R.*

[3] Nothingus by letter gave Rabanus an account of the tenets advanced by Godeschalcus. Upon this Rabanus wrote a long letter to Nothingus and another to Count Eberald, loading the sentiments of Godeschalcus with reproaches. Godeschalcus therefore set out immediately for Germany, in order to vindicate his assailed principles. On his arrival at Mentz, he presented to Rabanus his tract on a twofold predestination. Rabanus laid this before a synod, which condemned the sentiments it contained, but did not venture to punish Godeschalcus, because he did not belong to their jurisdiction, but to that of Rheims. They however exacted from him an oath not to return again to the

friend of Rabanus condemned him anew in a council held at Chiersey, A.D. 849; and as he would not renounce his sentiments, which he said and said truly were those of Augustine, Hincmar deprived him of his priestly office; ordered him to be whipped till he should throw the statement he had made at Mentz into the flames; and then committed him to prison in the monastery of Hautvilliers.[1] In this prison the unhappy monk, who was a man of learning but high-minded and pertinacious, ended his days in the year 868 or 869; retaining firmly till his last breath the sentiments he had embraced.

23. While Godeschalcus remained in prison the Latin church was involved in controversy on his account. For distinguished and discerning men, such as Ratramn of Corbey, Prudentius of Troyes, Lupus of Ferrieres, Florus a deacon of Lyons, and Remigius bishop of Lyons, together with his whole church, and many others, defended with energy, both orally and in writing, either the person or the sentiments of the monk. On the other hand, Hincmar his judge, Amalrius, John Scotus the celebrated philosopher, and others, by their writings contended that both he and his opinions were justly dealt with. As the spirit of controversy continually waxed hotter, Charles the Bald in the year 853 ordered another convention or council to be held at Chiersey, in which, through the influence of Hincmar, the decision of the former council was confirmed, and Godeschalcus was again condemned as a heretic.[2] But in the year 855 the three provinces of Lyons, Vienne, and Arles, assembled in council at Valence, Remigius presiding, and set forth other decisions in opposition to those of Chiersey, and defended the cause of Godeschalcus.[3] With

territories of King Lewis; and transmitted him as a prisoner to Hincmar, the archbishop of Rheims. The synodal epistle of Rabanus accompanying the prisoner contained this statement:—"Be it known to your goodness that a certain vagabond monk named Gothescalc, who says he was ordained priest in your diocese came from Italy to Mentz, introducing new superstitions and pernicious doctrine concerning the predestination of God and leading the people into error; affirming that the predestination of God related to evil as well as to good; and that there are some in the world who cannot reclaim themselves from their errors and sins, on account of the predestination of God which compels them on to destruction; as if God had from the beginning made them incorrigible and obnoxious to perdition. Hearing this opinion therefore in a synod lately held at Mentz, and finding the man irreclaimable, with the consent and direction of our most pious king Hludovicus, we determined to transmit him together with his pernicious doctrine to you under condemnation; that you may put him in confinement in your diocese from which he has irregularly strolled, and that you may not suffer him any more to teach error, and seduce Christian people: for we have learned that he has already seduced many who are negligent of their salvation and who say, What will it profit me to exert myself in the service of God? Because if I am predestinated to death I can never escape it, but if predestinated to life although I do wickedly I shall undoubtedly obtain eternal rest. In these few words we have written to you, describing what we have found his doctrine to be," &c. See Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. v. pag. 15, 16.—*Mur.*

The sentence upon Godeschalcus passed by the synod of Chiersey was thus worded:—"Brother Gotescalc, know thou that the holy office of the sacerdotal ministry which thou hast irregularly usurped," (because in a vacancy of the see of Rheims he obtained ordination of the sub-bishop of Rheims,) "and hast not feared hitherto to abuse by wicked manners and acts and by corrupt doctrines, is now by the decision of the Holy Spirit (of whose grace the sacerdotal office is the administration by virtue of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ,) taken from thee, if thou ever receivedst it; and thou art utterly prohibited from ever presuming again to exercise it. Moreover, because thou hast presumed, contrary to the design and the name of a monk, and despising ecclesiastical law, to unite and confound the civil and ecclesiastical vocations, we by our episcopal authority decree that thou be whipped with very severe stripes (durissimis verberibus), and according to ecclesiastical rules be shut up in prison. And that thou no more presume to exercise the functions of a teacher, we by virtue of the eternal word impose perpetual silence upon thy lips." See Harduin, *ubi supra*, p. 20. This sentence was executed without mitigation.—*Mur.*

[2] In this council the opposers of Godeschalcus set forth their creed in respect to the contested doctrines, in the four following articles; viz.

I. Almighty God created man without sin, upright, endued with free will; and placed him in Paradise, and purposed his continuance in the holiness of uprightness. Man abusing free will sinned and fell, and the whole human race became a mass of corruption. But the good and righteous God elected, out of that mass of perdition, according to his foreknowledge, those whom he predestinated unto life through grace, and foreordained eternal life for them; but the others whom in his righteous judgment he left in the mass of perdition, he foresaw would perish, but did not foreordain that they should perish; yet being just he foreordained eternal punishment to be their portion. And thus we affirm but one predestination of God which relates either to the gift of grace, or to the retributions of justice.

II. We lost freedom of will in the first man, which we recover by Christ our Lord; and we have free will to good when prevented and aided by grace; and have free will to evil when forsaken of grace. That we have free will is because we are made free by grace and are healed of corruption by it.

III. Almighty God wills that all men without exception should become saved; and yet all men will not be saved. And that some are saved arises from the gratuity of him who saves; but that some perish arises from their desert of perdition.

IV. As there never was, is, or will be a man whose nature was not assumed by our Lord Jesus Christ, so there never was, is, or will be a man for whom Christ has not died; and this, notwithstanding all are not redeemed by the mystery of his passion. That all are not redeemed by the mystery of his passion is not owing to the [limited] magnitude and value of the price; but is the fault of unbelievers or of them who do not believe with the faith that works by love. For the cup of human salvation, which is provided for our weakness and has divine efficacy, contains what might benefit all; but if it be not drunken, it will not produce healing.

These doctrinal articles were agreed on in the council of Chiersey, A.D 853; though sometimes attributed to the council of Chiersey in the year 849, and printed as such in Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. v. p. 18, 19; compare p. 57.—*Mur.*

[3] The council of Valence published twenty-three canons, five of which contain the doctrinal views of the friends and defenders of Godeschalcus. See Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. v. p. 87, &c. These five canons are too long to be inserted here without some abridgment. The substance of them is as follows, viz.:

Can. II. "That God foresees and eternally foresaw

the decisions of the council of Valence coincided with those of the council of Langres, A.D. 859, composed of the same provinces; and likewise those of the council of Toul, A.D. 860, composed of the bishops of fourteen provinces.[1] But on the death of Godeschalcus, the author of the contest, this vehement controversy subsided.[2]

24. The cause of Godeschalcus is involved in some obscurity, and many eminent men have appeared both as his patrons and his accusers. He taught unquestionably that there is a twofold predestination, the one to eternal life and the other to eternal death; that God does not will the salvation of all men but only of the elect; and that Christ suffered death not only for the whole human race, but only for that portion of it to which God decreed eternal salvation. His friends put a favourable construction upon these propositions; and they deny he held that those whom God predestinated to eternal punishment were also predestinated to sin and guilt. On the contrary they maintain that he taught only this, that God from eternity condemned those who he foresaw would become sinners, that he condemned them on account of their sins voluntarily committed, and decreed that the fruits of God's love and of Christ's sufferings should extend only to the elect; notwithstanding the love of God and the sufferings of Christ in themselves considered have reference to all men. But his adversaries fiercely contend that he concealed gross errors under ambiguous phraseology; and in particular that he wished to have it believed, that God had predestinated the persons who will be damned, not only to suffer punishment but likewise to commit the sins by which they incur that punishment.[3] This

both the good which the righteous will perform, and the evil which the wicked will do." Dan. ii. 29. "We hold faithfully and judge it should be held that he foresaw, that the righteous would certainly become righteous through his grace, and by the same grace would obtain eternal blessedness; and he foresaw that the wicked would be wicked through their own perverseness, and would be such as must be condemned by his justice to eternal punishment." According to Ps. lxii. 12, and Rom. ii. 7–9, and 2 Thess. i. 7–10. "Nor has the prescience of God imposed upon any bad man a necessity that he cannot be other than bad; but what he would become by his own free volition, God as one who knows all things before they come to pass foresaw, by his omnipotent and unchangeable majesty. Nor do we believe that any one is condemned by a divine prejudication, but according to the deserts of his own wickedness. Nor do the wicked perish because they could not become good, but because they would not become good, and through their own fault remained in the mass of condemnation, or in their original and their actual sin."

Can. III. "As to the predestination of God, we decide and faithfully decide according to the authority of the Apostle;" Rom. ix. 21–23. "We confidently profess a predestination of the elect unto life, and a predestination of the wicked unto death. But in the election of those to be saved, the mercy of God precedes their good deserts; and in the condemnation of those who are to perish, their ill deserts precede the righteous judgment of God. In his predestination God only determined what he himself would do, either in his gratuitous mercy or in his righteous judgment."—"In the wicked, he foresaw their wickedness because it is from themselves; he did not predestine it, because it is not from him. The punishment indeed consequent upon their ill desert he foresaw, being a God who foresees all things; and also predestined because he is a just God, with whom as St. Augustine says there is both a fixed purpose and a certain foreknowledge, in regard to all things whatever."—"But that some are predestinated to wickedness by a divine power, so that they cannot be of another character, we not only do not believe, but if there are those who will believe so great a wrong, we as well as the council of Orange with all detestation declare them anathema."

Can. IV. In this canon they disapproved the sentiments of some who held "that the blood of Christ was shed even for those ungodly ones who had been punished with eternal damnation, from the beginning of the world to the time of Christ's passion." And they held "that this price was paid (only) for those of whom our Lord has said: 'As Moses lifted up the serpent,' &c. 'that every one that believeth in him,' &c. John iii. 14–16. And the apostle says: 'Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many.'"—"Moreover, the four articles adopted without due consideration by the synod of our brethren (at Chiersey, A. D. 853), on account of their inutility, and indeed their injurious tendency and error, contrary to the truth; as also those other, (of John Scotus,) unfitly set forth in nineteen syllogisms, and in which, notwithstanding the boast that they are not the result of philosophy, there appears to be rather the fabrication of the devil than an exhibition of the faith, we wholly explode as not to be listened to by the faithful; and we enjoin by the authority of the Holy Spirit that such and all similar statements be looked upon as dangerous and to be avoided. And the introducers of (such) novelties, we judge ought to be censured."

Can. V. This canon maintains the necessity of a saint's persevering in holiness in order to his salvation.

Can. VI. In regard to saving grace "and free will which was impaired by sin in the first man, but is recovered and made whole again by Jesus Christ in all believers in him;" this council held with various councils and pontiffs; and reject the trash vended by various persons."—*Mur.*

[1] The five doctrinal canons of the council of Valence were adopted without alteration by the councils of Langres and of Toul. See Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. v. p. 481, &c. 498.—*Mur.*

[2] Besides the common writers an impartial history of this controversy is given by Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 178, &c. by Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. vi.; or Sæcul. iv. par. ii. Præf. p. xlvii.; in the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome v. p. 352; by Ussher, *Hist. Godeschalci*, Dublin, 1631, 4to; and by Vossius, *Historia Pelagiana*, lib. vii. cap. iv. Add Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Médii Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 210, &c. [and Gieseler's *Text-book*, translated by Cunningham, vol. ii. p. 50–54.—*Mur.* [And Döllinger, *Hist. of the Church*, Cox's transl. vol. iii. p. 62, &c.—*R.*

[3] The cause of Godeschalcus is learnedly treated in an appropriate work by Mauguin, who published all the writings on both sides of this controversy which have reached us, Paris, 1650, 2 vols. 4to, under the title: *Veterum Auctorum, qui nono sæculo de Predestinatione et Gratia scripserunt Opera et Fragmenta, cum Historia et gemina Præfatione.* A more concise account of it is given by Noris, *Synopsis Historiæ Godeschalcanæ* in his *Opp.* tom. iv. p. 677, &c. But he defends Godeschalcus more strenuously than Mauguin does. All the Benedictines, Augustinians, and Jansenists maintain that Godeschalcus was most unjustly oppressed and persecuted by Rabanus and Hincmar. The Jesuists take opposite ground; and one of them, Lewis Cellot, in his *Hist. Godeschalci Prædestinatiani*, splendidly printed, Paris, 1655, fol labours to show that Godeschalcus was most righteously condemned. [Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles.* Sæcul. ii.

at least seems to be incontrovertible, that the true cause of this whole controversy and of all the sufferings endured by the unhappy Godeschalcus, may be traced to the private enmity existing between him and Rabanus Maurus who was his abbot.[1]

25. With this great controversy, another smaller one was interwoven relative to the *trine* God. In the churches over which he presided, Hincmar forbade the singing of the last words of a very ancient hymn: *Te trina Deitas unaque poscimus;* [Of thee, triune Deity yet one, we ask, &c.] on the ground that this phraseology subverted the simplicity of the divine nature, and implied the existence of three Gods. The Benedictine monks would not obey this mandate of Hincmar; and one of their number, Ratramn, wrote a considerable volume made up, according to the custom of the age, of quotations from the ancient doctors in defence of a *trine* Deity. Godeschalcus, receiving information of this dissension while in prison, sent forth a paper in which he defended the cause of his fellow monks. For this he was accused by Hincmar of Tritheism, and was confuted in a book written expressly for that purpose. But this controversy soon subsided, and in spite of Hincmar's efforts those words retained their place in the hymn.[2]

26. About the same time another controversy found its way from Germany into France, relative to the manner in which the blessed Saviour issued from the womb of his mother. Some of the Germans maintained that Jesus Christ did not proceed from the womb of Mary according to the laws of nature in the case of other persons, but in a singular and extraordinary manner. When this opinion reached France, Ratramn opposed it, and maintained that Christ came into the world in the way in which nature has provided. Paschasius Radbert came forth in defence of the Germans, maintaining in a distinct treatise, that Christ was born with no expansion of his mother's body, and charging those who thought otherwise with denying the virginity of Mary. But this also was a short controversy and gave way to greater ones.[3]

27. Of all the controversies which disturbed this century, the most famous and the most unhappy was that which severed the Greek and Latin churches. The bishops of Rome and Constantinople had long indulged and sometimes also manifested great jealousies of each other. Their mutual animosity became violent from the time of Leo the Isaurian [A.D. 716—741] when the bishops of Constantinople, supported by the authority and patronage of the [Greek] emperors, withdrew many provinces from subjection to the see of Rome.[4] But in the ninth century the smothered fire which had been burning in secret, broke out into an open flame upon occasion of the elevation of Photius, the most learned Greek of the age, to succeed the deposed Ignatius in the see of Constantinople by the Emperor Michael, A.D. 852 [rather A.D. 858]; and the confirmation of that elevation as regular and correct by the council of Constantinople in the year 861.[5] For the Roman pontiff, Nicolaus I. whose aid had been solicited by Ignatius in a council at Rome A.D. 862, pronounced Photius (whose election he maintained was uncanonical) together with his adherents to be unworthy of Christian communion. This thunder was so far from terrifying Photius, that he gave back the same measure he had received; and in return excommunicated Nicolaus in the council of Constantinople of the year 866.

28. The pretence for the war which Ni-

x. Diss. v. tom. xii. p. 302—354, follows Mauguin for the most part.—*Mur.*

[1] Godeschalcus who was committed to the monastery of Fulda by his parents while an infant, agreeably to the custom of the age, when he became adult wished to abandon a monastic life. But Rabanus retained him contrary to his wishes. This produced a great contest between them, which was terminated only by the interposition of Lewis the Meek. Hence those conflicts and sufferings. See the *Centuriæ Magdeb.* centur. ix. c. 10, p. 543, 546; and Mabillon, *Annales Bened.* tom. ii. ann. 829, p. 523.

[2] See the writers of the history of Godeschalcus who also touch upon this controversy.

[3] See D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. i. p. 396, Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* [tom. vi.] Sæcul. iv. par. ii. Præf. p. li. &c. [After giving an account of this controversy Mabillon proceeds to the history of another between Ratramn and Paschasius Radbert, respecting the unity of human souls. The controversy was of short continuance and seems to have arisen from a misunderstanding of each other, in consequence of their not clearly discriminating between numerical unity and a specific unity. See Mabillon, *ubi supra*, p. liii. &c.—There was another controversy under Charlemagne respecting the seven-fold grace of the Spirit. Charlemagne asked the opinion of several bishops, whether Christ and believers receive the same extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit. They answered that Christ received all the seven gifts equally, but that believers receive each his particular gift. The emperor, dissatisfied with their answer, wrote a tract to prove that Christ received all the gifts of the Spirit at once and in *perpetuum*, without change, increase, or diminution; but that believers did not so receive them, though they might in some degree enjoy the temporary possession of them all. See Walch's *Programm. de Gratia septiformis Spiritus*, A.D. 1755.—*Mur.*

[4] See Giannone, *Hist. de Naples*, tome i. p. 535, 616. De Marca, *De Concordia Sacerdot. et Imperii*, lib. i. cap i. p. 6, &c. Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* tom. i. p. 96, &c.—[See also Giesceler's *Text-book*, by Cunningham, vol. ii. p. 136—147.—*Mur.*

[5] Some of the Greeks call this a general council. It was attended by 318 bishops, and its decrees were subscribed by the two Romish delegates. Its Acts are lost, having probably been destroyed by the adherents of Ignatius. See Walch's *Kirchenversam.* p. 552.—*Schl.*

colaus I. commenced, was the justice of the cause of Ignatius, whom the emperor had deprived of his episcopal office upon a charge, true or false, of treason. But Nicolaus would have been unconcerned about the injury done to Ignatius, if he could have recovered from the Greek emperor and from Photius, the provinces taken from the Roman pontiffs by the Greeks, namely Illyricum, Macedonia, Epirus, Achaia, Thessaly, and Sicily. For he had before demanded them through his envoys at Constantinople. And when the Greeks paid no regard to his demand, he resolved to avenge his own rather than Ignatius' wrong.

29. In the midst of this warm conflict, Basil the Macedonian, a parricide who had usurped the empire of the Greeks, suddenly restored peace. For he recalled Ignatius from exile and commanded Photius to retire to private life. This decision of the emperor was confirmed by a council assembled at Constantinople A.D. 869, in which the legates of the Roman pontiff, Hadrian II. had controlling influence.[1] The Latins call this the eighth general council. The religious contest between the Greeks and Latins now ceased; but the strife respecting the boundaries of the Romish [pontifical] jurisdiction, especially in regard to Bulgaria, still continued; nor could the pontiff with all his efforts prevail on either Ignatius or the emperor to give up Bulgaria or any other of the provinces.

30. The first schism was of such a nature that it was possible to heal it. But Photius, a man of high feelings and more learned than all the Latins, imprudently prepared materials for interminable war. For in the first place, in the year 866, he annexed Bulgaria to the see of Constantinople which Nicolaus was eager to possess; and this was extremely offensive to the Roman pontiff.[2] In the next place, what was much more to be lamented and unworthy of so great a man, he sent an *Encyclical letter* to the oriental patriarchs on the subject, thus converting his own private controversy into a public one; and moreover accused in very strong terms the Roman bishops sent among the Bulgarians, and through them the whole Latin church, of corrupting the true religion or of heresy. In his great irritation he taxed the Romans with five enormities, than which in their view the mind could conceive of no greater. First, that they deemed it proper to fast on the seventh day of the week or the Sabbath. Secondly, that in the first week of Lent they permitted the use of milk and cheese. Thirdly, that they wholly disapproved of the marriage of priests. Fourthly, that they thought none but bishops could anoint the baptized with the holy oil or confirm, and that they therefore anointed a second time those who had been anointed by presbyters. And fifthly, that they had adulterated the Constantinopolitan creed by adding to it the words Filioque, thus teaching that the Holy Spirit did not proceed from the Father only but also from the Son.[3] Nicolaus I. sent this accusation to Hincmar and the other Gallic bishops in the year 867, that they might deliberate in councils respecting the proper answer to it. Hence Odo of Beauvais, Ratramn, Ado of Vienne, Æneas of Paris, and perhaps others, also entered the lists against the Greeks, and very warmly defended the cause of the Latins in written vindications.[4]

31. Ignatius died in the year 878; and Photius was again raised, by the favour of the emperor, to the patriarchate of the Greek church. The Roman pontiff John VIII. gave his assent, but it was on condition that Photius would allow the Bulgarians to come under the Roman jurisdiction. Photius promised the whole, nor did the emperor seem opposed to the wishes of the pontiff.[5] Therefore in the year 879 the legates of John VIII. were present at the council of Constantinople, and gave their sanction to all its decrees.[6] But after

[1] The writers on both sides of this controversy are named by Fabricius, *Bibliothec. Græca*, vol. iv. cap. xxxviii. p. 372.

[2] The state of the case respecting Bulgaria appears to have been this:—It was the Constantinopolitans who converted the king of that country about the year 861, and the patriarch of that city naturally desired to possess the ecclesiastical supremacy over this new acquisition. But the king dreading the increased influence of so near a neighbour, wished rather to be in connexion with Rome, and the Pope on his application sent him priests and bishops. It was this supposed invasion of his rights which was so keenly felt by the patriarch Photius, and which urged him to issue the Encyclical letter so offensive to the Pope, and containing the charges stated in the text.—*R.*

[3] See an Epistle of Photius himself, which is the second of his Epistles, as published by Montague, p. 47, &c. Some enumerate ten heads of accusation by Photius. But they undoubtedly blend the first controversy with the second between the Greeks and Latins, and include the criminations which were made in the time of Michael Cerularius [patriarch in the middle of the eleventh century]. Certain it is, that in the Epistle of Photius, from which alone the first controversy is to be judged of, there are only the five heads of disagreement which we have stated. [See this Epistle of Photius in Latin in Baronius, *Annales* ad ann. 863, No. 34.—*R.*

[4] Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. vi.; or Sæcul iv. par. ii. Præf. p. 55.

[5] See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 103, &c.

[6] The entire acts of this council are in Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. vi. par. i. p. 207—342. The council was called by order of the emperor Basil, and by all the Greeks it has been accounted a general council; but the Latins do not so regard it. The number of bishops

the council broke up, the emperor (doubtless with the consent of Photius) would not permit the Bulgarians to be transferred to the Roman pontiff:—and it must be acknowledged there were very strong motives for such a determination. Hence the pontiff sent Marinus his legate to Constantinople, and signified that he persevered in the former sentence passed upon Photius. The legate was thrown into prison by the emperor but was again liberated, and afterwards on the death of John VIII. being created Roman pontiff, he was mindful of the ill usage he had received, and issued a second condemnation of Photius.

32. Six years afterwards A.D. 886, Leo, surnamed the philosopher, the son of the emperor Basil, again deposed the patriarch Photius and exiled him to a monastery in Armenia called Bardi, where he died in the year 891.[1] Thus the author of the contest being removed, if there had been due moderation and equity at Rome the whole strife might have been quieted, and harmony between the Greeks and Latins have been restored. But the Roman pontiffs required that all the bishops and priests whom Photius had consecrated, should be deprived of their offices. And as the Greeks would by no means submit to this, all the contentions respecting points of religion as well as other things were renewed with increased bitterness; and being augmented by new grounds of controversy, continued till the unhappy separation between the Greek and Latin churches became absolute and perpetual.

present was 383, and the legates of the Roman pontiff and also representatives of the three Oriental patriarchs attended it. Photius presided, and the principal objects were obtained without difficulty in seven sessions. Photius was unanimously acknowledged the regular patriarch of Constantinople, and all that had been decreed against him at Rome and at Constantinople was annulled and declared void. Such as should not acknowledge Photius were to be excommunicated. The council proceeded to establish the true faith by confirming the creed of the first Nicene and the first Constantinopolitan councils, rejecting all interpolations (that is, merely the addition *Filioque;*) and again enacting the decrees of the second Nicene council respecting image-worship. The council was closed by an eulogy of Procopius of Cesarea on Photius, and by a solemn declaration on the part of the Roman legates, that whoever would not acknowledge the holy patriarch Photius and hold ecclesiastical communion with him, ought to be accounted an associate of the traitor Judas and no Christian; and this was assented to by the whole council. See Walch's *Kirchenversamml.* v. 375, &c.—*Mur.*

[1] Photius had ordained one Theodorus a bishop, who was falsely accused of treason. This circumstance brought the patriarch under some temporary suspicion. Besides, the new emperor wished to raise his brother Stephen to the patriarchal chair. He therefore deposed Photius and gave the office to his brother. Yet when he learned the innocence of Photius, he seems to have felt some relentings; for he made his exile comfortable, and in a letter to the pope spoke of him as having voluntarily resigned his office and gone into retirement.—*Schl.*

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

1. That the public rites and ceremonies were gradually multiplied very considerably, is evinced by the writers who in this century began to compose and publish explanations of them for the instruction of the common people; namely, Amalarius (whose numerous expositions however are confuted by Agobard and Florus), John Scotus, Angelome, Remigius of Auxerre, Walafrid Strabo, and others. These treatises are entitled *De Divinis Officiis;* for in the style of this age a divine office is a religious ceremony. Though these works were undoubtedly drawn up with good intentions, yet it is difficult to say whether they benefited more than they injured the Christian cause. They contained indeed some spiritual aliment for those who attended on public worship, but it was for the most part crude and unwholesome. For the alleged grounds and reasons of the various rites are to a great degree farfetched, false, constrained, nay, ridiculous and puerile. Besides, excessive regard for external rites was increased and strengthened by this elaborate explanation of them, to the detriment of real piety. For how could any one withhold respect and reverence from that which he understood to be most wisely ordained and full of mystery?

2. To describe severally all the new rites adopted either by Christians generally or by particular churches, would not comport with the designed brevity of this work. We therefore despatch this extensive subject in a few words. The corpses of holy men, either brought from distant countries or discovered by the industry of the priests, required the appointment of new feast-days, and some variation in the ceremonies observed on those days. And as the prosperity of the clergy depended on the impressions of the people respecting the merits and the power of those saints whom they were invited to worship, it was necessary that their eyes and their ears should be fascinated with various ceremonies and exhibitions. Hence the splendid furniture of the temples, the numerous wax-candles burning at mid-day, the multitude of pictures and statues, the decorations of the altars, the frequent processions, the splendid dresses of the priests, and masses appropriate to the honour of saints.[2] The festival of All Saints was added by Gregory IV. to the

[2] See the tract of Fecht, *De Missis in Honorem Sanctorum.*

public holy-days of the Latins;[1] and the feast of St. Michael, which had been long observed with much reverence by both the Greeks and the Latins, now began to be more popular.[2]

3. In the civil and private life of Christians, especially among the Latins, there existed many customs derived from ancient paganism. For the barbarous nations who embraced Christianity would not allow the customs and laws of their ancestors to be wrested from them, though very alien from the rules of Christianity; nay by their example they drew other nations among whom they lived intermixed, into the same absurdities. We have examples in the well known methods of proving right and innocence in civil and criminal causes, by cold water,[3] by single combat,[4] by red-hot iron,[5] by a cross,[6] and other methods which were in general use among the Latins in this and the following

[1] See Mabillon, *De Re Diplomatica*, p. 537. [This holds true only of Germany and France. For as to England, Bede mentioned this feast in the preceding century; and at Rome it had been established by Pope Boniface IV. See above, p. 253, note 7.—*Schl.*

[2] The Latins had but few feast-days up to this century, as appears from the poem of Florus extant in Martene, *Thesaurus*, tom. v. p. 595, &c. [The council of Mentz A.D. 813, determined precisely the number of both fasts and feasts to be observed. Canon 34 designates the fasts, namely, the first week in March, the second week in June, the third week in September, and the last full week preceding Christmas eve. On these weeks all were to fast, and were to attend church on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, at three o'clock, P.M.—Canon 36 thus enumerates and sanctions the festivals: "We ordain the celebration of the feast days of the year. That is, Easter Sunday is to be observed with all honour and sobriety; and the whole of Easter week we decree shall be observed in like manner. Ascension-day must be celebrated with full worship. Likewise Pentecost just as Easter. In the nativity [martyrdom] of Peter and Paul, one day; the nativity of St. John Baptist; the assumption of St. Mary; the dedication of St. Michael; the nativity of St. Remigius, St. Martin, St. Andrew; at Christmas, four days, the octaves of our Lord, the epiphany of our Lord, the purification of St. Mary. And we decree the observance of the festivals of those martyrs or confessors whose sacred bodies repose in each diocese; and in like manner the dedication of each church." The 37th canon adds: "We ordain the observance of all the Lord's days [Sundays] with all reverence and with abstinence from servile work, and that no traffic take place on those days, nor do we approve that any one be sentenced to death or to punishment," on those days.—See Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 1015.—*Mur.*

[3] See Mabillon, *Analecta Veteris Ævi*, tom. i. p. 47; Roye, *De Missis Dom.* p. 152. [The ordeal by immersion in cold water was very common in the ninth and following centuries, especially for criminals of vulgar rank in society. It was sanctioned by public law in most countries of Europe. And though disapproved by various kings and councils yet it was generally held sacred, and was supposed to have been invented by Pope Eugene. The person to be tried was conducted to the church, and most solemnly adjured to confess the fact if he was guilty. If he would not confess, he received the sacrament, was sprinkled with holy water, and conducted to a river or lake. The priest then exorcised the water, charging it not to receive the criminal if he were guilty. The criminal was now stripped naked and bound, and a rope was tied to him by which to draw him out, if he sank to a certain depth. When cast into the water, if he floated he was accounted guilty; but if he sank to the depth marked on the rope (sometimes a yard and a half) he was instantly drawn out and was accounted innocent. See a large and very satisfactory account of this ordeal in Du Cange, *Glossarium*, under the article AQUÆ, vel *Aquæ frigidæ judicium*, tom. i. p. 308–313. ed. Francf. 1710.—Du Cange proceeds to describe the ordeal by hot water. For this the preparatory religious ceremonies were the same as for the ordeal by cold water. Afterwards the priest heated a caldron of water till it boiled. Then, taking it off the fire, he immersed in it a stone which he held suspended by a string to the depth of one, two, or three palms; and the criminal must thrust in his naked hand and arm and seizing the stone pull it out. His hand and arm were immediately wrapped up in linen cloths, and a bag drawn over the whole and sealed. After three days the hand and arm were examined, and if found not scalded the man was accounted innocent. This ordeal was nearly as much used as the other, but was considered rather more suitable for persons of quality.—*Mur.*

[4] Loccenius, *Antiquit. Suco-Gothicæ*, lib. ii. cap. vii. viii. p. 144. Even clergymen did not refuse to terminate controversies by the *duellum* or single combat. See Bœhmer's *Jus Eccles. Protestantium*, tom. v. p. 88, &c. [The trial by combat originated among the northern barbarians, was in use before the Christian era, and was brought by the Lombards into Italy, and by the Germans into Suabia. It was not an ordeal for the trial of public offences, but was a mode of settling private disputes and quarrels between individuals, when there was no sufficient evidence to make the case clear. The parties deposited with the judge their bonds or goods to the requisite amount, for paying the forfeiture in case they were cast and for the fees of court. The judge also appointed the time for the combat and presided over it. Knights fought on horseback and armed as for war, in complete armour, and with their horses covered with mail. Common men fought on foot with swords and shields, covered, except their faces and feet, with linen or cotton to any extent they pleased. Certain persons, as women, priests, and others, might employ champions to fight in their stead. See the full account in Du Cange, *Glossarium*, under the article, *Duellum*; see also Hallam's *View of Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 186, 8th ed. Lond. 1841. This mode of trial gradually sank into disuse; but it was not abolished by legislative enactments either in France or England. Hence, so late as the 19th century the right of challenging to single combat was asserted in an English court.—*Mur.* [It required a special act of Parliament 59 Geo. III. ch. 46, to abolish it, so recently as 1819.—*R.*

[5] Lambecius, *Rerum Hamburg.* lib. ii. p. 39. Ussher, *Sylloge Epist. Hibernic.* p. 81. Johnson's *Laws of the British Church*, and the extracts from them, in La Roche, *Mémoires Littér. de la Grande Bretagne*, tome viii. p. 391. [This was a very common ordeal, and was esteemed more honourable than the ordeals by water. Sometimes the person walked barefoot over nine or twelve red-hot ploughshares treading on each. But more frequently he carried a hot iron in his naked hands, nine times the length of his foot. The religious rites attending this ordeal were very similar to those of the ordeal by hot water. See Du Cange, *Glossarium*, articles FERRUM *candens*, and VOMERES *igniti*.—*Mur.*

[6] See Agobard, *Contra Judicium Dei Liber*, *Opp.* tom. i. and *Contra Legem Gundobadi*, cap. ix. p. 114. Bignonius, *Ad formulas Marculphi*, cap. xii. Baluze, *ad Agobardum*, p. 104; and others. [Du Cange in his *Glossarium*, article CRUCIS *judicium*, is not able definitely to state what was the mode of this ordeal. He finds some instances of persons standing long with their arms extended horizontally so as to present the form of a cross. If they grew weary, fainted, and fell, they were accounted guilty. He also finds other modes of trial by cross. Sometimes it was merely laying the hand on a sacred cross, and then uttering a solemn oath of purgation.—On all the forms of ordeal, see Rees' *Cyclopædia*, art. *Ordeal*.—This mode of trying difficult and dubious causes was denominated *Judicium Dei*, and was considered as a solemn appeal to God to show by his special interposition, whether a person were guilty or innocent. It was therefore a presumptuous attempt to call forth a miracle from the hand of God; and it argued both the ignorance and the super-

century. No sober man at the present day entertains a doubt that these equivocal and uncertain modes of deciding causes originated from the customs of barbarians, and that they are fallacious and abhorrent to the genius of true religion. Yet in that age, the pontiffs and inferior bishops did not blush to honour and dignify them with prayers, with the eucharist, and other rites, in order to give them somewhat of a Christian aspect.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF SECTS AND HERESIES.

1. CONCERNING the ancient Christian sects there is little new to be said. Nearly all of them which were considerable for numbers, had their residence and abettors beyond the boundaries of the Greek and Latin dominions. The Nestorians in particular, and the Monophysites who lived securely under the protection of the Arabians, were very attentive to their own affairs, and did not cease from efforts for the conversion of the nations still in pagan ignorance. Some represent that it was in this century the Abyssinians or Ethiopians were persuaded by the Egyptians to embrace the Monophysite doctrines. But it was undoubtedly from the seventh century if not earlier that the Abyssinians, who were accustomed to receive their bishop from the patriarch of Alexandria, embraced the tenets of the Monophysites; for in that century the Arabs conquered Egypt, oppressed the Greeks [or Melchites], and protected the advocates of one nature in Christ; so that this sect was able to subject nearly the whole Egyptian church to its jurisdiction[1].

2. The Greeks were engaged with various success during nearly this entire century in cruel wars with the Paulicians, a sect allied to the Manichæans and residing principally in Armenia. This sect is said to have been formed in Armenia by two brothers, Paul and John, the sons of Callinice of Samosata, and to have received its name from them; some however think that one Paul, an Armenian who lived in the reign of Justinian II. gave name to the sect[2]. Under Constans in the seventh century[3] it was in an exhausted and depressed state, in consequence of penal laws and oppressions when one Constantine resuscitated it. The emperors, Constans, Justinian II. and Leo the Isaurian, harassed them in various ways and laboured to extirpate the sect, but they were utterly unable to subdue a party so inflexible and so regardless of sufferings. In the beginning of the ninth century their condition was more prosperous. For the emperor, Nicephorus Logotheta, [A.D. 802—811,] favoured the Paulicians and gave them free toleration[4].

3. But after a few years of repose the Paulicians were again assailed with increased violence, by the emperors Michael Curopalates and Leo the Armenian, [A.D. 811—820,] who commanded them to be carefully searched after, through all the provinces of the Greek empire, and to be put to death if they would not return to the Greek church. Driven to desperation by this cruelty, the Paulicians of Armenia slew

stition of those times. And thus it was viewed by some of the more discerning; for instance by Agobard, bishop of Lyons. (See the references at the beginning of this note.) But others, as Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, approved and defended both the ordeals and the trial by combat.—*Mur.*

[1] *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus dans le Levant*, tome iv. p. 283, 284; Le Grand, Diss. iv. on Lobo's *Voyage Histor. de l'Abyssinie*, tome ii. p. 18.

[2] Photius, *Contra Manichæos*, lib. i. p. 74, in Wolf's *Anecdota Græca*, tom. i. [According to the statement of Petrus Siculus, the founder of this sect was an Armenian, named Constantine and surnamed Soloannes. Complaint was made against him to the emperor Constantine Pogonatus in the 7th century. The emperor sent his commissioner Simeon to investigate the subject; and he put the leader of the sect to death and dispersed his adherents; but some years after he himself joined the sect and became its teacher. Under Justinian II. they were again complained of and their principal leader was burnt alive. But this did not prevent their growth. For one Paul with his two sons, Genesius (who was also called Timothy) and Theodorus, propagated the sect in Cappadocia. The first of these was summoned to Constantinople by the emperor Leo; but after a hearing he was acquitted, and retired with his adherents into the territories of the Mohammedans. He was followed by his son Zacharias, who with Joseph his assistant again took residence in Cappadocia; but when persecution broke out he fled to Phrygia, and during some time taught at Antioch in Pisidia. He was succeeded by Bahanes, under whom the sect spread itself much in Asia, particularly in Armenia and in Thrace. After Bahanes the principal teacher was Sergius called also Tychicus, who opposed image-worship most zealously under the Empress Irene. They were then likewise called Athingians or Separates, because they would have no part in the abuses of the times, especially in image-worship and in veneration of the cross and of the hierarchy of the reigning party.—*Schl.* [Though the Paulicians themselves maintained that they derived their name from the Apostle Paul, yet it is alleged they received it not from the sons of Callinice, but from Paul the father of Genesius and Theodorus. See Dowling's *Letter*, &c. note *n*, p. 12. On the other hand, in favour of their deriving their name from the Apostle, see Faber, *ubi infra*, p. 33, 34.—*R.*

[3] A recent writer corrects Mosheim here, and says the imperial persecutor of the Paulicians was not Constans, but Constantine Pogonatus. See Dowling's *Letter on the Opinions of the Paulicians*, Lond. 1835, 8vo, note *y*, page 20. This pamphlet is deserving of a perusal on account of the original authorities produced by him relative to the opinions of this sect, so differently represented by historians. The student should also consult Faber's *Inquiry into the Ancient Vallenses and Albigenses*, Lond. 1838, 8vo, in which he will find a critical examination of *a portion* of the evidence produced and relied on by Dowling, and a more favourable view given of the tenets of the Paulicians, p. 31—57.—*R.*

[4] See Cedrenus, *Compendium Historiar.* tom. ii. p. 480, ed. Paris, or p. 379, ed. Venice.

the imperial judges, and likewise Thomas, the bishop of Neocæsarea, and then took refuge in the territories of the Saracens; from which they harassed the neighbouring Greeks with perpetual incursions[1]. Afterwards this war it seems gradually subsided; and many of the Paulicians appear to have returned to their former settlements within the Grecian territories.

4. But far greater calamities were produced by the inconsiderate and rash zeal of the empress Theodora. [A.D. 841—855.] In the minority of her son she governed as regent, and decreed that the Paulicians should be either exterminated by fire and sword, or brought back to the Greek church. The officers sent into Armenia on this business executed their commission in the most cruel manner; for they destroyed by various punishments about a hundred thousand of this unhappy sect, and confiscated their property. Those who escaped took refuge once more among the Saracens. Being kindly received there, the Paulicians built themselves a city called Tibrica; and choosing Carbeas, a man of very great valour for their leader, and forming alliance with the Saracens they waged fierce war with the Greeks. This war continued with various success nearly through the century; and in it an immense number of persons perished on both sides, and several provinces of the Greeks were ruined.[2]

During these troubles and near the close of the century, some of the Paulicians disseminated their doctrines among the Bulgarians; and among that people who were recently converted to Christianity, those doctrines easily took root.[3]

5. These Paulicians are by the Greeks called Manichæans; but as Photius himself states they declared their abhorrence of Manes and of his doctrine;[4] and it is certain that they were not genuine Manichæans, although they might hold some doctrines bearing a resemblance to those of that sect. There were not among them as among the Manichæans, bishops, presbyters, and deacons; they had no order of clergymen distinguished from laymen by their mode of living, their dress, and other things; nor had they councils or any similar institutions. Their teachers whom they denominated Synecdemi (Συνέκδημοι, fellow travellers) and [Νοταρίοι] Notaries, were all equals in rank, and were distinguished from laymen by no rights, prerogatives, or insignia.[5] But they had this peculiarity that such as were made teachers among them changed their names, and assumed each the name of some holy man mentioned in the New Testament. They received the whole of the New Testament except the two Epistles of Peter, which they rejected for reasons not known; and they received it unaltered or in its usual form as received by other Christians, in which again they differed from the Manichæans.[6] They moreover would have these holy books to be read assiduously and by all, and were indignant at the Greeks who required the scriptures to be examined only by the priests.[7] But many parts of the scripture they construed allegorically, abandoning the literal sense lest it should militate against their doctrines;[8] and this construc-

[1] Photius, *Contra Manich.* lib. i. p. 125, &c.; Petrus Siculus, *Hist. Manichæor.* p. 71.

[2] Cedrenus, *Compendium Historiar.* p. 541, ed. Paris, or p. 425, ed. Venice; and p. 547 or 429. Zonaras, *Annal.* lib. xvi. tom. ii. p. 122. ed. Venice. But the principal historians of the Paulicians are, Photius, *Contra Manichæos, Liber primus;* and Petrus Siculus whose *Historia Manichæorum* was published, Gr. and Lat. by Rader, at Ingolstadt, 1604, 4to. This Petrus Siculus, as he himself informs us, was the envoy of Basil the Macedonian to the Paulicians at Tibrica in the year 870, [869] sent to negociate with them an exchange of prisoners; and he remained among them nine months. These facts alone show how great the power of the Paulicians was at that period. From this Peter, it appears, Cedrenus borrowed his account. *Compend. Histor.* p. 431. The moderns who treat of the Paulicians, as Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, article *Paulicens*, Wolf, *Manichæimus ante Manichæos*, p. 247, and others, seem to have derived their information chiefly from Bossuet, *Hist. des Variations des Eglises Protest.* [liv. xi. sec. 13, &c.] tome ii. p. 129, &c. But this writer certainly did not go to the sources, and being influenced by party zeal he was willing to make mistakes.—[Photius wrote four books against the Manichæans or Paulicians, of which the first book gives the history of them to about A.D. 870. The subsequent books are a confutation of their doctrines, and with the common arguments used against the Manichæans. The history of Petrus Siculus terminates at the same time. The edition of it by the Jesuit Rader is said to need revision. Photius and Peter agree in the main in their histories. Which of them wrote first remains a question; but Photius is deemed the better authority. For the history of the sect after A.D. 870, we must go to the Byzantine writers, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, lib. iv. c. 16, and Cedrenus, p. 541, ed. Paris. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xx. p. 363, &c. and vol. xxiii. p. 318, &c. and Gieseler's *Text-book* translated by Cunningham, vol ii. p. 7, &c.—*Mur.*

[3] Perhaps there still are Paulicians or Paulians as some call them remaining in Thrace and Bulgaria. There certainly were some there in the seventeenth century; and they resided at Nicopolis according to Cerri, *Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 72, who tells us, (true or false I know not) that Peter Deodatus, archbishop of Sophia, convinced them of their errors and converted them to the Romish church.—[The history of these Paulicians is of the more consequence as they propagated their sect in various countries of Europe in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and composed a large part of the dissentients from the Romish church during those times. The Catholics (as Bossuet, *Hist. des Variat.* liv. xi.) charge the Protestants with being the progeny of the Paulicians; and some Protestant writers seem half inclined to regard them as witnesses for the truth in their times. This subject will of course recur in the following centuries.—*Mur.*

[4] Photius, *Contra Manichæos*, lib. i. p. 17, 56, 65. Petrus Siculus, *Hist. Manich.* p. 43.

[5] Photius, *ubi supra*, p. 31, 32. Petrus Sicul. p. 44. Cedrenus, *ubi supra*, p. 431.

[6] Photius, *ubi supra*, p. 11. Petrus Sicul. p. 19.

[7] Photius, *ubi supra*, p. 101. Petrus Sicul. p. 57.

[8] Photius, *ubi supra*, p. 12, &c.

tion they undoubtedly put upon the passages relating to the Lord's supper, baptism, the Old Testament, and some other subjects. Besides the New Testament, the epistles of one Sergius a great doctor of the sect were in high esteem among them.

6. The entire creed of this sect, though doubtless consisting of various articles, is nowhere described by the Greeks; who select from it only six dogmas, for which they declare the Paulicians unworthy to live or to be saved. I. They denied that this lower and visible world was created by the supreme God, and distinguished the creator of the world and of human bodies from the God whose residence is in heaven. It was on account of this dogma especially, that the Greeks accounted them Manichæans, and yet this was the common doctrine of all the sects denominated Gnostics. What opinions they entertained respecting this creator of the world, and whether they supposed him to be a different being from the prince of evil or the devil, no one has informed us. This only appears from Photius that they held the author of evil to have been procreated from darkness and fire; and of course he was not eternal or without beginning.[1] II. They contemned the virgin Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ; that is, they would not adore and worship her as the Greeks did. For they did not deny that Christ was born of Mary, because as their adversaries expressly state, they taught that Christ brought his body with him from heaven, and that Mary after the birth of the Saviour had other children by Joseph. They therefore believed with the Valentinians, that Christ passed through the womb of his mother as water through a canal, and that Mary did not continue a virgin to the end of life;—a doctrine which must have appeared abominable to the Greeks. III. They did not celebrate the Lord's supper. For believing that there were metaphors in many parts of the New Testament they deemed it proper to understand by the bread and wine, which Christ is stated to have presented to his disciples at his last supper, those divine discourses of Christ by which the soul is nourished and refreshed.[2] IV. They loaded the cross with contumely, that is, as clearly appears from what the Greeks state, they would not have any religious worship paid to the wood of the cross as was customary among the Greeks. For believing that Christ possessed an etherial and celestial body, they could not by any means admit that he was actually nailed to a cross and truly died upon it; and this led them of course to treat the cross with neglect. V. They rejected, as did nearly all the Gnostics, the books composing the Old Testament, and believed that the writers of them were prompted by the creator of the world and not by the supreme God. VI. They excluded the presbyters or elders from the government of the church. The foundation of this charge beyond all controversy was, that they would not allow their teachers to be styled presbyters; because this title was Jewish and suited only to those who persecuted and wished to kill Jesus Christ.[3]

[1] Photius, *ubi supra*, lib. ii. p. 147. It is manifest that the Paulicians, with the Oriental philosophers, those parents of the Gnostic and Manichæan sects, considered eternal matter to be the seat and source of all evil. And this matter, like many of the Gnostics, they supposed to be endued from eternity with motion and an animating principle, and to have procreated the prince of all evil, who was the former of bodies which are composed of matter; while God is the parent of souls. These opinions are indeed allied to the Manichæan doctrines, yet also differ from them. I can believe this sect to have been the offspring of one of the ancient Gnostic parties, which though sadly oppressed by imperial laws and punishments, could never be entirely suppressed and exterminated. [As the Paulicians were great friends to allegories and mystical interpretations, and held certain hidden doctrines which they made known only to the perfect, and as we are in possession of no creed nor of any other writing of their doctors, we must always remain in uncertainty whether they understood these Gnostic-sounding doctrines literally, and so were actually a branch from the old Gnostic stock. And for the same reason we cannot place much confidence in the Greeks who wrote their history; and we should always remember that these writers were liable, from misapprehension if not also from party feelings, to misstate their doctrines. At the same time we discover as to most of their doctrines, that they had in several respects more correct ideas of religion, of religious worship, and of church government, than the prevailing church at that day had; and that they drew on themselves persecution by their dislike of images, and by their opposition to the hierarchy, more than by their other religious opinions. —So Semler judges of them, in his *Selecta Capita Hist. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 72, and 365.—*Schl.*

[2] The Greeks do not charge the Paulicians with any error in respect to the doctrine of baptism. Yet there is no doubt that they construed into allegory what the New Testament states concerning this ordinance. And Photius (*Contra Manich.* lib. i. p. 29,) expressly says that they held only to a fictitious baptism, and understood by baptism, i. e. by the water of baptism, the Gospel.

[3] These six errors I have extracted from Petrus Siculus, *Hist. Manich.* p. 17, with whom Photius and Cedrenus agree, though they are less distinct and definite. The reasonings and explanations are my own. [The Romanists have invariably represented the Paulicians as Manichæans, and as chargeable with all the gross errors which the prejudiced and bigotted contemporaries of this sect among the Greeks have attributed to them. Mosheim here takes a more favourable view of their tenets, though he still considers them as tinctured with Gnostic errors to a greater degree perhaps than was really the case. He seems not to have weighed with sufficient care the considerations, afterwards urged by his disciple Schlegel as given in a preceding note. (Note 1, on this page.) Gibbon in the 54th chapter of his *Decline and Fall*, &c. takes nearly the same view of the Paulicians as Mosheim, and Hallam, while adopting it, says of that chapter—"it appears to be accurate as well as luminous, and is at least far superior to any modern work on the subject." *Middle Ages*, 8th edit. vol. ii. p. 440. Milner however in his

Hist. of the Church went to an opposite extreme, and endeavoured to show that the Paulicians could not be charged with holding any erroneous opinions;—a view which was subsequently adopted by Mr. Faber in his *Sacred Calendar of Prophecy*, Lond. 1828. These opinions of Milner and Faber were combatted, with an excess of dogmatism and self-confidence, by Mr. Maitland in his *Facts and documents illustrative of the history, &c. of the Albigenses and Waldenses*, Lond. 1832. Mr. Maitland seems to belong to the Puseyite section of the English church, who are at one with the Romanists not only in many fundamental points of doctrine, but even in the lesser matters of historical criticism. According to the canons of this school, the mediæval church-writers are alone entitled to credit, and all that they say of dissenters or sectaries must be implicitly received as altogether trustworthy. Mr. Maitland therefore adopts the extreme view of the Romanists, and gives full credence to every calumny which Photius and Peter the Sicilian have vented against the poor Paulicians. Shortly after, Mr. Rose's terminal divinity lecture at Durham in 1834 excited a very keen and protracted controversy on the character and merits of Milner as an ecclesiastical historian, between Mr. Maitland on the one hand, and the Rev. Messrs. Scott and King of Hull in defence of Milner, on the other. In this controversy the question regarding the faith of the Paulicians occupied a prominent place, and called forth the pamphlet of Mr. Dowling referred to in a preceding note; in which he united with Mr. Maitland in adopting without the least discrimination everything urged against them by their Greek calumniators and persecutors. At the close of this pamphlet war, Mr. Faber published his *Inquiry into the history and theology of the ancient Vallenses and Albigenses*, Lond. 1838, in which he endeavoured to support his previous opinion as to the entire orthodoxy of the Paulicians, by an elaborate examination of the testimony of Peter the Sicilian, but without any reference to that of Photius. Waddington has carefully discussed the question of their Manichæism or Gnosticism, and considers them freer from those errors than even Mosheim seems to do. See his *Hist. of the Church*, vol. iii. p. 208, &c. Neander takes a very favourable view of their religious character and system in his *Der Heil. Bernard und sein Zeitalter*, Wrench's translation, Lond. 1843, p. 254, &c. Giesseler speaks of them as "being deeply tinged with the Gnostic character," but as afterwards becoming much purified in their views. See his *Lehrbuch*, &c. Cunningham's transl. vol. ii. p. 7, with the recent works referred to at the head of the section. The student who wishes to form an impartial opinion on this controversy ought to weigh attentively what is urged in favour of Milner, and on the views of Mosheim and Gibbon, by Mr. King of Hull, in one of his pamphlets entitled, *Maitland not authorised to censure Milner*, Lond. 1835, p. 29—38.—*R.*

CENTURY TENTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

1. ALL are agreed that in this century the state of Christianity was everywhere most wretched, not only on account of the amazing ignorance and the consequent superstition and debased morals of the age, but also from other causes. Still there were not a few things which may be placed among the prosperous events of the church. The Nestorians living in Chaldea introduced Christianity into Tartary Proper beyond Mount Imaus, where the people had hitherto lived entirely uncultivated and uncivilized. Near the end of the century, the same sect spread the knowledge of the gospel among that powerful horde of Tartars or Turks, which was called Carit or Karit, and which bordered on Cathay or the northern part of China.[1] The activity of this sect and their great zeal for the promotion of Christianity deserve praise; and yet no one can suppose that the religion which they instilled into the minds of these nations was the pure gospel of our Saviour.

2. The [Tartarian] king who was converted to Christianity by the Nestorians, it is said bore the name of John after his baptism, and in token of his modesty assumed the title of presbyter [or elder]. And hence as learned men have conjectured, all his successors retained this title down to the fourteenth century or to the times of Gengis Khan, and each was usually called John Presbyter[2]. But all this is said without adequate authority or proof; nor did that presbyter John, of whom there was so much said both formerly and in modern times, begin to reign in this part of Asia anterior to the close of the eleventh century. Yet it is placed beyond controversy that the kings of the people called Carith, living on the borders of Cathay, whom some denominate a tribe of Turks and others of Tartars, and who constituted a considerable portion of the Moguls, did profess Christianity from this time onward; and that no inconsiderable part of Tartary or Asiatic Scythia, lived under bishops sent among them by the pontiff of the Nestorians[3].

3. In the West, Rollo, the son of a Norwegian count and an arch-pirate, who was expelled his country,[4] and with his military

[1] Asseman, *Biblio. Orien. Clem. Vatic.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 482, &c. Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* p. 256, &c. [Mosheim, *Hist. Tartar. Eccles.* p. 23, 24. It is there stated that this Tartarian prince commanded more than 200,000 subjects, all of whom embraced Christianity in the year A.D. 900. The authority for this account is a letter of Ebed Jesu, archbishop of Meru, addressed to John, the Nestorian patriarch, and preserved by Abulpharajus, *Chronic. Syr.* and thence published by Asseman, *Biblio. Orient. Clem. Vat.* tom. ii. p. 444, &c. The letter states that this Tartarian king while hunting one day got lost in the wilderness, and was wholly unable to find his way out of it. A saint now appeared to him and promised to show him the way, if he would become a Christian. The king promised to do so. On returning to his camp he called the Christian merchants who were there to his presence, received instruction from them, and applied to the above-named Ebed Jesu for baptism. As his tribe fed only on flesh and milk, it became a question how they were to keep the required fasts. This led Ebed Jesu to write to his patriarch, stating the case and asking for instructions on the point. The patriarch directed the bishop to send two presbyters and two deacons among the tribe to convert and baptize them, and to teach them to feed upon milk only on fast-days. Mosheim thinks the conversion of this tribe of Tartars is too well attested to be called in question; but the manner of it he would divest somewhat of the marvellous. He suggests that the saint who appeared to the king in the wilderness, might be a Nestorian anchorite or hermit residing there, who was able and willing to guide the king out of the wilderness on the condition stated.—*Mur.*

[2] See Asseman, *Biblio. Orient. Clem. Vatic.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 282.

[3] The late T. S. Bayer purposed to write a history of the churches of China and northern Asia, in which he would treat particularly of these Nestorian churches in Tartary and China. See the Preface to his *Museum Sinicum*, p. 145. But a premature death prevented the execution of this and other contemplated works of this excellent man for the illustration of Asiatic Christianity.

[4] Holberg's *Naval History of the Danes*; inserted in

followers took possession of a part of Gaul in the preceding century, embraced Christianity with his whole army in the year 912. The French king, Charles the Simple, who was too weak to expel this warlike and intrepid stranger from his realm, offered him no inconsiderable portion of his territory, on condition of his desisting from war, marrying Gisela the daughter of Charles, and embracing the Christian religion. Rollo embraced these terms without hesitation; and his soldiers following the example of their general, yielded assent to a religion which they did not understand, and readily submitted to baptism[1]. These Norman pirates, as many facts demonstrate, were persons of no religion; and hence they were not restrained by opinions adopted in early life, from embracing a religion which promised them great worldly advantages. To their ferocious minds whatever was useful appeared to be true and good. From this Rollo, who assumed the name of Robert at his baptism, the celebrated dukes of Normandy in France are descended; for a part of Neustria with Bretagne, which Charles the Simple ceded to his son-in-law, was from this time called, after its new lords, Normandy[2].

4. Micislaus, duke of Poland, was gradually wrought upon by his wife Dambrowka, daughter of Boleslaus duke of Bohemia; till in the year 965 he renounced the idolatry of his ancestors and embraced Christianity. When the news of this conversion reached Rome, John XIII. the Roman pontiff, sent Ægidius, bishop of Tusculum, accompanied by many Italian, French, and German priests into Poland; that they might aid the duke and his wife in their design of instructing the Poles in the precepts of Christianity. But the efforts of these missionaries, who did not understand the language of the country, would have been altogether fruitless had not the commands, the laws, the menaces, the rewards, and punishments of the duke overcome the reluctant minds of the Poles. The foundations being thus laid, two archbishops and seven bishops were created, and by their labours and efforts the whole nation was gradually brought to recede a little from their ancient customs, and to make an outward profession of Christianity[3]. As to that internal and real change of the mind which Christ requires of his followers, this barbarous age had no idea of it.

5. In Russia a change took place during this century, similar to that in the adjacent country of Poland. For those Russians who had embraced the religion of the Greeks during the preceding century in the time of Basil the Macedonian, soon afterwards relapsed into the superstition of their ancestors. In the year 961 Wlodimir, duke of Russia and Muscovy, married Anna the sister of the Greek emperor, Basil Junior; and she did not cease to importune and exhort her husband, till in the year 987 he submitted to baptism assuming the name of Basil. The Russians followed spontaneously the example of their duke; at least we do not read that any coercion was used[4]. From this time the Christian religion obtained permanent establishment among the Russians. Wlodimir and his wife were ranked among saints of the highest order in the estimation of the Russians, and to the present day they are worshipped with the greatest veneration at Kiow, where they were interred. The Latins however

in the *Scripta Societatis Scientiar. Hafniens's*, par. iii. p. 357, &c.

[1] Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 296. Daniel, *Hist. de France*, tome ii. p. 587, &c. [Mabillon, *Annales Bened.* ad. ann. 911, tom. iii. p. 337, and Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* liv. 54, sec. 51.—*Mur.*

[2] It was Neustria properly and not Bretagne which received the name of Normandy from the Normans, who chose Rollo for their chief.—*Mael.*

[3] Dlugoss, *Hist. Polonica*, lib. ii. p. 91, &c.; lib. iii. p. 95, 239. Regenvolscius, *Hist. Eccles. Slavon.* lib. i. c. i. p. 8. Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iii. par. i. p. 41. Solignac, *Hist. de Pologne*, tome i. p. 71, &c. [Boleslaus, on the death of his mother Dambrowka, A.D. 977, married a nun, Oda the daughter of the German marquis Theodoric. This uncanonical marriage was disliked by the bishops, yet was winked at from motives of policy; and the pious Oda became so serviceable to the church that she almost atoned for the violation of her vows. See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* livre lvi. sec. 13.—*Mur.*

[4] See Pagi, *Critica in Baron.* tom. iv. ad. ann. 987. p. 55; and ad ann. 1015, p. 110. Du Fresne, *Familiæ Byzantinæ*, p. 143, ed. Paris. [The occasion of Wlodimir's baptism is variously stated. Some say he had captured the Greek fortress Corszyn, and promised to restore it if the princess Anna were given him to wife, but that her brothers, Basil and Constantine, would not consent unless he would engage to renounce paganism; and he accordingly was baptised at Corszyn in presence of the court. But the Greek writers know nothing of these circumstances. Others state that Mohammedans, Jews, and Christians, severally endeavoured to persuade him to embrace their religions, and that he gradually becoming informed respecting them all, gave preference to that of the Greeks. So much is certain, his marriage was the proximate cause of his conversion. After his conversion he strictly enjoined upon his subjects to renounce paganism. And it is said the bishop of Corszyn and other Greek clergymen often administered baptism and destroyed idols at Kiow. A metropolitan of Kiow named Michael, who was sent from Constantinople, is reported to have gradually brought all Russia to submit to baptism. Churches were also built. Ditmar does not commend the piety of this prince, who is represented as endeavouring to compensate for his transgressions by the extent of his alms. Mosheim says that we nowhere find coercion employed in the conversion of the Russians. But Dlugoss states that Wlodimir compelled his subjects by penalties to submit to baptism. And this was certainly the common mode of the spurious conversions. See Semler's continuation of Baumgarten's *Auszug der Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 423, &c. *Von Ein.*

hold Wlodimir to be absolutely unworthy of this honour[1].

6. Some knowledge of Christianity reached the Hungarians and Avares through the instrumentality of Charlemagne, but it became wholly extinct after his death. In this century Christianity obtained a more permanent existence among those warlike nations[2]. First, near the middle of the century two dukes of the Turks on the Danube (for so the Hungarians and Transylvanians were called by the Greeks in that age), Bulosudes and Gyula or Gylas received baptism at Constantinople. The former of these soon after returned to his old superstition; the latter persevering in Christianity, by means of Hierotheus a bishop and several priests whom he took along with him, caused his subjects to be instructed in the Christian precepts and institutions. His daughter, Sarolta, was afterwards married to Geysa, the chieftain of the Hungarian nation; and she persuaded her husband to embrace the religion taught her by her father. But Geysa afterwards began to waver and to incline to his former pollutions, when Adalbert, archbishop of Prague near the close of the century, went from Bohemia into Hungary and reclaimed the lapsed chieftain, and likewise baptized his son Stephen. To this Stephen, the son of Geysa, belongs the chief honour of converting the Hungarians. For he perfected the work which was only begun by his father and grandfather; he established bishops in divers places, and provided them with ample revenues, erected magnificent churches, and by his menaces, punishments, and rewards, compelled nearly the whole nation to renounce the idolatry of their ancestors. His persevering zeal in establishing Christian worship among the Hungarians, procured him the title and the honours of a saint in succeeding times.[3]

7. In Denmark the Christian cause had to struggle with great difficulties and adversities under the king Gormon, although the queen was a professed Christian. But Harald surnamed Blaatand, the son of Gormon, about the middle of the century, having been vanquished by Otto the Great, made a profession of Christianity in the year 949, and was baptized together with his wife and his son Sueno, by Adaldag, archbishop of Hamburg, or as some think by Poppo, a pious priest who attended the emperor. Perhaps Harald who had his birth and education from a Christian mother called Tyra, was not greatly averse from the Christian religion; and yet it is clear that in the present transaction he yielded rather to the demands of his conqueror than to his own inclinations. For Otto being satisfied that the Danes would never cease to harass their neighbours with wars and rapine, if they retained the martial religion of their fathers, made it a condition of the peace with Harald that he and his people should become Christians.[4] After the conversion of the king, Adaldag especially and Poppo with great success, urged the Cimbrians and Danes to follow his example. The stupendous miracles performed by Poppo are said to have contributed very much to this result; and yet those miracles appear to have been fictitious and not really divine, for they did not surpass the powers of nature.[5] Harald as long as he lived endeavoured to confirm his subjects in the religion they had embraced, by the establishment of bishoprics, the enactment of laws, the reformation of morals, and the like. But his son Sueno [or Swein] apostatized from Christianity, and for a while persecuted the Christians with violence. But being driven from his kingdom and an exile among the Scots, he returned to Christianity, and he was after-

[1] Ditmar of Merseburg, *Chronic.* lib. vii. in Leibnitz's collection of the Brunswic Historians, tom. i. p. 417 [and Nestor's *Russicher Annalen*, &c. by Schlözer, Gött. 1802—1809, 5 vols. 8vo.; Karamsin's *Geschichte des Russ. Reiches*, by Hauenschild, Riga, 1820, 5 vols. 8vo.—*Mur.*

[2] Debrezenus, *Hist. Eccles. Reformator. in Ungaria*, par. i. cap. iii. p. 19, &c.

[3] The Greeks, the Germans, the Bohemians, and the Poles, severally claim the honour of imparting Christianity to the Hungarians, and the subject is really involved in much obscurity. The Germans say that Gisela, the sister of the emperor Henry II. was married to Stephen, king of Hungary, and that she convinced her husband of the truth of Christianity. The Bohemians tell us that Adalbert of Prague induced this king to embrace the Christian religion. The Poles maintain that Geysa married Adelheid, a Christian lady, the sister of Micislaus I. duke of Poland, and by her was induced to become a Christian. We have no hesitation in following the authority and testimony of the Greek writers, at the same time calling in the aid of the Hungarian historians. In this we were in part preceded by Gabriel de Juxta Hornad, *Initia Religionis Christ. inter Hungaros Ecclesiæ Orientali adserta.* Francf. 1740, 4to, who vindicates the credibility of the Greek writers. The accounts of the others are imperfect and involved in much uncertainty. [The book of Schwartz under the fictitious name of Gabriel de Juxta Hornad gave occasion to a learned controversy, which continued several years after the death of Mosheim. The result seems to have been that Schwartz's account is substantially true; and of course the representation given by Mosheim. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxi. p. 527, &c.—*Mur.*

[4] Adamus Bremens. *Histor.* lib. ii. cap. ii. iii. p. 16; cap. xv. p. 20, in Lindenbrog's *Scriptores Rerum Septentrional.* Kranz, *Wandalia*, lib. iv. cap. xx.; Ludwig, *Reliquiæ Manuscriptor.* tom. ix. p. 10; Pontoppidan, *Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ Diplomatici*, tom. i. p. 59, &c. [Münter's *Kirchenges. von Dänemark u. Norwegen*, vol. i. p. 322, &c.; and Schmidt's *Kirchenges.* vol. 4, p. 147, &c.—*Mur.*

[5] See Cypræus, *Annales Episcopor. Slesnic.* cap. xiii. p. 78; Adamus Brem. lib. ii. cap. xxvi. p. 22; cap. xliv. p. 28; Stephanius, *Ad Saxonem Grammat.* p. 207; Müller, *Introd. ad Histor. Chersones. Cimbr.* par. ii. cap. iii. sec. 14, and others.

wards very successful [and recovered his throne] he laboured by all the means in his power to promote that religion which he had before betrayed.[1]

8. The conversion of the Norwegians commenced in this century, as appears from the most unexceptionable testimony. King Hagen Adelsteen who had been educated among the English, is said to have commenced this great work A.D. 933, by the aid of priests from England, but with little success, because the Norwegians were violently opposed to the king's designs. His successor, Harald Graufeldt, pursued the work thus commenced, but with no better success.[2] After these Haco, by the persuasion of the Danish king Harald to whom he owed his possession of the throne, not only embraced Christianity himself but recommended it to his people in a public diet A.D. 945.[3] Little success however attended this effort among that barbarous and savage people. Somewhat more successful were the attempts of Olaus who is called a saint.[4] At length Sueno, king of Denmark, having vanquished Olaus Tryggvesen conquered Norway, and published an edict requiring the inhabitants to abandon the gods of their ancestors, and to embrace Christianity. An English priest Guthebald was the principal teacher at that time among them.[5] From Norway the Christian religion was transmitted to the Orkney islands then subject to the kings of Norway, to Iceland also, and to old Greenland. The inhabitants of these countries to a great extent made profession of Christianity in this century, as we learn from various sources.[6]

9. In Germany, the emperor Otto the Great, illustrious for his valour and his piety, was zealous for suppressing the remains of the old superstition still existing in various provinces of the empire, and for supporting Christianity which was but imperfectly established in many places. By his beneficence and liberality bishopries were erected in various places, as Brandenburg, Havelberg, Meissen, Magdeburg, and Naumburg; so that there might be no want of spiritual watchmen, who should instruct the yet rude and half barbarous people in all the duties of religion.[7] In accordance with the religious views of the age, he also built many convents for those who preferred a monastic life; and he also erected schools. If in these measures the illustrious emperor had exhibited as much wisdom and moderation, as piety and sincerity, he could scarcely be commended too much. But the superstition of his wife Adelaide[8] and the lamentable ignorance of the times, led this excellent prince to believe that a man secured the friendship of God, by securing that of his ministers and servants with great largesses and presents. He therefore enriched the bishops, the monks, and religious associations of every kind beyond all bounds; and subsequent generations reaped this fruit of his libera-

[1] Saxo Grammat. *Histor. Dan.* lib. x. p. 186; Pontoppidan, *De Gestis et Vestigiis Danorum extra Daniam*, tom. ii. cap. i. sec. 1, 2.

[2] See Pontoppidan, *Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ Diplomat.* tom. i. p. 66.

[3] Torfæus, *Hist. Norvegica*, tom. ii. p. 183, 214, &c.

[4] Torfæus, *ubi supra*, tom. ii. p. 457, &c.

[5] *Chron. Danacum*, published by Ludewig in his *Reliquiæ Manuscriptor.* tom. ix. p. 11, 16, 17. [According to Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch*, vol. xxi. p. 376, &c. this Olaus Tryggweson the son of a petty Norwegian chieftain, spent many years in Russia and on the Wendish coast of Germany, while his country revolted from Harald Blauzahn, king of Denmark, under Hakon their viceroy. Olaus became a successful pirate, advanced in power and wealth, became also a zealous Christian, and in his plundering expeditions in those northern seas treated the pagans much as the Mohammedans did the same sort of persons; that is, gave them the alternative of baptism, or slavery and death. The Norwegians now chose him their king and revolted from Hakon. Olaus got possession of the whole country, and by compulsory measures obliged all opposers to embrace Christianity. This was just at the close of the century.—*Mur.*

[6] Concerning the inhabitants of the Orkneys see Torfæus, *Hist. Rerum Orcadensium*, lib. i. p. 22. For the Icelanders, in addition to Arngrim Jonas, *Crymogææ*, lib. i.; and Arius Multicius, *Schedæ de Islandia*, p. 45, &c.; see the same Torfæus, *Histor. Norveg.* tom. ii. p. 378, 397, 417, &c. Also Liron, *Singularités Histor. et Littér.* tome i. p. 138. Concerning Greenland Torfæus also treats, *ubi supra*, tom. ii. p. 374; and in *Grœnlandia Antiqua*, cap. xvii. p. 127, Copen. 1706, 8vo. [Münter, *Kirchenges. von Dänemark u. Norwegen*, vol. i. treats of the conversion of the Norwegians, p. 429, &c.; of the Icelanders, p. 517, &c.; of the Faro and Shetland islanders, p. 548, &c.; and of the Greenlanders, p. 555, &c.—*Mur.* [Both Gieseler and Döllinger refer also to a work by Finnus Johannæus or Finner Jænsen, a bishop of Iceland, entitled *Hist. Eccles. Islandiæ*, Copen. 1772–75, 3 tom. 4to.—*R.*

[7] It is more probable that Otho the Great had long purposed, by the erection of a new archbishopric, to curtail the odious power of the archbishop of Mentz. Therefore in the year 946, he established the bishopric of Havelberg, and in 949 that of Brandenburg. For establishing the archbishopric of Magdeburg (as we are told by Ditmar, p. 335), the emperor's motives were, *defensio communis patriæ* and *spes remunerationis æternæ*. The first was doubtless the chief motive. The bishop of Halberstadt and the archbishop of Mentz looked upon this innovation with dislike. But the emperor seized the opportunity of their presence in Italy, whither they came to receive their investiture at his hands, to obtain from them the transfer of the suffragan bishopries of Brandenburg and Havelberg from the jurisdiction of Mentz to that of Magdeburg, and also the transfer of large estates hitherto possessed by the bishop of Halberstadt. Adelbert, formerly a missionary and at this time abbot of Weissenburg, was ordained first archbishop of Magdeburg A.D. 968 by the Pope, and received the pallium; and attended by two papal envoys and the new bishops, repaired to Magdeburg and was regularly installed. At the same time he consecrated the new bishops, Boso of Merseburg, Hugo of Zeitz, and Burkard of Meissen; who together with the bishops of Brandenburg, Havelberg, and Posen, were to constitute his suffragans. See the Annalist Saxo, ad ann. 969.—*Schl.*

[8] See her life in Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iii. par. i. p. 69.

lity, that these people abused their unearned wealth for pampering their vices, carrying on wars, and indulging themselves in luxury and dissipation.

10. To the account of these enlargements of the church it may be subjoined, that the European kings and princes began in this century to consider the project of a holy war, to be waged against the Mohammedans who possessed Palestine. For it was thought intolerable and a disgrace to the professors of the Christian religion, that the country in which Christ lived and taught and made expiation for the sins of the human race, should be left under the dominion of his enemies; and it was deemed most righteous and agreeable to the dignity of the Christian religion, to avenge the numerous calamities and injuries, insults and sufferings, which the possessors of Palestine were accustomed to heap upon the Christians residing in that country, or visiting it for religious purposes. Just at the close of the century and in the first year of his pontificate, Pope Sylvester II. or Gerbert sounded the trumpet of war, by writing a letter in the name of the church at Jerusalem addressed to the church universal;[1] in which he solemnly adjured the Europeans to afford succour to the Christians of Jerusalem. But none of them were disposed at that time to obey the summons of the pontiff, except the inhabitants of Pisa in Italy, who are said to have forthwith girded themselves for the holy war.[2]

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

1. No unchristian king of this century, except Gormon and Sueno, kings of Denmark, directly and with set purpose persecuted the Christians living under his jurisdiction. And yet they could not live in security and safety either in the East or in the West. The Saracens in Asia and Africa, though troubled with internal dissensions and various other calamities, were yet very assiduous in propagating their religion, that of Mohammed; nor were they unsuccessful. How much this Mohammedan zeal diminished the number of Christians it is not easy to ascertain. But they brought over the Turks, an uncivilised people inhabiting the northern shores of the Caspian sea, to their religion. This agreement in religious faith however did not prevent the Turks, when afterwards called in to aid the Persians, from depriving the Saracens in the first place of the vast kingdom of Persia; and afterwards with astonishing celerity and success, invading and conquering other provinces subject to their dominion. Thus the empire of the Saracens, which the Greek and Roman powers had for so many years in vain attempted to hold in check, was dismembered, and at length subverted, by their friends and allies; and the very powerful empire of the Turks, which has not yet ceased to be terrible to Christians, gradually took its place.[3]

2. In the countries of the West, the nations which were still pagans were in general grievous foes to the Christians. The Normans during nearly half the century inflicted the severest calamities upon the Franks and others. The Prussians, the Slavonians,[4] the Bohemians, and others to whom Christianity was unintelligible and hateful, not only laboured with great violence to drive it from their countries, but likewise frequently laid waste in the most distressing manner with fire and sword, the neighbouring countries in which it was received. The Danes did not cease to molest the Christians, till after Otto the Great had conquered them. The Hungarians assailed Germany, and harassed various parts of the country with indescribable cruelties. The tyranny of the Arabs in Spain and their frequent incursions upon Italy and the neighbouring islands, I pass without farther notice.

3. Whoever considers attentively the innumerable calamities the Christian nations suffered from those who were not Christian, will readily perceive a sufficient cause for that unwearied zeal of Christian princes for the conversion of these furious and savage nations. They had the motives not merely of religion and virtue, but of security and peace. For they expected and with good reason, that those savage

[1] This is the twenty-eighth epistle of the first part, in the Collection of the Epistles of Sylvester II. published by Du Chesne, in vol. iii. of the *Scriptores Histor. Franc.*

[2] See Muratori, *Scriptores Rer. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 400.

[3] These events Leunclavius has endeavoured to elucidate in his *Annales Turcici*, often reprinted. See also Elmacin, *Hist. Saracenica*, lib. ii. iii. p. 190, 203, 210, &c.

[4] These distinguished themselves especially by the outrages they committed upon the Christian churches, in their insurrections against their Christian margraves. Humanity shudders at the narratives of the historians; that when these Slavonians took Brandenburg, they not only enslaved or slew all the clergy, but drew the corpse of Dodilo, the deceased bishop, from its grave in order to strip it of its clothing; that after capturing the city of Altenburg they dragged sixty priests, whom they had not butchered, from one city to another till they all died; and among these, Oddar, a provost, they tortured by ripping up his scalp in the form of a cross and laying bare his brain, so that he died in the midst of the extreme anguish. See the Annalist Saxo, ad ann. 988; and Ditmar, p. 345. *Schl.*

minds would be softened and rendered humane by the influences of Christianity. Therefore they proffered matrimonial connexion with their kings and chieftains, assistance against their enemies, the possession of valuable lands, and other temporal advantages, if they would only renounce the religions of their ancestors which were altogether military and calculated to foster ferocious feelings; and those kings and chieftains, influenced by these offers and advantages, listened to Christian instruction, and endeavoured to bring their subjects to do the same.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

1. It is universally admitted that the ignorance of this century was extreme, and that learning was entirely neglected. Nor is this very surprising, considering what wars and distressing calamities agitated both the East and the West, and to what a base set of men the guardianship of truth and virtue was intrusted. Leo the Wise, who ruled the Greek empire at the beginning of the century, both cultivated learning himself and excited others to do so.[1] His son, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, was still more solicitous to revive literature and the arts.[2] For it appears that he supported learned men of various descriptions at great expense; he carefully collected the writings of the earlier ages; he was himself an author and he prompted others to write; he wished to have all that was most valuable in the works of the ancients selected and arranged under appropriate heads; and he re-animated as it were the study of philosophy which was extinct.[3] Few of the Greeks however copied after these noble examples, nor was there any among the subsequent emperors who was equally friendly to literature and to the cultivation of the mind. Indeed it is supposed that Constantine Porphyrogenitus himself, though the Greeks pronounce him the restorer of all branches of learning, undesignedly injured the cause of learning by his excessive zeal to advance it. For having caused extracts and abridgments to be compiled by learned men from the writers of preceding ages, in order to elucidate the various branches of knowledge and render them serviceable to the world, the slothful Greeks now contenting themselves with these abridgments of the emperor, neglected the writers from whom they were compiled. And therefore many excellent authors of the earlier period became lost, through the neglect of the Greeks from this time onward.

2. Few writers therefore can be named among the Greeks, on whom a wise and

[1] See Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græc.* lib. v. par. ii. cap. v. p. 363. [Leo VI. reigned from A.D. 886 to 911. The learned Photius had been his instructor. His learning procured him the titles of the *Wise* and the *Philosopher*. He completed the revision of the imperial laws begun by his father, and published the result in sixty books entitled Βασιλικὰ or Βασιλικαὶ διατάξεις. It is a Greek translation of Justinian's *Corpus Juris Civilis*, with extracts from the commentaries of the Greek Jurists, the laws of subsequent emperors, and the decisions of ecclesiastical councils, &c. But much of the originals is omitted or changed or enlarged. Fabrotti published a Latin translation of forty-one books and an abstract of the remaining books, Paris, 1647, seven vols. fol. This emperor's book on the art of war compiled from earlier writers, was published by Meursius, Greek and Latin, Leyden, 1612, 4to. His letter to the Saracen Omar in favour of Christianity exists in Chaldaic, from which there is a Latin translation in the *Biblioth. Patr.* Lugdun. tom. xvii.—Baronius (*Annal.* A.D. 911, § 3.) gives account of thirty-three religious Discourses of this emperor; and Gretser has published nine more, Ingolst. 1600, 4to. They were chiefly designed for the feast days, and are of little value. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxi. p. 127, &c.—*Mur.*

[2] Fabricius, *ubi supra*, cap. v. p. 486. [Constantine Porphyrogenitus reigned from A.D. 911 to 959. The historical, political, and moral compendiums, which he caused to be made out from the earlier writers, were arranged under fifty-three heads or titles; and were intended to embrace all that was most valuable on those subjects. Only two of the fifty-three are now to be found, namely, the twenty-seventh, relating to the diplomatic intercourse of the Romans with foreign nations, (published, partly Antwerp, 1582, 4to, and partly Augsburg, 1603, 4to,) and the fiftieth, respecting virtue and vice, of which a part was published by Valesius, Paris, 1634, 4to. The titles of some of the others are known; *e. g.* on the proclamations of kings, on heroic deeds, on festivals, on public addresses, on manners, on ecclesiastical persons and things, on epistles, on the chase, on war, on the establishment of colonies, on strange occurrences, &c. Among the emperor's own compositions were a biography of his grandfather, Basil, two books on the military stations and garrisons of the empire, instructions to his son respecting the state and the foreign relations of the empire and the course it would be wise for him to pursue, narrative respecting the image of Christ found at Edessa, on naval and military tactics, on the mode of warfare by different nations, and some compilations on farriery, agriculture, breeding cattle, physic, &c. together with a large work entitled the *Ceremonial of the Court of Constantinople*, describing minutely all the etiquette there practised. It was published by Reiske, Lips. 1751—54, 2 vols. fol.—See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxi. p. 129, &c.—*Mur.*

[3] This is expressly asserted by Zonaras, *Annal.* tom. iii. p. 155, ed. Paris.

judicious man will place a high value; and in a short time the literary seed sown which seemed to promise a rich harvest, was found to be dead. The philosophers, if such characters flourished among them, produced no immortal works and nothing of permanent value. The body of learned Greeks was composed of a few rhetoricians, some grammarians, here and there a poet who was above contempt, and a number of historians who though not of the first order were not destitute of all merit; for the Greeks seemed to find pleasure almost exclusively in those departments of literature in which the imagination, the memory, and industry have most concern.

3. Egypt, though groaning under an oppressive yoke, produced some learned men, who might contend with the Greeks for the palm of superiority. The example of Eutychius, bishop of Alexandria, to mention no others, will evince this; for he did honour to the sciences of medicine and theology by his various productions. Among the other Arabians, that noble ardour for useful knowledge which was awakened in the preceding age, continued unabated through this whole century; so that there was among them a large number of eminent physicians, philosophers, and mathematicians, whose names and literary labours are celebrated by Leo Africanus and by others.

4. All the Latins were sunk in extreme barbarism. Most writers are agreed that this century deserves the name of the iron age, so far as respects literature and science; and that the Latin nations never saw an age more dark and cheerless.[1] And though some excellent men have questioned this fact, it is too firmly established to be wholly disproved.[2] Schools existed indeed in most countries in Europe, either in the monasteries or in the cities which were the residence of bishops; and there also shone forth in one place and another, especially at the close of the century, some distinguished men of genius who attempted to soar above the vulgar. But these can be all easily counted up, and the smallness of their number evinces the infelicity of the times. In the schools nothing was taught but the seven liberal arts as they were called; and the teachers were monks who estimated the value of learning and science solely by their use in matters of religion.

5. The best among the monks who were disposed to employ a portion of their leisure to some advantage, applied themselves to writing annals and history of a rude texture. For instance Abo,[3] Luitprand,[4] Wittekind,[5] Fulcuin,[6] John of Capua,[7]

[1] Proofs of the ignorance of the age have been collected by Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 288, &c. Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 831, &c. and tom. ii. p. 141; and by others.

[2] Leibnitz, *Præf. ad Codicem Juris Naturæ et gentium Diplomat.* maintains that this tenth century was not so dark as the following centuries, and particularly not so dark as the twelfth and thirteenth. But he certainly is extravagant and labours in vain. More deserving of a hearing are, Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* Sæcul. v. Præf. p. ii. &c.—the authors of the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, vol. vi. p, 18, &c. le Beuf, *Diss. de Statu Literar. in Francia, a Carolo M. ad Regem Robert.* and some others; who while they admit that the ignorance of this age was great, contend that its barbarism was not altogether so great as it is commonly supposed. In the proofs which they allege there is considerable deficiency; but still we may admit that all science was not entirely extinct in Europe, and that there was a number of persons who were wise above the mass of people; but that the number was a very moderate one, nay really small, may be gathered from the monuments of the age.—[The opinion of Leibnitz was embraced by Semler, in his Continuation of Baumgarten's *Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 453, &c. and *Hist. Eccles. Selecta Capita*, tom. ii. p. 526, &c. His arguments seem not easily answered. The tenth century afforded more writers in whom sound reasoning was combined with some learning, than the twelfth and thirteenth. It had greater and better princes; and in the years and the countries in which the Normans and Huns spread no general desolation, there were more numerous episcopal and monastic schools, in which the young received some instruction though rude and meagre. The most noted episcopal schools were those of Mentz, Treves, Cologne, Madgeburg, Würtzburg, Paris, Tours, Rheims, Metz, Toul, and Verdun; and among the monastic schools were those of Fleury, Cluny, Laubes, Gortz, Corbey, Fulda, St. Emmeran, Epternach, St. Gall, &c. Every teacher and nearly every cloister procured a stock of the classical writers.—The Greek language was not wholly unknown; although the individuals were becoming more and more rare who could understand the ancients in the originals.—*Schl.*

[3] Abbo, born at Orleans, educated at Fleury, Paris, Rheims, and Orleans, was called to England by the archbishop of York to preside over a monastic school before A.D. 960. After two years he returned to Fleury became abbot, and resided there till his death in 1004. He wrote an Epitome of the lives of the popes compiled from Anastasius, a life of St. Edmund, King of the East Angles, Collection or Epitome of canons, several Epistles and short tracts. See Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tome ii.—*Mur.*

[4] Luitprand was born at Pavia or in Spain, was envoy of Berengarius, King of Italy, to Constantinople A.D. 946, created bishop of Cremona he became odious to Berengarius, and was deposed A.D. 963 or earlier, and retired to Frankfort in Germany. The emperor Otho sent him again to Constantinople A.D. 968. He was alive A.D. 970. He was a man of genius and of considerable learning. He understood and wrote in Greek as well as Latin. His works are a History of Europe during his own times, and an Account of his embassy to Constantinople in 968. To him also are falsely attributed a tract on the lives of the popes from St. Peter to Formosus, and a Chronicon. All these, together with his *Adversaria* or Note-Book, were printed, Antwerp, 1640, fol. See Cave, *ubi supra.*—*Mur.*

[5] Witikind or Winduchind, was a Saxon and a monk of Corbey in Germany, who flourished A.D. 940 and onwards. He wrote a History of the Saxons or the reigns of Henry the Fowler and Otho I. published Basil, 1532, Francf. 1577, and among the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*; likewise some poetic effusions. See Cave, *ubi supra.*—*Mur.*

[6] Fulcuin or Folguin, abbot of Laubes (Laubiensis) from A.D. 965 to 990. He wrote a *Chronicon de Rebus gestis Abbatum Laubiensis Cœnobii, de Miraculis Sti Ursmari*, and *Vita Folcuini Ep. Tarvanensis.*—*Mur.*

[7] John Capuanus, abbot of Monte Cassino, flourished from A.D. 915 to 934. He wrote *De Persecutionibus*

Ratherius,[1] Flodoard,[2] Notkerus,[3] Ethelbert,[4] and others; of whom some are indeed better than others, but they all wander immensely wide of the true method of composing history. Of their poets one and another shows himself to be not void of genius; but all are rude on account of the infelicity of the times which could relish nothing elegant or exquisite. The grammarians and rhetoricians of those times are scarcely worthy to be mentioned; for they either write absolute nonsense, or inculcate precepts which are jejune and injudicious. Of their geometry, arithmetic, chronology,[5] astronomy, and music, which had a place in their schools, it is unnecessary to give any description.

6. The philosophy of the Latins was confined wholly to logic, which was supposed to contain the marrow of all wisdom. Moreover, this logic which was so highly extolled was usually taught without method and without clearness, according to the book on the Categories falsely ascribed to Augustine, and the writings of Porphyry. It is true that Plato's Timæus, Aristotle's tract *De Interpretatione*, and his as well as Cicero's Topics, and perhaps some other treatises of the Greeks and Latins, were in the hands of a few individuals; but they who state this fact, add that there were none who could understand these books.[6] And yet strange as it may appear, it was in the midst of this darkness, that the subtle question was raised respecting the nature of universals, as they are called, namely, whether they belong to the class of real existences, or are mere names; a controversy which was violently agitated among the Latins from this time onward, and produced the two opposing sects of *Nominalists* and *Realists*. At least the incipient footsteps of this protracted and knotty controversy are discoverable in the writings of the learned, as early as this century.[7]

7. At the close of this century the cause of learning in Europe obtained a great and energetic patron in Gerbert a Frenchman, known among the Roman pontiffs as bearing the name of Sylvester II. This great and exalted genius pursued successfully all branches of learning, but especially mathematics, mechanics, geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, and the kindred sciences; and both wrote upon them himself, and roused others to cultivate and advance them to the utmost of his power. The effects of his efforts among the Germans, French, and Italians, were manifest both in this century and the next; for many individuals of those nations were stimulated by the writings, example, and exhortations of Gerbert to the zealous pursuit of philosophy, mathematics, medicine, and other branches of human science. Gerbert cannot indeed be compared with our geometricians

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Cœnobii Cassinensis, [a Saracenorum irruptione,] et de Miraculis inibi factis, Chronicon succinctum; also, *Chronicon postremorum Comitum Capuæ*. See Cave, *ubi supra*.—*Mur.*

[1] Ratherius, a monk of stern manners and prone to give offence, was bishop of Verona A.D. 928; displaced in 954, and made bishop of Liege; resigned and was again bishop of Verona; was again removed and retired to his monastery of Laubes, where he died A.D. 973. His works as published by D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. ii. comprise various epistles, apologies, polemic tracts, a few sermons, and a life of St. Ursmar of Laubes. His *Chronographia* is said to have existed in MS. in the monastery of Gemblours. See Cave, *ubi supra*.—*Mur.* [For further particulars respecting this writer, and an account of his works, see Bähr, *Gesch. der Römis. Liter.* suppl. vol. par. iii. p. 546–53. The latest and best edition of his works is that by the brothers P. and H. Ballerini, published at Verona, 1765, fol.—*R.*

[2] Flodoard or Frodoard, a canon of Rheims who died A.D. 966, aged seventy-three years. His *Chronicon Rerum inter Francos gestarum*, ab anno 919, ad ann. usque 966, was published, Paris, 1588, 8vo, and Francf. 1594, 8vo. His *Historia Ecclesiæ Remensis* was edited by Sirmond, Paris, 1611, 8vo; Douay, 1617, 8vo; and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xvii. p. 500. His poetic lives of various ancient saints in about twenty books were never published. See Cave, *ubi supra*.—*Mur.* [His works are noticed in Bähr, *ubi supra*; the poetical at p. 127, the *Chronicon* at p. 188, and the *Historia*, &c. at p. 274, with ample references to various authorities.—*R.*

[3] Notker or Notger, bishop of Liege A.D. 971–1007. He wrote *Hist. Episcop. Trajectensium*, (*seu Leodiensium*,) but whether it is the same which was published by Cheapeaville, Liege, 1612, is doubted. He also wrote the life of St. Landoald, a Romish presbyter; a life of St. Remaclus, bishop of Utrecht; and on the miracles of St. Remaclus. It was another Notger of the preceding century who died A.D. 912, and who was a monk of St. Gall, whose Martyrology was published by Canisius, tom. iv. p. 761. See Cave, *ubi supra*.—*Mur.* [There were three writers of this name; one was Notker Balbulus or the Stammerer, the writer of the *Martyrologium* published by Canisius, and of a tract, *De interpretibus divinarum scripturarum* in Pezius, *Anecd. Thesaur.* vol. i.; a second was Notker Labeo or of the thick lips, a translator of some Latin classical pieces and portions of the scriptures into German; and a third Notker, surnamed Piperis granum or Peppercorn, a learned physician, also of St. Gallen.—*R.*

[4] Ethelbert or rather Ethelwerd or Elsward was of royal English blood, and flourished A.D. 980. He wrote *Historia brevis*, which is a concise Chronology from the creation to the Saxon invasion of England, and then a more full and a bombastic history of England down to A.D. 974. It was published by Saville with the *Scriptores Anglici*, London, 1596, fol. p. 472. —*Mur.*

[5] Mosheim's phrase is *computus* or the calculation of the moveable feasts of the church—a branch of chronological science.—*R.*

[6] Gunzo, *Epist. ad Monachos Augienses*, in Martene, *Collectio ampliss. Monument. Veter.* tom. iii. p. 304.

[7] Gunzo, a learned monk, *ubi supra*, p. 304, says:— "Aristoteles genus, speciem, differentiam, proprium et accidens subsistere denegavit, quæ Platoni subsistentia persuasit. Aristoteli an Platoni magis credendum putatis? Magna est utriusque autoritas, quatenus vix audeat quis alterum alteri dignitate præferre." This is a clear exhibition of the apple of discord among the Latins. Gunzo did not venture to offer a solution of the difficult question, but others attempted it afterwards.

and mathematicians; as is manifest from his *Geometry* which is a plain and perspicuous treatise, but at the same time imperfect and superficial.[1] And yet his knowledge was too profound for the comprehension of that barbarous age. For the ignorant monks supposed his geometrical diagrams to be magical figures, and therefore set down this learned man among the magicians and disciples of the evil one.[2]

8. For a part of his knowledge, especially of philosophy, medicine, and mathematics, Gerbert was indebted to the books and the schools of the Arabians of Spain. He went into Spain to pursue science, and was an auditor of the Arab doctors at Cordova and Seville.[3] Perhaps his example in this respect had an influence upon the Europeans. This at least is most certain that from this time onward, such of the Europeans as were eager for knowledge, especially of medicine, arithmetic, geometry, and philosophy, had a strong desire to read and hear the Arab doctors resident in Spain, and in a part of Italy; many of whose books were translated into Latin, and much of their contents was brought forward in the European schools; many students also actually went into Spain to get instruction immediately from the lectures of the Arabic doctors. And truth requires us to say that the Saracens or Arabs, particularly of Spain, were the principal source and fountain of whatever knowledge of medicine, philosophy, astronomy, and mathematics, flourished in Europe from the tenth century onward.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

1. NOTHING is more incontrovertible than that the clergy, both in the East and in the West, were composed principally of men who were illiterate, stupid, ignorant of everything pertaining to religion, libidinous, superstitious, and flagitious.[4] Nor does any one doubt that those who wished to be regarded as the fathers and guardians of the universal church, were the principal cause of these evils. Indeed nothing can be conceived so filthy or so criminal and wicked, as to be deemed by these supreme directors of religion and worship incompatible with their characters; nor was any government so loaded with vices of every kind, as was that which bore the appellation of the most holy.[5] What the Greek patriarchs were, the single example of Theophylact shows, who as credible historians testify made traffic of everything sacred, and cared for nothing but his hounds and his horses.[6] But though these patriarchs were very un-

[1] It was published by Pezius, *Thesaur. Anecdot.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 7, &c.

[2] See the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome vi. p. 558; *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 314, 319, &c.; Naud. *Apologie pour les grands hommes faussement accusez de la Magie*, chap. xix. sec. 4. [Gerbert was a monk of Auvergne, and early devoted himself to study. After much proficiency in France, he attended the schools of the Saracens in Spain, and returned the most scientific man in the Latin church. In the year 968 the emperor Otho I. met with him in Italy, and made him abbot of Bobbio; but he soon left that station to become secretary to Adalbero, archbishop of Rheims. He now taught the archiepiscopal school which flourished greatly under him. In 991 he was made archbishop of Rheims; but was deposed by Pope John XV. in 995, and soon after made archbishop of Ravenna. On the death of Gregory V. A.D. 999, he was by Otho's influence created pope, and assumed the title of Sylvester II. He died A.D. 1003. While at Rheims he wrote 160 Letters, which were published by Masson, Paris, 1611, 4to, and then in Duchene's *Scriptores Francic.* tom. ii. and in *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xvii. While pope he wrote three Epistles, one of which in the name of Jerusalem calls upon Christians to rescue that city from the hands of infidels. He also wrote *De Geometria*, *De Sphæra*, *De Informatione Episcoporum Sermo*, and an epigram; besides several pieces never published. The life of St. Adalbert, archbishop of Prague, formerly ascribed to him is supposed not to be his. But the tract, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, formerly ascribed to Heniger, abbot of Laubes, is supposed to have been the production of Gerbert.—*Mur.* [The English reader will find an account of this most remarkable man in Berrington's *Literary History of the Middle Ages*, Lond. 1814, 4to, p. 202, &c. with much additional information in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, vol. xi. p. 518, &c.; Burney's *Hist. of Music*, vol. 2, p. 129.—*R.*

[3] See Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 314.

[4] Whoever would be convinced of this, need only look through the pages of Ratherius. In his *Volumen Perpendiculorum sive de contemptu canonum*, for instance, he speaks of a clergyman: "Qui cum omnes mulieres diœcesis suæ sint ipsius filiæ spirituales, cujuslibet forte illarum corruptione pollutus est." He tells us that the nobility were more anxious to become bishops than to serve the Lord; and that the example of the light-minded bishops, who would recite passages of the Bible such as John x. 1, with laughter, led others to indulge in similar levity. See Semler's Continuation of Baumgarten's *Kirchenhistorie*, vol. iv. p. 507.—*Schl.*

[5] The reader is referred to the testimony of an upright Italian, Muratori, in his *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, lib. v. p. 82. "In the tenth century especially, alas! what unheard-of monsters filled not only many of the chairs of bishops and abbots, but likewise that of St. Peter. Everywhere might be seen the profligate morals of the clergy and monks; and not a few of the rulers of churches were more worthy of the appellation of wolves than of pastors."—"Good theologians were then not to be found."—*Schl.*

[6] This prelate who was of royal blood was possessor of the see of Constantinople at the age of sixteen. While under his tutors he appeared grave and decent; but when arrived at maturity he became luxurious and extravagant. He sold ecclesiastical offices; and he was so attached to horses and to hunting that he kept more than 2,000 horses, which he fed on nuts and fruits steeped in odorous wine. Once while celebrating mass, his groom brought him intelligence that his favourite mare had foaled, his joy was so great that, suspending the service, he ran to the stable, and after viewing the foal returned to the great temple and completed the sacred services. His death, which happened A.D. 956, after he had been bishop twenty-three years, was occasioned by his being thrown from his horse against a wall. This brought on a spitting of blood, he languished two years but without becoming more devout, and then died of a dropsy. Thus Fleury, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, livre lv. sec. 51.—*Mur.*

worthy men, yet they possessed more dignity and virtue than the Roman pontiffs.

2. That the history of the Roman pontiffs of this century is a history of monsters, a record of the most atrocious villanies and crimes, is acknowledged by all the best writers and even by the advocates of Popery.[1] The principal cause of these enormities is to be sought for in the calamities of the times, which upon the extinction of the family of Charlemagne pervaded the greater part of Europe but especially Italy. Upon the death of Benedict IV. A.D. 903, Leo V. was elected his successor. But he reigned only forty days, when Christophanes [or Christopher] cardinal of St. Lawrence, dethroned him and cast him into prison. In the following year Sergius III. a Roman presbyter, stripped Christophanes of the pontifical dignity by the aid of Adalbert, the powerful marquis of Tuscany, who controlled everything at Rome according to his pleasure. Sergius died in 911 and his successors, Anastasius III. and Lando, filled the holy office only for a short time, and performed nothing worthy of notice.

3. After the death of Lando A.D. 914, the rich and powerful marquis or count of Tusculum, Alberic, by the instigation of his mother-in-law, Theodora, a very lewd woman who controlled all things at Rome, elevated John X. archbishop of Ravenna, to the Papal chair. For at this time nothing was conducted regularly at Rome, but everything was carried by bribery or violence.[2] This John though otherwise a very bad man is commended for one deed; he successfully attacked and vanquished the Saracens who occupied a fortified mountain [on the banks of the] Gariliano. But Marozia, the daughter of Theodora and wife of Alberic, was inimical to him. Therefore on the death of her husband Alberic, when she had married Wido [or Guido] marquis of Tuscany, she persuaded her new husband to seize her mother's lover A.D. 928, and to imprison and kill him. Leo VI. next succeeded, and he dying six months after was followed by Stephen VII. After two years or A.D. 931, Stephen died and Marozia procured for her very young son, John XI. whom she had by the Roman pontiff Sergius III. the chair of St. Peter and the government of the church.[3]

4. John XI. who was raised to supreme power in the church by the aid of his mother, lost it again in the year 933 through the enmity of Alberic, his uterine brother. For Alberic being offended with his step-father, Hugo king of Italy, to whom Marozia was married after the death of Wido, expelled Hugo from Rome and confined both his mother and his brother

[1] Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 900, says of this century: "It is usual to denominate it the iron age, on account of its barbarism and barrenness of all good; also the leaden age on account of the abounding wickedness by which it was deformed; and the dark age on account of the scarcity of writers." "One can scarcely believe, nay absolutely cannot credit without ocular demonstration, what unworthy conduct, what base and enormous deeds, what execrable and abominable transactions disgraced the holy Catholic see, which is the pivot on which the whole Catholic church revolves; when temporal princes who, though called Christian, were most cruel tyrants, arrogated to themselves the election of the Roman pontiffs. Alas, the shame! Alas, the mischief! What monsters, horrible to behold, were then raised to the holy see, which angels revere! What evils did they perpetrate; what horrible tragedies ensued! With what pollutions was this see though itself without spot or wrinkle then stained; what corruptions infected it; what filthiness defiled it; and hence what marks of perpetual infamy are visible upon it!"—*Mur.* [Döllinger, from whom one would have expected more candour and ingenuousness, passes over these dark places in the annals of the papacy, is wholly silent with respect to the notorious profligacy of the Popes, and very jesuitically remarks: —"What is told of female domination at this time in Rome may be justly suspected, as the only writer whose testimony can be given is the credulous Luitprand."—*Hist. of the Church*, translated by Cox, vol. 3, p. 136. I may observe, nowever, that the authority of Luitprand has been abundantly supported by C. D. A. Martini in his *Abhandlung über Luitprand u. dessen histor. Glaubwürd.* Munich, 1810, 4to.—*R.*

[2] At that time the noted Theodora with her two daughters, Marozia and Theodora, resided at Rome. They were wholly devoted to what was called the Tuscan party, of which the marquis Adelbert (not Alberic as in the text of Mosheim) was the head. These women not only lived in habits of the most abominable unchastity with the chief men of Rome, but they had boundless influence in the government there. Luitprand is in this matter the principal historian. Eccard and Muratori have indeed questioned his authority, and endeavoured to make his testimony suspicious. But Sigebert of Gemblours and Alberic, the author of the chronicle of Ferfe (who could not have transcribed from Luitprand), confirm his account of the profligate lives of these base females.—*Schl.* [Luitprand's narrative of the elevation of John X. as translated by Bower (*Lives of the Popes*, vol. v. p. 90), is as follows: —"In those days Peter, archbishop of Ravenna (esteemed the first archiepiscopal see after that of Rome), used frequently to send to Rome a deacon named John to pay his obeisance to his holiness. As the deacon was a very comely and personable man, Theodora falling passionately in love with him, engaged him in a criminal intrigue with her. While they lived thus together the bishop of Bologna died, and John had interest enough to get himself elected in his room. But the archbishop of Ravenna dying before he was consecrated, Theodora persuaded him to exchange the see of Bologna for that of Ravenna; and he was accordingly at her request ordained by Pope Lando, archbishop of that city. Lando died soon after, and upon his death Theodora exerting all her interest, as she could not live at the distance of two hundred miles from her lover, got him preferred to the pontifical chair."—Luitprand, lib. ii. cap. xiii. See also Fleury, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, livre liv. sec. 49.—*Mur.*

[3] Marozia is a woman infamous in the view of all historians ancient and modern, who tell us that the pontiff John XI. was her son, and the fruit of an illicit intercourse with Sergius III. Yet one writer Eccard, in his *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. i. lib. ii. p. 131, dares to vindicate her character and to represent Sergius as being her first husband. I say dares, for it is audacious to acquit, without proof or reason, a woman whose actions condemn her and show her to be destitute of all integrity and virtue.

the pontiff in a prison, where John died A.D. 936. The four pontiffs who succeeded him in the government of the church till the year 956, namely Leo VII. Stephen VIII. Marinus II. and Agapetus, are represented as better men than John; and it is certain that they reigned more tranquilly. But on the death of Agapetus, A.D. 956, Alberic II. the consul of Rome, who controlled everything there by his influence and wealth, raised his own son Octavius yet a youth to the pontificate. This youth, utterly unworthy of the office, assumed the name of John XII. and thus introduced the custom which continues to the present day among the Roman pontiffs, of changing their name on their elevation to that office.[1]

5. The death of John XII. was as unfortunate as his promotion had been scandalous. Being very uneasy under the haughty government of Berengarius II. king of Italy, he sent ambassadors to Otho the Great, king of Germany A.D. 960, inviting him to march an army into Italy and rescue the church and the commonwealth from cruel tyranny; and promised if he would do this to invest him with the insignia and confer on him the title of emperor of the Romans. Otho came accordingly with his forces, and was declared emperor of Rome by John, in the year 962. But the pontiff soon after repented of what he had done; and although he had bound himself by a solemn oath to the emperor, he formed a coalition with Adalbert, the son of Berengarius, against Otho. The emperor therefore returned to Rome the next year, and assembled a council in which John was accused of numerous crimes, and perhaps also proved guilty and formally deposed; Leo VIII. being appointed to his place.[2] When Otho had left the city, John came to Rome A.D. 964, assembled another council, and condemned the emperor's pontiff; but he soon after died a miserable death.[3] After his decease the Romans elected Benedict V. but the emperor carried him away to Hamburg where he died.[4]

6. The Roman pontiffs after Leo VIII. who died A.D. 965, down to Gerbert or Sylvester II. at the end of the century, were in different degrees meritorious and successful; but no one of them deserved high commendation. John XIII. was placed in the chair of St. Peter by the influence of Otho the Great A.D. 965. He had just entered on his functions when he was driven from Rome; but the next year the emperor arriving in Italy, he was restored to his chair and held it peaceably till his death in 972. His successor, Benedict VI. was miserably strangled in a prison, into which he was thrown in the year 974 by Crescentius the son of the very noted Theodora. For upon the death of Otho the Great A. D. 973, the Romans who had been awed by his power and severity, relapsed into their former licentiousness and disorderly violence. After Benedict, Franco a Roman who assumed the name of Boniface VII. held the pontifical chair for a short time only; for at the end of a month he was driven from Rome, and Donus II. of whom nothing is known but his name, succeeded to the chair. Donus died in 975, and Benedict VII. governed the Romish church very quietly during nine years, or till A.D. 984. His prosperous reign was probably to be ascribed wholly to the wealth and influence of the family from which he originated. For he was the grandson of that Alberic

[1] Mosheim is incorrect in asserting that Alberic himself raised his son to the pontificate. This patrician and prince of Rome was in fact a tyrant, who had irregularly usurped the supremacy at Rome; but he died in the year 954 and while Agapetus was still living; so that he transmitted to his son only what he himself possessed,—the civil dominion of the city. On the death of Agapetus in the year 956, Octavius was advised by his friends to place himself in St. Peter's chair; and this he found not difficult to accomplish, although his age rendered him unfit for the place, for he was perhaps not then nineteen years old. He was the first pope so far as is known who changed his name. Yet it was only in spiritual affairs that he assumed the name of John, in all worldly matters he still retained his former one. See Muratori, ad ann. 954 and 956.—*Schl.*

[2] The charges against John XII. were that he had said mass without communicating; that he had ordained a deacon in a stable; that he had taken money for ordinations; and had ordained as a bishop a child only ten years old; that he carried on amours with various females, one of whom had been his father's concubine; that he turned the holy palace into a brothel; that he was given to hunting; that he had put out the eyes of his god-father, and had castrated one of the cardinals; that he had set several houses on fire, and had frequently been seen clad in armour with a sword by his side; that he had drunken to the health of the devil; that in playing at dice he had invoked Jupiter, Venus, and other pagan deities; that he had never said matins or any other canonical hours, and never signed himself with the sign of the cross. See Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. v. p. 108, 109.—*Mur.*

[3] On a certain evening he retired out of the city to spend the night in criminal converse with a married woman. There he received a wound, perhaps from the injured husband, of which he died eight days after. Fleury, *Hist. de l' Eglise*, liv. lvi. Sec. 10, on the authority of Luitprand.—*Mur.*

[4] In this history of the pontiffs of this century I have consulted the original authorities, most of which are given by Muratori in his *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.*; and I have also examined the writings of others who have consulted the sources of information, namely, Baronius, De Marca, Sigonius, *De Regno Italiæ*, with the learned notes of Saxius, Muratori's *Annales Italiæ*, Pagi, and others. The general correctness of these statements no one can doubt; yet many parts of this history undoubtedly need more light, and that it may have been corrupted by the partialities of the writers on whom we have to depend, cannot be denied.

who had been so powerful a prince or rather tyrant at Rome.

7. His successor John XIV. previously bishop of Pavia, was destitute of the support derived from family connections, and was abandoned by Otho III. by whose influence he had been elected. Hence his end was tragical; for Boniface VII. who had thrust himself into the see of Rome in the year 974, and being soon after expelled had retired to Constantinople, now returned to Rome, cast John into prison, and there dispatched him. Yet Boniface's prosperity was of short duration, for he died six months after. He was succeeded by John XV. who by many is denominated John XVI. on account of another John whom they represent as reigning at Rome four months. This John XV. or XVI. governed the church during almost eleven years, from A.D. 985 to 996, with as much prosperity as the troubled state of the Roman affairs would permit; which was owing not so much to his personal virtues and prudence, as to his Roman birth and to the nobility of his house. Of course his German successor, Gregory V. whom the emperor Otho III. commanded the Romans to elect A.D. 996, was not equally prosperous. For the Roman consul Crescens expelled him from the city, and placed John XVI. who before was called Philagathus at the head of the church. But Otho III. returning to Italy A.D. 998 with an army, deprived John of his eyes, nose, and ears; and committing him to prison restored Gregory to the chair. And Gregory dying soon after, the emperor raised his preceptor and friend, the celebrated Gerbert or Sylvester II. to the chair of St. Peter with the approbation of the Romans.[1]

8. Notwithstanding these perpetual commotions and the reiterated crimes and contests of those who called themselves Christ's vicegerents on earth, so great was the influence of ignorance and superstition in those times, that the power and authority of the Roman pontiffs gradually and imperceptibly advanced.[2] Otho the Great indeed introduced a law, that no Roman pontiff should be created without the knowledge and consent of the emperor; and this regulation continued as all admit from his time to the end of the century. This emperor too, as well as his son and grandson of the same name, held uniformly their right of supremacy over the city of Rome and its territory, as well as over the Roman pontiff; as is demonstrable by many examples. The more intelligent bishops likewise of France, Germany, and Italy were on their guard throughout the century, to prevent the Romish bishop from arrogating to himself alone legislative power in the church. But still the pontiffs, sometimes openly and directly and sometimes by stratagems, invaded the rights both of emperors and kings, and also of the bishops;[3] among whom were several who flattered them and favoured their designs. It has been observed by learned men that there were bishops in this century, though never before, who called the pontiffs, bishops of the world instead of bishops of Rome; and that some even among the French clergy conceded what had never been heard of, that bishops receive indeed all their power from God but only through St. Peter.[4]

9. The inferior bishops eagerly copied after the example of the principal bishop, by labouring to extend their authority. From the times of Charlemagne and his sons, many bishops and abbots had obtained for their tenants and estates, exemption from the jurisdiction of the counts and other magistrates, as well as from all imposts and taxes. But in this century they

[1] The history of the Roman pontiffs of this period is very barren and uninteresting; and besides is involved in considerable uncertainty. I have followed, for the most part, Muratori, *Annales Italiæ*, and Papebroch's *Conatus Chronologico-Historicus de Romanis Pontificibus*, which is prefixed to his *Acta Sanctor.* Maii.

[2] Yet no traces of any dominion of the popes over the monasteries are as yet discoverable. In the year 968 the monastery of St. Gall was visited by imperial commissioners. The abbot of Richenau had complained of the monks there to Hedwig, the widowed duchess of Suabia; and through her the complaint reached the imperial court. The emperor appointed for this visitation eight bishops, of whom Henry of Trèves was the first Commissioner, together with eight abbots; and he commanded the commissioners to proceed mildly with the abbot of St. Gall, who was his kinsman. Here is no shadow of papal jurisdiction. (See Ekkebart, *De Casibus S. Galli*, cap. xi.) Yet the popes laid hold of various occasions to extend their power over monasteries. Thus we read of Sylvester II. that he arbitrarily declared the monastery of Lorsheim free from other jurisdiction; and ordered that whenever the monks deviated from their rule, they should be corrected by the Roman pontiff, and if this was not effectual the emperor should be called upon. (Regiæ potestati deputarentur.) See Mabillon, *Annales Ord. S. Bened.* sæcul. v. p. 43.—So also in the year 973 the pope called the monastery of Corvey, whose privileges had been established by the Emperor Otho, a daughter of the apostolic see and subject only to it. The great lords in the mean time exercised sovereign power in ecclesiastical things unrestrained, in Spain, in Germany, in England, in Italy, in Hungary, &c. The German churches possessed also the right of electing their own bishops; and the popes acknowledged the right of the German kings to give investiture to their bishops. See Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. vi. par. i. p. 153, &c. where Pope John X. says explicitly: "Cum prisca consuetudo vigeat, *ut nullus alicui clerico episcopatum conferre debeat, nisi rex*, cui divinitus sceptra collata sunt—hoc nullo modo esse potest, ut *absque regali præceptione* in qualibet parochia Episcopus sit consecratus."—*Schl.*

[3] Examples are adduced in the *Hist. du Droit Ecclés. François*, tome i. p. 217, ed. in 8vo.

[4] The Benedictine monks in their *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome vi. p. 78, 79, 98, 186, &c.

laboured to obtain also civil jurisdiction over the cities and districts of country subject to them, and coveted the functions of dukes, marquesses, and counts.[1] For whereas violent contests respecting jurisdiction and other matters, frequently sprang up between the dukes, the governors of cities, or the counts and marquesses on the one hand and the bishops on the other, these latter taking advantage of favourable occasions, left no means unattempted to secure to themselves those high offices; and the kings and emperors not unfrequently granted their petitions, sometimes in order to put an end to the contentions and broils among the civil and military magistrates, sometimes from their reverence for religion, and sometimes with a view to augment their own power by means of the bishops. And hence it was, that from this time onward so many bishops and abbots were also to be seen sustaining characters entirely foreign from their sacred functions, and enjoying the rank of dukes, marquesses, counts, and viscounts.[2]

10. Besides their ignorance which was extreme,[3] the body of the Latin clergy were chargeable with two great vices, deplored by most of the writers of those times, namely, concubinage and simony. In the first place, very generally not only the priests but the monks also connected themselves with women, some indeed in a lawful, but others in an unlawful manner; and upon these wives and concubines and the children born of them, they squandered the property of the church.[4] In the next place, there was scarcely any such thing as the regular and canonical election of bishops and abbots; but kings, princes, and nobles either conferred the sacred offices on their friends and ministers for whom they had partiality, or sold them to the highest bidders.[5] Hence men the most unfit and flagitious, sometimes soldiers, civil magistrates, and counts, were frequently invested with spiritual offices of the highest dignity and influence. In the following century Gregory VII. endeavoured to cure both of these evils.

11. Among the Greek and Oriental monks there was more appearance of religion and decorum; but among the Latin monks at the beginning of this century, discipline was so low that most of them did not even know, that the rule they had bound themselves to follow was called the rule of St. Benedict. To this evil a remedy not altogether unsuccessful was applied by Odo, a French nobleman, who was a learned and devout man according to the standard of that age. Being made abbot of Cluny in Burgundy, a province of France, after the death of Berno, A.D. 927, he not only obliged his monks to live according to their rule, but also bound them to observe additional rites and regulations, which had an air of sanctity, but were in reality trivial as well as onerous

[1] Among these may be reckoned the regulation of tolls and coinage, which some of them obtained. Thus for example the archbishopric of Trèvee obtained these rights from king Lewis A.D. 902. See Brower's *Annal. Trevir.* lib. ix. and Köhler's *Reichshistorie*, p. 54. And in the year 946 the emperor Otho bestowed on the monastery of Gemblours the control of the market and of coinage, the free election of their own abbots and advocates, and the right of erecting fortifications. See Mabillon, *Annal. Ord. S. Bened.* p. 483, 484. In like manner Otho II. conferred on Milo, bishop of Minden, the right of coining money. *Chron. Episco. Mindens.* p. 166, 167, in Leibnitz's *Scriptores Brunsw.* tom. ii. And likewise Adalgag, archbishop of Hamburg, received from the munificence of Otho great power and direct civil dominion, namely, the judicial power, the right to levy tolls and to coin money, and in short whatever related to the royal finance, to the exclusion of all royal functionaries from these affairs. See Lambecius, *Orig. Hamburg.* p. 10, 11; Pagi, *Crit ad Baron Annal.* ann. 988, sec. 1, 2.—*Schl.* [Pagi also tells us (from Witichind, lib. i. and the *Chron. Belgic. Magn.*) that similar powers were granted by Otho I. to the archbishoprics of Cologne and Mentz, and to the bishopric of Spire and Minden. He adds, however, that it is not lawful for bishops to preside personally in the temporal courts, but only by their deputies.—*Mur.*

[2] Thomassin, in his *Disciplina Ecclesiæ vet. et nova*, tom. iii. lib. i. cap. xxviii. p. 89, has collected much matter in order to evince that the functions of dukes and counts were sustained by bishops as early as the ninth century. And some of the bishops pretend to trace the origin of their secular power back to the eighth century. But I greatly mistake if any indubitable instance can be produced of earlier date than the tenth century. [The student will find this subject, the growth of the secular power of bishops, carefully examined by Gieseler, and the authorities detailed with his characteristic research and accuracy, in his *Lehrbuch*, &c. Cunningham's transl. vol. ii. p. 91.—*R.*

[3] Ratherius, in his *Itinerarium* (published by D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. i. p. 381) says of the priests of Verona: *sciscitatus de fide illorum, inveni plurimos neque ipsum sapere symbolum, qui fuisse creditur Apostolorum.* [The same writer gives us (p. 376) a copy of the charge which he issued to the presbyters of his diocese, Verona. In this charge he requires all priests to be able to repeat the three creeds, namely, the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian; and moreover to come severally and repeat them before him. He also calls upon them to consider why the Lord's day is so named, and if they do not know, to make inquiry and learn. He likewise directs each of them to have a written exposition of the creed and the Lord's prayer, and to make himself so far master of both as to be able to explain, or at least be able to repeat correctly the prayers and the office of the mass; and he expressed his wish that they might be able not only to read the lessons called the Epistle and the Gospel, but also to give a literal explanation of them.—*Mur.*

[4] That this custom commenced in the beginning of this century, appears from Orderic Vitalis and others, and particularly from an epistle of Mantio, bishop of Chalons, published by Mabillon, *Analecta Veter.* p. 429, ed. nova. Of the Italian monks who supported wives and concubines and thus misused the church property, see Hugo, *De Monasterii Farfensis Destructione*; in Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. vi. p. 278, &c.

[5] Very significant examples and testimonies may be seen in the *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 23, 37, tom. ii. p. 173, 179. See also Abbo's *Apologeticum*, subjoined to the *Codex Canon.* of Pithœus, p. 398, and Mabillon *Annales Bened.* tom. v. and others.

and inconvenient.[1] This new form of monastic life procured for its author great fame and honour; and in a short time it was propagated over all Europe. For very many of the ancient monasteries in France, Germany, Italy, Britain, and Spain, adopted the discipline of Cluny; and the new monasteries which were erected were by their founders subjected to the same discipline. Thus was formed in the next century the venerable order of Cluny, or that body of associated Cluniacensians which was so widely extended and so renowned for its wealth and power.[2]

12. The more distinguished writers of this century are easily enumerated. Among the Greeks was Simeon Magister, chancellor of Constantinople. He transcribed the earlier written lives of the saints for the sake of giving them a better form, and clothing them in a better style; for which he obtained the surname of Metaphrastes.[3] But in digesting, polishing, and embellishing these lives of Saints, he is said to have enlarged the original narratives by the addition of many of his own fictions and silly tales. Nicon, an Armenian monk, has left us a tract on the religion of the Armenians which is by no means contemptible.[4] The two authors of Catenæ, Olympiodorus and Œcumenius,[5] are placed by some in this century; but it is wholly on conjectural grounds. With better reason Suidas, the famous lexicographer, is placed among the writers of this century.[6] The most distinguished author among the Arabian Christians was Eutychius, bishop of Alexandria, whose Annals with other writings are still extant.[7]

[1] See Mabillon, *Annales Bened.* tom. iii. p. 386, &c. and *Præfatio ad Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. v. p 26, &c. Mabillon treats largely of Berno, the first abbot and the founder of the order of Cluny, in his *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæc. v. p. 66, and of Odo, ibid. p. 122, &c. The general history of this order is neatly written by Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Religieuses*, tome v. p. 184, &c. The present state of Cluny is described by Martene, *Voyage Littér. de deux Bénédictin.* part i. p. 227, &c.

[2] I am mistaken if most of the writers on ecclesiastical history have not misapprehended the import of the word order, as applied to the Cluniacensians, Cistertians, and others. For they take it to mean a new monastic institute or a new sect of monks; in which they mistake by confounding the modern use of the term with its ancient meaning. The term order, as used by the writers of that age, at first signified merely some particular form of monastic discipline. But from this use of the word another gradually arose; for the word order denoted a society or association of many monasteries acknowledging one head, and following the same rules of life. The order of Cluny was not a new monastic sect like the orders of Carthusians, Dominicans, and Franciscans; but it denoted first that mode of living which Odo prescribed to the Benedictine monks of Cluny, and then the whole number of monasteries in different parts of Europe which embraced these regulations and united in a kind of association of which the abbot of Cluny in France was the head.

[3] See Leo Allatius, *De Symeonum Scriptis*, p. 24, &c. Bolland, *Præfatio ad Acta Sanctorum*, Antw. sec. iii. p. vi. &c. [Simeon Metaphrastes was of noble birth, and a man of both genius and learning. The emperor Leo made him his principal secretary, patrician, logothetes or high chancellor, and master of the palace. He flourished about A.D. 901; and devoted his time, when the business of his offices did not prevent, to the re-writing of the lives of the saints. How many narratives he revised or composed anew it is difficult to state; because the religious biographies of subsequent writers have been ascribed to him. Of the 661 narratives long and short which have been attributed to him, Leo Allatius supposes 122 are actually of his revision, 444 he attributes to other authors whom he names, and 95 he thinks are not Simeon's, but he cannot ascertain to whom they should be attributed.—Many of the genuine narratives of Simeon have found their way into the large collections of Surius and Bolland; but the greater part of the whole were never printed.—Besides these revised biographies a number of orations, epistles, and short poems, hymns, &c. are extant as the productions of Simeon See Cave's *Hist. Liter.* tom. ii. and Fleury, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, liv. lv. sec. 31.—*Mur.* [He lived to 976 or 77. See the *Onomasticon literarium* of Saxius (tom. ii. p. 135) for references to works which serve to illustrate his character and works.—*R.*

[4] Nicon was born in Pontus and educated in a monastery on the confines of Pontus and Paphlagonia. About the year 961 his abbot sent him out as a Christian missionary; and he travelled in Armenia and various countries of the east and in Greece. He was accounted a saint, and miracles are related of him. His book, *De pessima Religione Armenorum* in a Latin translation is extant in the *Biblio. Patrum.*—*Mur.*

[5] For an account of Œcumenius of Tricca see especially Montfaucon, *Biblioth. Coislin.* p. 274. [Œcumenius, bishop of Tricca in Thrace, is placed in this century because he quotes Photius who lived in the ninth century, but mentions no later writer. His brief Scholia on the Acts of the Apostles and on the canonical Epistles are all borrowed from the fathers, and especially from Chrysostom. His works were printed at Paris, Gr. and Lat. 1631, two vols. fol.—Olympiodorus, a Greek monk and a deacon of Alexandria of uncertain age, is author of an exposition of the book of Ecclesiastes; printed Gr. and Lat. in Fronto le Duc's *Auctarium*, tom. ii. p. 602. The *Catena* on Job ascribed to him is more probably the work of Nicetas, in the middle of the next century. It was published, Gr. and Lat. by Fr. Junius, Lond. 1637, fol.—*Mur.*

[6] That Suidas lived in the latter part of this century is inferred from his computations in the article Ἀδάμ, which all terminate with the reign of the emperor John Zimisces, who died of poison A.D. 975. His Dictionary, which is a kind of historical and literary Encyclopædia, was best published by Kuster, Cambridge, 1705, 3 vols. fol.—*Mur.* [With *Emendationes in Suidam*, by the Rev. T. Toup, Lond. 1760—75, in three parts and an appendix.—*R.*

[7] See Fabricius, *Bibliogra. Antiq.* p. 179, and Renandot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 347. [Eutychius was a native of Egypt, and the Melchite or orthodox patriarch of Alexandria from A.D. 933 to 950. His Arabic name was Said Ibn Batrik, that is Said the son of Batrik. Said signifies Blessed, which in Greek is Εὐτυχής or Eutychius. He lived unhappily with his flock and died at the age of 75. His principal work is his *Annals* from the creation to A.D. 937; edited by E. Pocock, Arab. and Lat. Oxford, 1658, 4to. He also wrote a history of Sicily after its conquest by the Saracens, a disputation between the heterodox and Christians in opposition to the Jacobites, and some medical tracts; all of which still exist in manuscript.

The Greek writers of this century, omitted by Mosheim, are the following.

John Cameniata, a reader in the church of Thessalonica. When that city was taken and plundered by the Saracens A.D. 904, John was made prisoner and carried to Tarsus, where he composed a full and interesting *History of the destruction of Thessalonica* and of his own sufferings. It was published, Gr. and Lat. by Leo Allatius, *Symmict.* par. ii. p. 180; and in the *Corpus Hist. Byzant.* tom. xvi. p. 240, &c.

Hippolytus of Thebes, who has been confounded

13. The best among the Latin writers was Gerbert or Sylvester II. the Roman pontiff, of whom we have spoken before.[1] The rest deserve no higher character than that of indifferent writers. Odo, who laid the foundation of the Cluniacensian association or order, has left some writings which have few marks of genius and discernment, but many of superstition.[2] Some tracts of Ratherius of Verona are extant; which indicate a mind of good powers and imbued with the love of justice and integrity.[3] Atto of Vercelli composed a tract on ecclesiastical grievances, which throws light on the state of those times.[4] Dunstan, an Englishman, compiled for the benefit of monks a Harmony of monastic rules.[5] Ælfric of Canterbury deserved well of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain by a variety of tracts.[6] Burchard, bishop of Worms, aided the study of canon law by a volume of Decreta in twenty books. But he was not the sole compiler, for he was aided by Olbert.[7] Odilo of Lyons has left us some frigid sermons and other things not much better.[8] Of those who wrote

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with Hippolytus Portuensis of the third century. He flourished about A.D. 933. A *Chronicon* or part of one composed by him was published, Gr. and Lat. by Canisius, *Lection. Antiq.* tom. iii. p. 35. It is probable he also composed the brief notices of the twelve apostles which have gone under the name of the earlier Hyppolytus.

Moses Bar-Cepha, bishop of Beth-Raman, and supervisor of the churches in the regions of Babylonia. He lived in this century, but in what part of it is uncertain. He composed in Syriac three books *De Paradiso;* which Masius translated into Latin and then published his translation, Antw. 1568, 8vo. It is also in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xvii. p. 456.

Sisinnius, patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 994—997, composed a tract *De Nuptiis Consobrinorum*, which is in Leunclavius, *Jus Gr. et Rom.* lib. iii. p. 197.—*Mur.*

[1] See the preceding chapter, sec. 7, 8, and Note 2, p. 332.

[2] *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome vi. p 229. [His life written by John, one of his intimate friends, and the same revised by Nalgod two centuries after, are in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. vii. or Sæcul. vi. p. 150—199; to which Mabillon prefixed a full account composed by himself; ibid. p. 124, &c. He was a Frenchman, brought up in the court of William, Duke of Aquitain, and educated at Tours and Paris. He early became a monk and a great admirer of St. Martin of Tours. From the year 912 till his death in 942, he was engaged in teaching school, presiding in monasteries, making journeys to Rome and Paris, &c. on public business. His works are several legends concerning St. Martin, St. Mary Magdalen, &c.; a life of St. Gerard, Count of Orleans, an abridgment of Gregory's Morals on Job, and devotional pieces. They are all published in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xvii.—*Mur.* [For an account of Odo and his works see Bähr, *Gesch. der Römis. Liter.* Suppl. vol. par. iii. p. 538.—*R.*

[3] *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome vi. p. 339. [See note 1 on the preceding chapter, p. 331.—*Mur.*

[4] *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome vi. p. 281. [Atto Secundus was a native of Lombardy, a man of learning and virtue, according to the standard of the age. Augustine was his favourite author. He presided over the church of Vercelli from A.D. 945 till his death in 960. His works were republished in a more complete form in 2 vols. fol. Vercelli, 1769. They comprise a collection of canons and ecclesiastical statutes for the use of his church, *De Pressuris Ecclesiasticis*, (on the bishop's courts, their ordinations), and *De Facultatibus Ecclesiarum*, several Homilies, and a verbal Commentary on the Epistles of Paul.—*Mur.* [Of Atto, (Azzo in Italian and Hatto in German) and his works, see also Bähr, *ubi supra*, p. 543.—*R.*

[5] St. Dunstan was born in Somerset, educated at Glastonbury where he became a monk, and afterwards abbot. He served several years at court, was bishop of Worcester A.D. 956, bishop of London in 958, and archbishop of Canterbury from 961 to 988. He was a most zealous promoter of monkery and celibacy, and is reported to have wrought many miracles. His *Harmony* of monastic rules was published by Reiner, as an Appendix to his work on the antiquity of the Benedictine order in England, Douay, 1626, fol. See Hume's *History of England*, vol. i. ch. ii. p. 94, &c. His life and miracles composed by Osbern, a monk of Canterbury in the eleventh century, with extracts from others, may be seen in Mabillon, *Acta S S. Ord. Bened.* tom. vii. or Sæcul. v. p. 654—715.—*Mur.* [For further particulars respecting him, the English student may consult Lingard's *History of England;* Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 260, especially the note at p. 277; Wright's *Biogr. Brit. Liter. Anglo-Saxon period;* Dunham's *Europe during the Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 262—297. The Roman Catholic view of his character may be seen more fully developed in Wright's *Biographia Britannica Literaria, Anglo-Saxon period*, p. 443, &c.; and the protestant view in Soame's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, Lond. 1835, p. 167, &c. —*R.*

[6] Ælfric or Elfric or Alfric, archbishop of Canterbury from A.D. 996 to 1006, was a monk of Abingdon, and (as Ussher supposes) filled several other offices in the church during forty years, before he was made archbishop of Canterbury. Most of the writings generally ascribed to him are by some ascribed to another monk of the same name, who was made archbishop of York and died A.D. 1051. See Wharton's *Dissert. de Duobus Alfricis*, in his *Anglia Sacra;* and Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. viii. p. 61, &c. The works ascribed to Ælfric of Canterbury are a Biblical History, a Homily on the body and blood of Christ, (in which he disproves transubstantiation;) an Epistle to Wulfin, bishop of Sherburne, another to Wulfsine, archbishop of York, a Penitentiary, and an Epistle to Wulfin, on the ecclesiastical canons. These have been published, and most of them in Saxon and Latin. Besides these there exist in MS. a collection of eighty Sermons, a Saxon Chronicle, a translation of the canons of the Nicene council, a translation of St. Gregory's Dialogue, with several lives of monkish saints, all in the Saxon language; also a Latin-Saxon dictionary, a grammar of the Saxon language, Extracts from Priscian, &c. See Cave's *Hist. Liter* vol. ii.—*Mur.* [The general opinion now is that the Elfric who wrote the preceding works, was of York and not of Canterbury. There is a full account of him in Soames' *Anglo-Saxon Church*, Lond. 1835, p. 218—229. See also Wright's *Biogr. Britan. Liter. Anglo-Saxon period.*—*R.*

[7] See the *Chronicon Wormatiense* in Ludwig's *Reliquiæ Manuscriptor.* tom. ii. p. 43; and the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome vii. p. 595, &c. [Burchard, a Hessian, was first a monk of Laubes, and then bishop of Worms from A.D. 996 to 1026. He commenced his great work on canon law while in his monastery and with the aid of his instructor Olbert, but completed it during his episcopate. It was first published at Cologne, 1548, fol. and afterwards in 8vo. Though still in twenty books it contains not a sixth part of the original work. Its authority is very small, being compiled without due care and often from spurious works. The full title of the book is, *Magnum Decretorum* (or *Canonum*) *Volumen;* but it is often cited by the title *Decretum*, and also by that of *Brocardica* or *Brocardicorum Opus*, from the French and Italian *Brocard* i.e. *Burchard.* See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxii. p. 414, &c.—*Mur.*

[8] St. Odilo was a native of Auvergne, educated at Cluny where he became the abbot A.D. 994. He afterwards refused the archbishopric of Lyons; and died abbot of Cluny A.D. 1049, aged eighty-seven years. His works, as published by Du Chesne in his *Biblioth.*

histories and annals, this is not the place to treat.[1]

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

1. THAT the most important doctrines of Christianity were misunderstood and perverted, and that those which remained uncorrupted were obscured by the addition of the most foolish opinions, is manifest from every writer of this period. The essence of religion was supposed, by both Greeks and Latins, to consist in the worship of images, in honouring departed saints, in searching for and preserving sacred relics, and in heaping riches upon the priests and monks. Scarcely an individual ventured to approach God without first duly propitiating the images and the saints. And in searching after relics and hoarding them, all were zealous even to frensy; and if we may believe the monks nothing was more an object of the divine solicitude, than to indicate to doting old women and bareheaded monks the places where the corpses of holy men were deposited. The fire which burns out the stains remaining on human souls after death, was an object of intense dread to all, nay was more feared than the punishments of hell. For the latter it was supposed might be easily escaped, if they only died rich in the prayers and merits of the priests or had some saint to intercede for them; but not so the former. And the priests, perceiving this dread to conduce much to their advantage, endeavoured by their discourses and by fables and fictitious miracles, continually to raise it higher and higher.

2. The controversies respecting grace and the Lord's supper which disquieted the preceding century, were at rest in this. For each party, as appears from various testimonies, left the other at liberty either to retain the sentiments they had embraced, or to change them. Nor was it an object of much inquiry in this illiterate and thoughtless age, what the theologians believed on these and other subjects. Hence among those who flourished in this century we find followers both of Augustine and of Pelagius; and perhaps as many can be discovered who supposed the real body and blood of Christ were literally present in the eucharist, as there were who either had no established opinion on the subject, or believed the Lord's body to be not present, and to be received in the eucharist only by a holy exercise of the soul.[2] Let no one however ascribe this moderation and forbearance to the wisdom and virtue of the age; it was rather the want of intelligence and knowledge which rendered them both indisposed and unable to contend on these subjects.

3. Innumerable examples and testimonies show that immense superstition flourished everywhere throughout the Christian world. To this were added many futile and groundless opinions, fostered by the priests for their own advantage. Among the opinions which dishonoured and disquieted the Latin churches in this century, none produced more excitement than the belief that the day of final consummation was at hand. This belief was derived in the preceding century from the Apocalypse of John, xx.

Cluniacensis, Paris, 1614, and thence in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xvii. consist of fourteen sermons on the festal days, lives of St. Maiolus and St. Adelaidis, four hymns, and some letters. His own life, written by his pupil Jotsald, is given us by Mabillon, together with a long biographical preface, in the *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. viii. p. 631—710.—*Mur.* [See also Fabricius, *Biblio. Latin. Med. Ævi*, tom. v. p. 447-9.—*R.*

[1] The *Latin writers* omitted by Mosheim were some of them mere authors of the lives of certain monks and saints. Such were Stephen, abbot of Laubes and A.D. 903, bishop of Liege; Hubald, or Hucbald, a French monk who flourished under Charles the Bald A.D. 916; Gerard, deacon of the cloister of St. Medard A.D. 932; Fridegodus, a monk of Canterbury, A.D. 960; and Adso, abbot of Montier en Der in France, A.D. 980. Most of the others were popes or bishops, who have left us only some epistles. Such were John X. pope A.D. 915—928;—Agapatus II. pope A.D. 946—956;—John XII. pope A.D. 956—963;—John XIII. pope A.D. 965—972;—Pilgrim or Peregrine, archbishop of Lorch, A.D. 971—992;—Benedict VI. pope A.D. 972—974;—Benedict VII. pope A.D. 975—984;—John XV. pope A.D. 986—996; and Gregory V. pope A.D. 996—999. To these classes of writers may be subjoined the two following individuals.

Roswida or Roswitha, a learned and devout nun of Gandersheim in Germany, who flourished about A.D. 980. She understood Greek as well as Latin, in which she wrote. Her compositions are all in verse, namely, a panegyric on Otho the Great, eight Martyrdoms of early saints, six sacred Comedies on various subjects, but chiefly in praise of the saints, and a poem on the establishment of her monastery. These were best edited by Schurzfleisch, Wittemb. 1707, 4to. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxi. p. 177, 256. [Respecting this "clarissima virgo," also called Hroswitha, see Vossius, *Hist. Latin.* cap. 41, tom. ii. p. 328; Pagi, *Critica*, &c. ad ann. 925; Leyserus, *Hist. Poetar. Med. Ævi*, p. 287-9. Fabricius, *Bibl. Lat.* tom. i. p. 719, and tom. iii. p. 322.—*R.*

Herier or Hariger, abbot of Laubes, A.D. 990—1007. He wrote a history of the bishops of Liege, a tract on the body and blood of Christ, and the lives of three saints.—*Mur.*

[2] That the Latin doctors of this century held different opinions respecting the manner in which the body and blood of Christ are present in the sacred Supper is very clearly attested: nor do learned men among the Roman Catholics, who follow truth rather than party feelings, disavow the fact. That the doctrine of *transubstantiation* was at this time unknown to the English, has been shown from their Public *homilies*, by Rapin, *Hist. d'Angleterre*, tome i. p. 463. Yet that this doctrine was then received by some of the French and German divines may be as easily demonstrated. [For a judicious account of the opinions of the Saxon English church concerning the eucharist, see Collier's *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, vol. i. cent. x. p. 204, 266.—*Macl.*

2—4; and being advanced by many in this century it spread over all Europe, and excited great terror and alarm among the people. For they supposed St. John had explicitly foretold that after a thousand years from the birth of Christ, Satan would be let loose, Antichrist would appear and the end of the world would come. Hence immense numbers transferring their property to the churches and monasteries, left all and proceeded to Palestine, where they supposed Christ would descend from heaven to judge the world. Others by a solemn vow consecrating themselves and all they possessed to the churches, the monasteries, and the priests, served them in the character of slaves, performing the daily tasks assigned them; for they hoped the supreme Judge would be more favourable to them, if they made themselves servants to his servants. Hence also whenever an eclipse of the sun or moon occurred, most people betook themselves to caverns, rocks, and caves. Very many also gave a large part of their estates to God and the saints, that is, to the priests and monks. And in many places, edifices both sacred and secular were suffered to go to decay, and in some instances actually pulled down from the expectation that they would no longer be needed. This general delusion was opposed indeed by a few wiser individuals, yet nothing could overcome it till the century had closed. But when the century ended without any great calamity, the greater part began to understand that John had not really predicted what they so much feared.[2]

[1] "And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years," &c. They understood this text to refer to the times of the Christian dispensation. And as Satan was to be loosed after the thousand years, and as the vision proceeds immediately to describe the general judgment, they concluded the world would come to an end about A.D. 1000.—*Mur.*

[2] Almost all the donations of this century afford evidence of this general delusion in Europe. For the reason assigned for the gift is generally thus expressed: *Appropinquante mundi termino*, &c. [i. e. *The end of the world being now at hand.*] Of the many other proofs of the prevalence of this opinion (which was so profitable to the clergy), I will adduce only one striking passage from Abbo of Fleury, in his *Apologeticum adversus Arnulphum*, which Pithœus has subjoined to the *Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Romanæ*, p. 401. "When a little boy (in the tenth century) I heard a public discourse delivered in the church of Paris concerning the end of the world; that immediately after the thousand years terminated, Antichrist would come, and not long after that the universal judgment would follow. This doctrine I resisted as far as I was able from the Gospels, the Apocalypse, and the book of Daniel. At last my abbot of blessed memory, Richard, very skilfully eradicated the inveterate error respecting the end of the world, after receiving the letter from the Lotharingians which I was to answer. For the rumour had filled nearly the whole world that when the Annunciation of Mary should fall on Saturday, then beyond all doubt the end of the world would take place."

4. The number of the acknowledged saints, *i. e.* of the purple-clad inmates of the heavenly court and ministers of state in the world above, was everywhere on the increase.[3] For this age of unparalleled thoughtlessness and superstition required a host of patrons. Besides so great was the wickedness and madness of most people, that the reputation of being a saint was obtained without much effort. Whoever was by nature rather austere and of coarse manners, or exhibited a strong imagination, appeared amidst such a profligate multitude as one who had intimate converse with God. The Roman pontiff, who had previously begun to assume to himself the right of making new saints, gave the first specimen of the actual exercise of this power in this century; at least no example of an earlier date is extant. John XV. in the year 993, by a solemn act enrolled Udalrich, bishop of Augsburg, among those to whom Christians might lawfully address prayers and worship.[4] Yet this act must not be understood to imply that from this time onward none but the Roman pontiff might enroll a saint.[5] For there are examples which show that down to the twelfth century, the bishops of the higher rank and provincial councils without even consulting the pontiff, placed in the list of saints such as they deemed to be worthy of it.[6] But in the twelfth century Alexander

[3] Yet it should be remarked that before the year 994, prayers to the saints and to the Virgin Mary are not mentioned in the canons of the English churches. They are first enjoined in a collection of canons of this date, which is in Wilkin's *Concilia*, tom. i. p. 265. We read however in a circular Epistle of John XV. in the year 993: Sic *adoramus* et colimus *reliquias* martyrum et confessorum, ut eum [Christum], cujus martyres sunt, adoremus—si quis contradicat, Anathema. Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. par. i. p. 726.—*Schl.*

[4] Pagi, *Breviar. Pontif. Roman.* tom. ii. p. 259, &c.

[5] This opinion was held by the friends of the Romish court; and in particular by Bonannus, *Numismat. Pontif. Romanor.* tom. i. p. 41, &c.

[6] See the remarks of Pagi, *Breviarium*, tom. ii. p. 260, tom. iii. p. 30, and of Chapelle, *Bibliothèque Angloise*, tome x. p. 105, and Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* Præf. ad Sæcul. v. p. 53. [The word *canon* in the middle ages denoted in general a *register* or a matriculation roll, and in a more limited sense a *list of the saints*; and to *canonize* a person who was to enroll his name in this book or register of the saints. In the earlier times none were recognised as saints except martyrs and confessors. But in the times of ignorance, the stupid people often selected and made for themselves saints who did not deserve the name. To remedy the evil it was ordained, that no one should be recognized as a saint till the bishop of the place, after investigation made, should declare him such. This was the practice in Europe from the seventh century onward. The popes canonized as well as others, but only in their own diocese. But at this time the chapter of Augsburg saw fit to request the pope to pronounce their bishop Ulrich a saint for all the churches. The bishop of Augsburg who succeeded Ulrich might have canonized this worthy man for the church of Augsburg; but in that case he would have been honoured only in his own diocese, and not throughout the whole church. The pope complied with the request without much inquiry.—*Schl.*

III. annulled this right of councils and bishops; and made canonization as it is called, to rank among the greater causes, or such as belong only to the pontifical court.

5. Of the labours of the theologians in sacred science and the different branches of it, little can be said. The holy scriptures no one explained in a manner which would place him high among even the lowest class of interpreters. For it is uncertain whether Olympiodorus and Œcumenius of Tricca belong to this century. Among the Latins, Remigius of Auxerre continued his exposition of the scriptures, which he commenced in the preceding century. He is very concise on the literal signification, but very copious and prolix on the mystical sense, which he prefers greatly to the literal meaning. Besides he exhibits not so much his own thoughts as those of others, deriving his explanations from the early interpreters. Odo's morals on Job are transcribed from the work of the same title by Gregory the Great. Those who were esteemed the best expositors of scripture in that age, may be learned from Notkerus Balbulus, who wrote a professed account of them.[1].

6. Systematic theology had not a single writer, Greek or Latin. The Greeks were satisfied with Damascenus, and the Latins with Augustine and Gregory the Great, who were in that age regarded as the greatest of theologians. Yet some also read Bede, and Rabanus Maurus. Moral and practical theology received less attention than in almost any age. If we except some discourses which are extremely meagre and dry, and the lives of saints which were composed among the Greeks by Simeon Metaphrastes, and among the Latins by Hubald, Odo, Stephen of Liege, and others, without fidelity and in very bad taste, there remains nothing more in this century which can be placed under the head of practical theology. Nor do we find that any one sought distinction by polemic writings, or confutations of the enemies of truth.

7. The controversies between the Greeks and Latins, in consequence of the troubles and calamities of the times, were carried on with much less noise than before; but they were not wholly at rest.[2] And those certainly much distort the truth who maintain that this pernicious discord was healed, and that the Greeks for a time came over to the Latins;[3] although it is true that the state of the times obliged them occasionally to form a truce, though a deceptive one. The Greeks contended violently among themselves respecting repeated marriages. The emperor Leo, surnamed the Wise or the Philosopher, having had no male issue by three successive wives, married a fourth born in humble condition, Zoe Carbinopsina. As such marriages by the canon law of the Greeks were accounted incestuous, the patriarch Nicolaus excluded the emperor from the communion. The emperor indignant at this deprived Nicolaus of his office, and put Euthymius into his place, who admitted the emperor indeed to the communion, but resisted the law which the emperor wished to enact permitting fourth marriages. Hence a schism and great animosity arose among the clergy; some siding with Nicolaus and others with Euthymius. Leo died soon after, and Alexander having deposed Euthymius restored Nicolaus to his office; who now assailed the character of the deceased emperor with the severest maledictions and execrations, and defended his opinion of the unlawfulness of fourth marriages in the most contentious manner. To put an end to these commotions so dangerous to the Greeks, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the son of Leo, assembled an ecclesiastical council at Constantinople in the year 920, which prohibited fourth marriages altogether, but allowed third marriages under certain restrictions. The publication of this law restored the public tranquillity.[4] Some other small contests of similar importance arose among the Greeks, which indicate their want of discernment, their ignorance of true religion, and how much the opinions of the fathers prevented them from exercising their own reason.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF CEREMONIES AND RITES.

1. How great a load of rites and ceremonies oppressed and stifled religion in this century, appears abundantly from the acts of councils held in England, France, Germany, and Italy. The many new-made

[1] His book is entitled, *De Interpretibus Divinarum Literarum*, and may be found in Pezius, *Thesaur. Anecdot. Noviss.* tom. i. par. i. p. 1. It was addressed to Solomon, afterwards bishop of Constance, whom it excited to the study not only of the biblical interpreters, but also of the ecclesiastical historians and the writers of biographies of the saints; so that it may be viewed as a guide to the best method of studying theology agreeably to the taste of those times.—*Schl.*

[2] Le Quien, *Diss.* i. *Damascenica, de Processione Spiritus S.* sec. 13, p. 12. Spanheim, *De Perpetua Dissensione Eccl. Orient. et Occident.* par. iv. sec. 7, *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 529.

[3] Leo Allatius, *De Perpetua Consensione Eccl. Orient. et Occident.* lib. ii. cap. vii. viii. p. 600, &c.

[4] These facts are faithfully collected from Cedrenus, Leunclavius (*de Jure Græco-Rom.* tom. i. p. 104, &c.) Leo Grammaticus, Simeon Logothetes, and other writers of Byzantine history.

citizens of heaven almost daily enrolled in the calendar, required the institution of new festal days, new forms of worship, and new religious rites. And in inventing these, the priests though in everything else stupid and inefficient, were wonderfully ingenious. Some of their arrangements flowed from the erroneous opinions on sacred and secular subjects, which the barbarous nations had derived from their ancestors and incorporated with Christianity. Nor did the guides of the church oppose these customs; but supposed they had fulfilled all their duty, when they had either honoured with some Christian forms what was worthless and base in itself, or had assigned to it some far-fetched allegorical import. Several customs accounted sacred arose from the silly opinions of the multitude respecting God and the inhabitants of heaven. For they supposed God and those intimate with him above, to be affected in the same manner as earthly kings and their nobles, who are rendered propitious by gifts and presents, and are gratified with frequent salutations and external marks of respect.

2. Near the end of this century in the year 998, by the influence of Odilo, abbot of Cluny, the number of festal days among the Latins was augmented, by the addition of the annual celebration in memory of all departed souls. Before this time it had been the custom in many places, to offer prayers on certain days for the souls in purgatory; but these prayers were offered only for the friends and patrons of a particular religious order or society. Odilo's piety was not to be thus limited; he wished to extend this kindness to all the departed souls who were suffering in the invisible world.[1] The author of the suggestion was a Sicilian recluse or hermit, who caused it to be stated to Odilo that he had learned from a divine revelation, that the souls in purgatory might be released by the prayers of the monks of Cluny.[2] At first therefore this was only a private regulation of the society of Cluny; but a Roman pontiff—who he was is unknown—approved of the institution, and ordered it to be everywhere observed.

3. The worship of the Virgin Mary which previously had been extravagant, was in this century carried much farther than before. Not to mention other things less certain, I observe first that near the close of this century the custom became prevalent among the Latins, of celebrating masses and abstaining from flesh on Saturdays in honour of St. Mary. In the next place, the daily office of St. Mary which the Latins call the lesser office was introduced, and it was afterwards confirmed by Urban II. in the council of Clermont. Lastly, pretty distinct traces of the Rosary and Crown of St. Mary, as they are called, or of praying according to a numerical arrangement, are to be found in this century. For they who tell us that St. Dominic invented the Rosary in the thirteenth century, do not bring satisfactory proof of their opinion.[3] The Rosary consisted of fifteen repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and one hundred and fifty salutations of St. Mary; and what the Latins called the Crown of St. Mary consisted of six or seven repetitions of the Lord's prayer and sixty or seventy salutations, according to the age ascribed by different authors to the holy virgin.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

1. THE amazing stupidity of the age which was the source of so many evils, had this one advantage, that it rendered the church tranquil and undisturbed by new sects and discords. The Nestorians and Monophysites began to experience more hardships under the Arabians than formerly; and they are said to have repeatedly suffered the greatest violence. But as many of them gained the good will of the great, by their skill in medicine or by their abilities as stewards and men of business, the persecutions which occasionally broke out were in a measure suppressed.[4]

2. The Manichæans or Paulicians, of

[1] See Mabillon, *Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened.* [tom viii.] or sæcul. vi. par. i. p. 584: where he gives the life of Odilo and his decree instituting this new festival. [The story of the hermit is differently related. One says the hermit stated that wandering near Mount Etna he overheard the souls burning in that volcano relate the benefits they received from the prayers of Odilo. Another represents the hermit as saying simply, it was divinely revealed to him. One likewise represents the hermit as stating that all the souls in purgatory enjoyed respite, two days each week, namely Mondays and Tuesdays. Another says he represented that several souls had been released entirely from purgatory by his prayers. And another that many souls might be released, &c. See Mabillon, *ubi supra*, p. 666, 701 (ed. Paris, 1701) and Fleury, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, livr. lix. sec. 57. All agree that the hermit made his representation to a French monk, then on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and bade him acquaint Odilo with it, which was accordingly done.—*Mur.*

[2] The pontiff Benedict XIV. or Prosper Lambertini, in his treatise *De Festis Jesu Christi, Mariæ, et Sanctorum*, lib. iii. cap. 22, *Opp.* tom. x. p. 671, very wisely observes silence respecting this obscure and disreputable origin of that anniversary; and thus shows us what he thought of it. In this work of Benedict XIV. are many specimens of the author's discernment.

[3] This is formally demonstrated by Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* Præf. ad sæcul. v. p. lviii. &c.

[4] Some Nestorians were private secretaries of the Kaliphs; and the Nestorian patriarch had such influence with the Kaliph, that the Jacobite and Greek bishops living among the Arabians were obliged in

whom mention has been made before, became considerably numerous in Thrace under the emperor John Tzimisces. As early as the eighth century Constantine Copronymus had removed a large portion of this sect to this province, that they might no longer disturb the tranquillity of the East; yet they still remained very numerous in Syria and the neighbouring countries. Theodorus therefore the bishop of Antioch, for the safety of his own flock did not cease importuning the emperor, until he ordered a new colony of Manichæans to be transplanted to Philippopolis.[1] From Thrace the sect removed into Bulgaria and Slavonia, in which countries they afterwards had a supreme pontiff of their sect; and they continued their residence there down to the time of the council of Basil or to the fifteenth century. From Bulgaria they migrated to Italy, and spreading thence into other countries of Europe, they gave much trouble to the Roman pontiffs.[2]

3. At the close of this century a plebeian of the name of Leuthard, in the village of Virtus near Chalons, attempted some innovations in religion; and in a short time drew a large share of the vulgar after him. He would allow of no images, for he is said to have broken the image of our Saviour. He maintained that tithes ought not to be given to the priests, and said that in the prophecies of the Old Testament, some things were true and some false. He pretended to be inspired; but bishop Gebwin drove the man to extremities, and at last he threw himself into a well.[3] I suppose the disciples of this man, who doubtless taught many other things besides what are stated above, joined themselves with those who in France were afterwards called Albigenses, and who are said to have leaned to the views of the Manichæans.

4. Some remains of the Arians still existed in certain parts of Italy, and especially in the region about Padua.[4] Ratherius, bishop of Verona, had a controversy with the Anthropomorphites from the year 939 onwards. For in the neighbourhood of Vicenza there were many persons, not only among the laity but the clergy, who supposed that God possesses a human form, and sits upon a golden throne in the manner of kings; and that his ministers or angels are winged men clothed in white robes.[5] These erroneous conceptions will not surprise us if we reflect that the people, who were extremely ignorant on all subjects and especially on religion, saw God and the angels so represented everywhere in the paintings which adorned the churches. Still more irrational was the superstition of those assailed by the same Ratherius, who were led, I know not how, to believe that

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their difficulties to put themselves under his protection. See Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Clem. Vatic.* tom. iv. p. 96—100.—*Schl.*

[1] Zonaras, *Annal.* lib. xvii. p. 209, ed. Paris; p. 164, ed. Venice.

[2] And as has been already observed perhaps some remains of the sect still exist in Bulgaria.

[3] An account of these transactions is given by Glaber Radulphus, *Hist.* lib. ii. cap. xi. [Fleury, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, livr. lviii. sec. 19, thus relates the whole story on the authority of Glaber. Near the close of the year 1000, a plebeian of the name of Leutard in the village of Virtus and diocese of Chalons, pretended to be a prophet and deceived many. Being at a certain time in the fields and fatigued with labour, he laid himself down to sleep; when a great swarm of bees seemed to enter the lower part of his body, and to pass out of his mouth with a great buzzing. They next began to sting him severely, and after tormenting him awhile they spoke to him and commanded him to do some things which were beyond human power. He returned home exhausted, and with a view to obey the divine admonition dismissed his wife. Then proceeding to the church as if for prayer, he entered it and seized and broke the image of the crucifix. The by-standers were amazed and supposed the man was deranged; but as they were simple rustics, he easily persuaded them that he had performed the deed under the direction of a supernatural and divine revelation. Leutard talked much and wished to be regarded as a great teacher. But in his discourses there was nothing solid and no truth. He said that the things taught by the prophets were to be believed only in part, and that the rest was useless. He declared that it was of no use to a man to pay his tithes. Fame now proclaimed him to be a man of God, and no small part of the vulgar went after him. But Geboin, the venerable and wise bishop of Chalons, summoned the man before him and interrogated him respecting all the things reported of him. He began to dissemble and conceal the poison of his wickedness, and quoted portions of the Scriptures which he had never studied. The sagacious bishop now convinced the blockhead of falsehood and madness, and in part reclaimed the people whom he had seduced. The wretched Leutard, finding his reputation ruined among the people, drowned himself in a well.—*Mur.*

[4] It appears from Ugelli's *Italia Sacra*, tom. v. p. 429 of the new edition, that in the diocese of Peter, the bishop of Padua, who died A.D. 942, there were many Arians whom that bishop strenuously opposed. And in the same work, p. 433, it is stated that bishop Goslin or Gauslin, who filled the see from the year 964 till into the following century, completely exterminated this sect.—*Schl.*

[5] Ratherius, Sermo i. *De Quadragesima* (in D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. i. p. 388) says:—"One of my people informed me three days ago of certain presbyters in the diocese of Vicenza adjoining us, who think God is corporeal, because we read in the Scriptures that the eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous and his ears open, &c. This disturbed me not a little. But, horrible to tell! I found the same perverseness cleaving to members of my own flock; for addressing them in public and showing that God is a spirit, some of my own priests to my astonishment muttered and said,—'What now shall we do? Hitherto it seemed to us that we knew something about God, but now it appears that God is nothing at all since he has no head, no eyes, &c.' No, you were stupidly fabricating idols in your own hearts, and forgetting the immensity of God were picturing, as it were, some great king seated on a golden throne, and the host of angels around as being winged men clothed in white garments, such as you see painted on the church walls, &c."—*Mur.*

St. Michael says mass every Monday, before God in heaven, and who therefore resorted on those days to the churches which were dedicated to St. Michael.[1] It is probable that the priests who performed service in the temples devoted to St. Michael, instilled this most absurd notion as they did other errors into the minds of the vulgar, in order to gratify their own avaricious views.

[1] Ratherius, *Epistola Synodica*, in D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. ii. p. 294, &c.; Sigbertus Gemblacensis, *Chronol.* ad ann. 939.

CENTURY ELEVENTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS OF THE CHURCH.

1. THE Hungarians, Danes, Poles, Russians, and other nations, who in the preceding century had received a kind of knowledge of the Christian religion, could not be brought universally in a short time, to prefer Christianity to the religions of their fathers. Therefore during the greatest part of this century their kings, with the teachers whom they drew around them, were occupied in gradually enlightening and converting these nations.[1] In Tartary[2] and the adjacent regions, the activity of the Nestorians continued daily to gain over more people to the side of Christianity. And such is the mass of testimony at the present day, that we cannot doubt but that bishops of the highest order or Metropolitans, with many inferior bishops subject to them, were established at that period in the provinces of Cashgar, Nuacheta, Turkestan, Genda, Tangut, and others.[3] Whence it will be manifest that there was a vast multitude of Christians in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in these countries, which are now either devoted to Mohammedism or worshippers of imaginary gods. And that all these Christians followed the Nestorian creed and were subject to the supreme pontiff of the Nestorians residing in Chaldea, is so certain as to be beyond all controversy.

2. For the conversion of the European nations who still lived enveloped in superstition and barbarism, as the Slavonians, the Obotriti, the Wends, the Prussians, &c. some pious and good men laboured indeed, but with either very little or no success. Near the close of the preceding century Adalbert, bishop of Prague, visited the ferocious nation of the Prussians, with a view to instruct them in the knowledge of Christianity; and the result was that he was murdered in the year 996 by Siggon, a pagan priest.[4] The king of Poland, Boleslaus Chrobry, avenged the death of Adalbert by a severe war, and laboured to accomplish by arms and penalties what Adalbert could not effect by arguments.[5] Yet there were not wanting some who seconded the king's violent measures by admonitions, instructions, and persuasions. In the first place, we are told that one Boniface of illustrious birth and a disciple of St. Romuald, and afterwards one Bruno with eighteen companions, went from Germany into Prussia as Christian missionaries.[6]

[1] For an account of the Poles and Russians, see the life of St. Romuald, in the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. Februar. p. 113, 114; and for the Hungarians, p. 117.

[2] The word Tartary is here used in its broadest sense; for I am not insensible that the Tartars, properly so called, are widely different from the Tangutians, Calmucs, Mongols, and other tribes.

[3] Marco Paulo the Venetian, *De Regionibus Orientalibus*, lib. i. cap. xxxviii. xl. xlv. xlvii. xlviii. xlix. lxii. lxiii. lxiv.; lib. ii. cap. xxxix.; Renaudot, *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine*, p. 320; Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 502, &c. The history of this propagation of Christianity by the Nestorians in China, Tartary, and other adjacent countries which was so successful, richly deserves to be more thoroughly explored and set forth to the world, by some man well acquainted with oriental history. But the task would be on various accounts very difficult of execution. It was attempted by an excellent man, Theoph. Sigfr. Bayer, who was furnished with a large number of documents for the purpose both printed and manuscript. But the premature death of this learned man intercepted his labours.

[4] See the *Acta Sanctor.* ad diem 23 Aprilis, p. 174, &c. [and Mabillon, *Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened.* tom. vii. p. 846, &c.—*Mur.*]

[5] Solignac, *Hist. de Pologne*, tome i. p. 133.

[6] Bruno and Boniface were in fact one and the same person; the first being his original and proper name, and the other his assumed name; for the monks were then accustomed to take assumed names. See Ditmar, lib. vi. p. 82. *Chronicon Quedlinburg.* and Sigbertus Gemblacens. ad ann. 1009. The annalist Saxo on this year says expressly: "Sanctus Bruno qui et Bonifacius, Archiepiscopus gentium, primum Canonicus S. Mauritii in Magdaburgh, xvi. Kal. Mart. martyr inclytus cœlos petiit." He was of the highest rank of Saxon nobility, a near relative of the emperor Otho III. and beloved by him. Bruno served for a time at the imperial chapel. But in the year 997 he preferred a monastic life; and connected himself with St. Romuald, whom he accompanied first to Monte Cassino and then to Perra near Ravenna. He obtained permission from the pope to preach to the pagans; and therefore received ordination as an archbishop. He preached to pagans till the twelfth year, and was then killed near

But all these were put to death by the Prussians; nor could the valour of Boleslaus or of the subsequent kings of Poland, bring this savage nation to abandon the religion of their ancestors.[1]

3. The Saracens seized upon Sicily in the ninth century; nor could the Greeks or the Latins hitherto expel them from the country, though they made frequent attempts to do it. But in this century A.D. 1059, Robert Guiscard, the Norman, duke of Apulia, with his brother Roger, under the authority of the Roman pontiff Nicolaus II. attacked them with great valour; nor did Roger relinquish the war till he had gained possession of the whole island and cleared it of the Saracens. After this great achievement in the year 1090 Roger restored the Christian religion, which had been almost extinguished there by the Saracens, to its former dignity; and established bishops, founded monasteries, erected magnificent churches, and put the clergy in possession of ample revenues and honours which they enjoy to the present time.[2] To this heroic man is traced the origin of what is called the Sicilian monarchy, or the supreme power in matters of religion, claimed by the kings of Sicily; for Urban II. is said to have created this Roger and his successors hereditary legates of the apostolic see, by a special diploma dated A.D. 1097. The Romish court contend that this diploma is a forgery; and hence even in our times those severe contests between the Roman pontiffs and the kings of Sicily, respecting the Silician monarchy. The posterity of Roger governed Sicily down to the twelfth century, at first under the title of dukes, and then under that of kings.[3]

4. From the time of Sylvester II. the Roman pontiffs had been meditating the extension of the limits of the church in Asia, and especially the expulsion of the Mohammedans from Palestine; but the troubles of Europe prevented the execution of their designs. Gregory VII. the most daring of all the pontiffs who ever filled the chair of St. Peter, being excited by the perpetual complaints of the Asiatic Chris-

the confines of the Prussians and Lithuanians [A. D. 1006]. The bodies of Bruno and his companions were purchased from the pagans by Boleslaus.—*Schl.* [See also Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* vol. viii. p. 79—81, and Fleury, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, livr. lviii. sec. 26.—*Mur.*

[1] Pagi, *Critica in Baronium*, tom. iv. ad ann. 1008, p. 97, &c. Hartknoch, *History of the Prussian Church*, written in German, book i. chap. i. p. 12, &c. [Some of the principal Poles also to whom Christianity was burdensome on account of the many tithes they had to pay to the clergy, relapsed again into idolatry. See Dugloss, *Hist. Polon.* ad ann. 1022. On the other hand, the Transylvanians were vanquished by the king of Hungary in the year 1002; and were brought to embrace Christianity, after their prince Gcula, with his wife and children, was thrown into prison. And the same king undertook some successful campaigns against the Bulgarians and the Pagan Slavonians. See Theurocezius, in *Chron. Hungar.* cap. xxix. xxx.—*Schl.*

[2] See Burigny, *Hist. Générale de Sicile*, tome i. p. 386, &c. [The character of this Roger is highly extolled by the historians of those times. Among other things he is extolled for his tolerant disposition in regard to religion. For when he conquered Sicily he allowed the Saracens, who chose to remain in the island, to live according to their own laws and to follow their own religion, so long as they should continue obedient subjects. See Muratori, *Annal. Ital.* ad ann. 1090.—*Schl.*

[3] See Baronius, *De Monarchia Siciliæ*, in his *Annales*, tom. xi.; and Du Pin, *Traité de la Monarchie Sicilienne*. [The famous bull of the *monarchy of Sicily* is supposed to have been granted at an interview of pope Urban II. with Roger duke of Sicily and Calabria, held at Salerno A.D. 1098. The pope had appointed Robert, bishop of Frani, his legate *à latere* in Sicily. But the Duke, no stranger to the authority claimed by such legates and to the disturbances they produced, entreated the pope to revoke the commission, plainly insinuating that he would suffer no legate in his dominions. As the duke had rendered signal services to the apostolic see, had driven the Saracens quite out of Sicily, and subjected all the churches of that island to the see of Rome though claimed by the patriarch of Constantinople, the pope not only recalled the commission he had given to the bishop, but to engage the duke still more in his favour, he conferred upon him all the power he had granted to his legate, declaring him, his heirs, and his successors, hereditary legates, and vested with the legatine power in its full extent. The bull is dated at Salerno, July, Indiction vii.; Urban's reign, xi. *i.e.* 1098. Here is some mistake, as the eleventh year of Urban coincided with the sixth year of the Indiction. And this error has been urged against the genuineness of the instrument by Baronius, who inserts it and endeavours to prove it a forgery, in the eleventh volume of his Annals. He also urges that the bull if genuine related only to Roger and his immediate descendants, that it was a family privilege given to reward the personal services of Roger. Though many learned men regard the bull as of very questionable origin, and especially as the Sicilian monarchs, when challenged to do it, have not produced the original writings, yet the kings of Aragon, to whom Sicily was long subject, claimed and exercised the legatine power as being the successors of Duke Roger. And they would not suffer the eleventh volume of Baronius' *Annals* to circulate in their dominions, on account of its elaborate confutation of their claims. The same power has been likewise claimed and sometimes exercised by all the princes who have been masters of that island, down to modern times. In the year 1715, Clement XI. having published two bulls, the one abolishing the monarchy, as it is called, and the other establishing a new plan of ecclesiastical government, the duke of Savoy, as sovereign of Sicily, banished all who received either of them out of the country. Some compromise has since taken place, but the supreme ecclesiastical power is still in the hands of the temporal sovereign of the country; that is, he is supreme head of the church there, has power to excommunicate and absolve all persons whatever, ecclesiastics as well as laymen, and cardinals themselves if resident in the island; he has a right to preside in all the provincial councils of the country, and to exercise all the jurisdiction of a legate *à latere* vested with the fullest legantine power. And this power the sovereign may exercise though a female, as in the instance of Jane of Aragon and Castile; and not only in his own person but also by a commissioner of his appointment. For the more convenient exercise of this power a commissioner, who is styled *the Judge of the monarchy*, is appointed by the king whose tribunal is the supreme ecclesiastical court for Sicily, Apulia, Calabria, Tarento, Malta, and the other islands. Yet from him lies an appeal to the royal audience. See Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. v. p. 340; and Stäudlin's *Kirchl. Geographie*, vol. i. p. 476, &c.—*Mur.*

tians respecting the cruelty of the Mohammedans, wished to engage personally in a holy war, and more than fifty thousand men prepared themselves for an expedition under him.[1] But his controversy with the emperor Henry IV. of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, and other unexpected events, obliged him to abandon the design. But near the close of the century a certain Frenchman of Amiens, Peter surnamed the Hermit, was the occasion of the renewal of the design by Urban II. Peter visited Palestine in the year 1093, and there beheld with great anguish of mind the extreme oppressions and vexations which the Christians residing at the holy places suffered from the Mohammedans. Therefore being wrought up to an enthusiasm which he took to be a divine impulse, he first applied for aid to Simeon, the patriarch of Constantinople [within whose province Jerusalem lay], and to Urban II. the Roman pontiff, without success; and then began to travel over Europe, calling on both princes and people to make war upon the tyrants of Palestine. Nay, he carried about with him an epistle on this very subject, addressed from heaven to all Christians, and thereby calculated the more readily to impose upon the ignorant.[2]

5. Public sympathy being thus excited, Urban II. in the year 1095, assembled a very numerous council at Placentia, in which he first recommended this holy war.[3] But the dangerous enterprise was relished only by a few, although the ambassadors of the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus were present, and in the name of their master represented the necessity of opposing the Turks whose power was daily increasing. The business succeeded better in the council of Clermont which was assembled soon after. For the French, more enterprising and ready to face dangers than the Italians, were so moved by the inflated eloquence of Urban, that a vast multitude of all ranks and ages were ready at once to engage in a military expedition to Palestine.[4] This host seemed to be a very formidable army, and adequate to overcome almost any obstacles, but in reality it was very weak and pusillanimous. It was composed chiefly of monks, mechanics, farmers, persons tired of their stated occupations, spendthrifts, speculators, prostitutes, boys, girls, servants, malefactors, and the lowest dregs of the idle populace who hoped to make their fortune.[5] From such troops what could be expected? Those attached to this camp were called Crusaders (cruciati), and the enterprise itself was called a Crusade (expeditio cruciata); not only because they professedly were going to rescue the cross of our Lord from the hands of its enemies, but also because they wore upon their right shoulders a white, red, or green cross made of woollen cloth, and solemnly consecrated.[6]

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[1] Gregory VII. *Epistol.* lib. ii. ep. 31, and in Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. vi. par. i. p. 1285.

[2] This fact is mentioned by the abbot Dodechinus in his *Continuat. Chronici Mariani Scoti*, in the *Scriptor. Germanici.* of Pistorius, tom. i. p. 462. For an account of Peter, see Du Fresne, *Notæ ad Annæ Comnenæ Alexiadem*, p. 79, ed. Venet.

[3] Berthold, a contemporary writer, says there were present in this council about four thousand clergymen and more than thirty thousand laymen, and that its sessions were held in the open air, because no church could contain the multitude. See Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. vi. par. ii. p. 1711, &c.—*Mur.*

[4] Ruinart, *Vita Urbani* II. sec. 225, &c. p. 224, 229, 240, 272, 274, 282, 296, of the *Opp. Posthum.* of Mabillon; and Ruinart, tom. iii.; Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. par. ii. p. 1726; Baronius, *Annales*, tom. xi. ad ann. 1095, No. 32, p. 648. [The number present at the council of Clermont is not definitely stated by the early writers, though they all agree that it was very great. There were thirteen archbishops, two hundred and fifty bishops, besides abbots and inferior clergy, with a multitude of laymen. The Acts of this council with two speeches of Urban are given by Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. vi. par. ii. p. 1718, &c.—*Mur.*

[5] These adventurers moreover were from every country in Europe, even the most remote. William of Malmesbury, while he bears testimony to this fact, gives a curious illustration of what were then supposed to be the national peculiarities of some of these less civilized people who abandoned their homes in numbers for the crusades:—"Nam non solum Mediterraneas provincias hic amor movit, sed et omnes, qui vel in penitissimis insulis, vel in nationibus barbaris, Christi nomen audierunt. Tunc Wallenses venationem saltuum, tunc Scottus familiaritatem pulicum, tunc Danus continuationem potuum, tunc Noricus cruditatem reliquit piscium." Will. Malbur. lib. iv. cap. ii. apud *Rerum Anglic. Script. post Bedam*, Lond. 1596, fol. p. 75.—*R.*

[6] See Bzovius, *Continuat. Annal. Baronii*, tom. xv. ad ann. 1410, sec. 9, p. 32, &c. ed. Colon.; Lenfant, *Hist. du Concile de Pise*, tome ii. livr. v. p. 60, &c. The writers who give account of the Crusades are enumerated by Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii toti Orbi exoriens*, cap. xxx. p. 518. [Most of the original writers living in or near the times of the Crusades were collected by Bongarsius, in his *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Hanov. 1611, 2 vols. fol. Of these original writers the most important are Robert of Rheims, Baldrich or Baudri of Dol, Raimond of Agile, Albert of Aix, Fulcher or Fulcard of Chartres, and Guibert of Nogent; but especially William bishop of Tyre, and James de Vitry. To these may be added Marino Sanuto of the thirteenth century. The best moderns are said to be Mailly, *Esprit des Croisades, ou Histoire politique et militaire des Guerres enterprises par les Chrétiens pour le recouvrement de la Terre sainte*, Paris, 1780, 4 vols. 12mo; Maimburg, *Hist. des Croisades*, Paris, 1675, &c. 4 vols. 12mo; Mayer, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*, Berlin, 1780, 2 vols. 8vo; Wilkin, *Gesch. der Kreuzz.* Lips. 1807-17, 3 vols, 8vo; Waken, *Gemälde der Kreuzz.* Francf. 1808-10, 3 vols. 8vo; Heeren, *Versuch e. Entwickelung d. Folg. d. Kreuzz.* (a prize essay) Gotting. 1808, 8vo. The English reader may consult Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, chap. lviii. lix.; Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. v. and vi.; Mill's *History of the Crusades.*—*Mur.* [in 2 vols. 8vo, and an admirable sketch of the first crusade in the *Encycl. Metrop.* vol. xi. p. 584—613, with careful references to the original authorities. A preferable work to Mailly's *Esprit des Croisades*, is Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades*, Paris, 1841, 6th edit. 6 vols. 8vo, with maps; to which should be added his *Bibliothèque des Croisades*, Paris, 1829, 4 vols. 8vo.

6. Eight hundred thousand persons therefore, as credible writers inform us, marched from Europe in the year 1096, pursuing different routes and conducted by different leaders, all of whom directed their way to Constantinople, that after receiving instructions and aid from Alexius Comnenus, the Greek emperor, they might pass over into Asia. The author of the war, Peter the Hermit, girded with a rope, first led on a band of eighty thousand through Hungary and Thrace. But this company, after committing innumerable base deeds, were nearly all destroyed by the Hungarians and Turks.[1] Nor did better fortune attend some other armies of these Crusaders, who roamed about like robbers under unskilful commanders, and plundered and laid waste the countries over which they travelled. Those bands whose leaders were men of noble birth and experienced in military affairs, performed the journey rather more prosperously. Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorrain, a man who may be compared with the greatest heroes of any age[2] and who was commander-in-chief of the war, conducted with his brother Baldwin a well-organized body of eighty thousand horse and foot, through Germany and Hungary. Another body under the command of Raymond, earl of Toulouse, marched through Slavonia. Robert earl of Flanders, Robert duke of Normandy,[3] and Hugo the Great, brother to Philip king of France, embarked with their forces at Brindisi and Tarento (Brundusium and Tarentum), and landed at Durazzo (Dyrrachium). These were followed by Boamund, duke of Apulia and Calabria, at the head of a numerous and select band of Normans.

7. This army, the greatest since the memory of men, when it arrived at Constantinople though greatly diminished by various calamities, excited much alarm and not without reason in the mind of the Greek emperor. But his fears were dispelled when it had passed the straits of Gallipolis and landed in Bithynia. The crusaders first besieged Nice, the capital of Bithynia, which was taken in the year 1097. They then proceeded through Asia Minor into Syria, and in the year 1098 took Antioch [in Syria], which was given with its territory to Boamund, duke of Apulia. They also captured Edessa, of which Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, was constituted the sovereign. Finally in the year 1099, these Latins reduced the city of Jerusalem by their victorious arms. And here the seat of a new kingdom was established, and the above-named Godfrey was declared the first king of Jerusalem. He however refused the title of king from motives of modesty, and retaining a few soldiers with him, permitted the others to return back to Europe. But this great man died not long after and left his kingdom to his brother Baldwin, prince of Edessa, who did not hesitate to assume the title of king.

8. With the Roman pontiffs and particularly with Urban II. the principal motive for enkindling this holy war was furnished, I conceive, by the corrupted religion of that age. For according to the prevailing views, it was a reproach upon Christians to suffer the land which had been consecrated by the footsteps and the blood of Christ, to remain under the power of his enemies; and moreover a great and essential part of piety to God consisted in pilgrimages to the holy places, which were most hazardous undertakings so long as the Mohammedans should occupy Palestine. To these religious motives was added an apprehension that the Turks, who had already subdued a large part of the Greek empire, would march into Europe and would in particular assail Italy. Those among the learned who suppose that the Roman pontiff recommended this terrible war, for the sake of extending his own authority and of weakening the power of the Latin emperors and king, and that the kings and princes of Europe encouraged it, in order to get rid of their powerful and warlike vassals and to obtain possession of their lands and estates, bring forward indeed plausible conjectures, but they are mere conjectures.[4] Yet afterwards when

There is also much additional information in Reinaud, *Extraits des Auteurs Arab. relat. aux Croisades*, Paris, 1829.—*R.*

[1] The army under Peter the Hermit vented their rage especially against the Jews, whom they either compelled to receive baptism or put to death with horrid cruelty. The same thing was done by another division in the countries along the Rhine, at Mentz, Cologne, Treves, Worms, and Spire, where however the Jews were sometimes protected by the bishops. See the Annalist, Saxo, ad ann. 1096, in Eccard's *Corpus Hist. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 579, &c.—*Schl.*

[2] Of this illustrious hero the Benedictine monks treat professedly, in the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome viii. p. 598, &c.

[3] He was the eldest son of William the Conqueror, king of England.—*Mur.*

[4] The first of these motives ascribed to the pontiffs is brought forward by many, both Protestants and Catholics, as one not at all to be questioned. See Accoltus, *De Bello Sacro in Infideles*, lib. i. p. 16. Basnage, *Hist. des Eglises Réformées*, tome i. period v. p. 235. Vertot, *Hist. des Chevaliers de Malthe*, tome i. livr. iii. p. 302, 308, livr. iv. p. 428. Baillet, *Hist. des Démelez du Boniface VIII. avec Philip le Bel*, p. 76, *Hist. du Droit Eccles. François*, tome i. p. 296, 299, and many others. But that this supposition has no solid foundation will be clear to those who consider all the circumstances. The Roman pontiffs could not certainly foresee that so many princes and people of every class

the pontiffs as well as the kings and princes learned by experience the great advantages resulting to them from these wars, new and additional motives for encouraging them undoubtedly occurred to them, and particularly that of increasing their own power and aggrandisement.

9. But these wars, whether just or unjust,[1] produced immense evils of every sort, both in church and state; and their effects are visible even to the present day. Europe was deprived of more than half of its population, and immense sums of money were exported to foreign countries; and very many families previously opulent and powerful either became extinct or were reduced to extreme poverty. For the heads of families either mortgaged or sold their territories, possessions, and estates in order to defray the expense of their expedition;[2] while others imposed such intolerable burdens upon their vassals and tenants, as obliged them to abandon their houses and lands and assume the badge of the cross. A vast derangement of society and a subversion of everything took place throughout Europe; not to mention the murders, slaughter, and robberies everywhere committed with impunity by these soldiers of God and Jesus Christ, as they were called, and the new and often very grievous privileges and prerogatives to which these wars gave occasion.[3]

would march away from Europe to Palestine; neither could they discover beforehand that these expeditions would be so beneficial to themselves. For all the advantages accruing to the pontiffs and to the clergy from these wars, both the extension of their authority and the increase of their wealth, were not apparent at once and at the commencement of the war; but they gradually developed themselves, being the result rather of accidental circumstances than of design. This single fact shows that the pontiffs who promoted these wars, could have had no thoughts of extending their power by them. It may be added that the general belief and the expectation of the pontiffs was, that the whole business would be accomplished in a single expedition of no long continuance; and that God himself would, by miraculous interposition, overthrow those enemies of Christianity who were the unjust possessors of Palestine. Besides, as soon as Jerusalem was taken, most of the European princes and soldiers returned back to Europe; which the popes surely would not have permitted, if from the continuance of this war they anticipated great accessions to their wealth and power. But no conjecture on this subject is, in my view, more unfortunate than that which supposes Urban II. to have eagerly pressed forward this holy war, in order to weaken the power of the emperor Henry IV. with whom he was in a violent contest respecting the investiture of bishops. The advocates of this conjecture forget that the first armies which marched against the Mohammedans of Asia, were raised chiefly among the Franks and Normans, and that the Germans, who were opposed to Urban II. were at first the most averse from these wars. Other arguments are omitted for the sake of brevity.—Nor is the other part of the conjecture which relates to the kings and princes of Europe, better founded. It has received the approbation of Vertot, (*Hist. des Cheval. de Malthe*, livr. iii. p. 309) Boulanvilliers, and other great and eminent men who think they see farther than others into the policy of courts in those ages. But these excellent men have no other argument than this; many kings, especially of the Franks, were rendered more rich and powerful by the death and the misfortunes of those who engaged in these wars; and therefore they craftily gave not only permission, but also a direct encouragement to these wars. All can see the inconclusiveness of this reasoning. We are too prone to ascribe more sagacity and cunning both to the Roman pontiffs and to the kings and princes of those times than they really possessed; and we too often judge of the causes of transactions by their results, which is a defective and uncertain mode of reasoning. I apprehend that the Roman pontiffs, of whom alone I would speak, obtained their immense aggrandisement, not so much by shrewdly forming plans for enlarging their power, as by dexterously seizing the opportunities which occurred.

[1] The question of the justice of what are called the Crusades, I shall not take upon me to discuss; nor shall I deny that it is, when viewed impartially, an intricate and dubious question. But I wish the reader to be apprised that there was discussion among Christians as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, respecting the justice and injustice of those holy wars. For the Cathari or the Albigenses and Waldenses denied their justice. The arguments they used are collected and refuted by Moneta, a Dominican writer of the thirteenth century, in his *Summa contra Catharos et Waldenses*, (which was published a few years ago at Rome by Richini,) lib. v. c. xiii. p. 531, &c. But the arguments of the Cathari against the transmarine expeditions (viam ultra-marinam) as they called these wars, had not great weight; nor were the answers of the well-meaning Moneta very solid. An example will make this clear. The Cathari opposed the holy wars by urging the words of Paul, 1 Cor. x. 32. "Give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the gentiles, nor to the church of God." By the gentiles, they said, may be understood the Saracens. Therefore European Christians ought not to make war upon the Saracens lest they should give offence to the gentiles. The answer of Moneta to this singular argument we will give in his own words. "We read, Gen. xii. 7, that God said to Abraham: 'To thy seed will I give this land.' But we (the Christians of Europe) are the seed of Abraham, as says the Apostle to the Galat. iii. 29. To us therefore has that land been given for a possession. Hence, it is the duty of the civil power to labour to put us in possession of that land; and it is the duty of the church to exhort civil rulers to do their duty."—A rare argument this, truly! But let us hear him out.—"The church does not intend to harm the Saracens or to kill them; nor have Christian princes any such design. And yet if they will stand in the way of the swords of the princes, they will be slain. The church of God therefore is without offence, that is, it injures no one in this matter, because it does no one any wrong but only defends its own rights."—Who can deny that here is ingenuity?

[2] Many and very memorable examples of this occur in ancient records. Robert duke of Normandy mortgaged to his brother William, king of England, the duchy of Normandy to enable him to perform his expedition to Palestine. See Matthew Paris, *Hist. Major*, lib. i. p. 24, &c. Odo, viscount of Bourges, sold his territory to the king of France. See the *Gallia Christiana*, by the Benedictines, tom. ii. p. 45. For more examples see Du Fresne, *Adnot. ad Joinvillii vitam Ludovici S.* p. 52; Boulainvilliers, *Sur l' Origine et les Droits de la Noblesse*, in Molets, *Mém. de Littér. et de l' Hist.* tome ix. par. i. p. 68; Cramer, *De Juribus et Prærogativis Nobilitatis*, tom. i. p. 81, 409. From the time therefore of these wars very many estates of the nobility, in all parts of Europe, became the property of the kings and more powerful princes, of the priests and monks, or of private citizens of inferior rank.

[3] Those who took the badge of Crusaders acquired extraordinary rights and privileges, which were injurious to other citizens. Of these the Jurists properly treat. I will only observe that hence it became customary, whenever a person would contract a loan, or buy, or sell, or enter into any civil compact, to require of him to renounce the privileges of a Crusader,

10. These wars were no less prejudicial to the church and to religion. The power and greatness of the Roman pontiffs were greatly advanced by them; and the wealth of the churches and monasteries was in many ways much augmented.[1] Moreover as bishops and abbots in great numbers forsook their charges and travelled into Asia, the priests and monks lived without restraint and addicted themselves freely to every vice. Superstition also, previously extravagant, now increased greatly among the Latins. For the long list of tutelary saints was enlarged with new and often fictitious saints of Greek and Syrian origin, before unknown to the Europeans;[2] and an immense number of relics generally of a ridiculous character, were imported to enrich our churches and chapels. For every one who returned home from Asia brought with him as the richest treasure, the sacred relics which he had purchased at a high price of the fraudulent Greeks and Syrians, and committed them to the careful charge of some church, or of the members of his own family.[3]

whether already acquired or yet future (privilegio crucis sumptæ ac sumendæ renunciare.) See Le Beuf, *Mém. sur l' Hist. d' Auxerre*, Append. tome ii. p. 292.

[1] The accessions to the wealth and the power of the Roman pontiffs arising from these wars, were too numerous and various to be conveniently enumerated here with particularity. And not only the visible head of the church, but likewise the church universal augmented its power and resources by means of these wars. For they who assumed the cross, as they were about to place their lives in great jeopardy, acted as men do when about to die. They therefore generally made their wills; and in them they gave a part of their property to a church or monastery, in order to obtain the protection and favour of God. See Plessis, *Hist. de Meaux*, tome ii. p. 76, 79, 141; *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 138, 139; Le Beuf, *Mem. pour l'Hist. d' Auxerre*, tome ii. Append. p. 31; Du Fresne, *Adnot. ad vitam Ludovici Sancti*, p. 52. Numerous examples of such pious donations are to be found in ancient records. Those who had controversies with priests or monks very commonly would abandon their cause or lawsuit, and yield up the property in controversy. Those who had themselves seized on the property of churches or convents, or were told that their ancestors had done some wrong to the priests, freely restored what they had taken, and often with additions, and compensated for the injuries done whether real or imaginary by their donations. See Du Fresne, *ubi supra*, p. 52. [In general the Crusades were a rich mine for the popes. Whoever became a knight of the cross became subject to the pope, and was no longer subject to the secular power of his temporal lord. Whoever had taken the vow to march to the holy land and afterwards wished to be released from it, could purchase an exemption from the pope who gave such dispensations, &c.—*Schl.*

[2] The Roman Catholics themselves acknowledge that in the time of the crusades many saints, before unknown to the Latins, were brought from Greece and the East into Europe, where they were worshipped most religiously. And among these new spiritual guardians, there were some of whose lives and history there is the greatest reason to doubt. For example St. Catherine was introduced into Europe from Syria, as is admitted by Baronius, *Ad Martyrol. Rom.* p. 728, by Cassander, *Schotia ad Hymnos Ecclesiæ*, in his *Opp.* Paris, 1616, fol. p. 278, 779. Yet it is very doubtful whether this Catherine, the patroness of learned men, ever existed.

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

1. THE principal sufferings of the Christians in this century were from the Saracens or from the Turks, who were equally the enemies of both Saracens and Christians. The Saracens, though at war among themselves and at the same time unable to arrest the daily encroachments of the Turks upon them, persecuted their Christian subjects in a most cruel manner, putting some to death, mutilating others, and plundering others of all their property. The Turks not only pressed hard upon the Saracens, but also subjugated the fairest provinces of the Greek empire along the Euxine sea, and ravaged the remaining provinces with their perpetual incursions. Nor were the Greeks able to oppose their desolating progress, being miserably distracted with intestine discords, and so exhausted in their finances that they could neither raise forces nor support them when raised.

2. In Spain the Saracens seduced a large portion of the Christians by rewards, by marriages, and by compacts, to embrace

[3] The sacred treasures of relics which the French, Germans, Britons, and other nations of Europe formerly preserved with such care, and which are still exhibited with reverence, are not more ancient than the times of the crusades, and were purchased at a great price by kings, princes, and other distinguished persons of the Greeks and Syrians. But that these avaricious and fraudulent dealers imposed upon the pious credulity of the Latins, the most candid judges will not doubt. Richard, king of England, in the year 1191 purchased from Saladin, the noted Mohammedan Sultan, all the relics at Jerusalem. See Matthew Paris, *Hist. major*, p. 138, who also tells us (p. 666) that the Dominicans brought from Palestine a white stone on which Christ had impressed the prints of his feet. The Genoese possess as a present from Baldwin, the second king of Jerusalem, the dish from which Christ ate the pascal lamb with his disciples at his last supper. And this singular monument of ancient devotion is ridiculed by Labat, *Voyages en Espagne et en Italie*, tome ii. p. 63. Respecting the great amount of relics brought from Palestine to France by St. Lewis the French king, see Joinville's *Life of St. Lewis*, edited by Du Fresne. Plessis, *Hist. de l'Eglise de Meaux*, tome i. p. 120. Lancelot, *Mém. pour la Vie de l'Abbé de S. Cyran*, tome ii. p. 175. Christ's pocket-handkerchief which is held sacred at Besançon was brought from Palestine to Besançon by a Christian Jewess. See Chiflet, *Vesontium*, par. ii. p. 108, and *De linteis Christi sepulcralibus*, cap. ix. p. 50. For other examples, see Matthæus, *Analecta veteris Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 677; Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 52, and especially Chiflet, *Crisis historiæ de linteis Christi sepulcralibus*, cap. ix. x. p. 50, &c. Among other things Chiflet says, p. 59: "Sciendum est, vigente immani et barbara Turcarum persecutione, et imminente Christianæ religionis in Oriente naufragio, educta e sacrariis et per Christianos quovis modo recondita Ecclesiarum pignora.—Hisce plane divinis opibus illecti præ aliis Galli, sacra Λείψανα qua vi, qua pretio a detinentibus hac illac extorserunt." And this learned writer brings many examples as proofs.

the Mohammedan faith.[1] And they would doubtless have gradually induced most of their subjects to apostatize from Christianity, had they not been weakened by the loss of various battles with the Christian kings of Aragon and Castile, especially with Ferdinand I. of Aragon, and by the conquest of a large part of the territories subject to them.[2] Among the Danes, Hungarians, and other nations, those who still adhered to their ancient superstitions (and there were many of this description among those people) very cruelly persecuted their fellow-citizens, as well as the neighbouring nations who professed Christianity. To suppress this cruelty the Christian princes in one place and another, made it a capital crime for their subjects to continue to worship the gods of their ancestors. And this severity was undoubtedly more efficacious for extinguishing the inveterate idolatry, than the instructions given by persons who did not understand the nature of Christianity, and who dishonoured its purity by their corrupt morals and their superstitious practices. The still unconverted European nations of this period, the Prussians, the Lithuanians, the Slavonians, the Obotriti, and others inhabiting the lower parts of Germany, continued to harass the neighbouring Christians with perpetual wars and incursions, and cruelly to destroy the lives of many.[3]

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF LEARNING AND SCIENCE.

1. THE calamitous state of the Greek empire impeded the progress of literature and science among its subjects. The Turks as well as the Saracens were continually divesting the empire of some portion of its glory and power; and what they left inviolate, the civil discords, the frequent insurrections, and the violent dethronement of emperors, gradually wasted and destroyed. Yet there was here and there an individual who cherished and encouraged the liberal arts, both among the emperors (as Alexius Comnenus) and among the patriarchs and bishops. Nor would the controversies of the Greeks with the Latins, allow the former to despise all cultivation of the understanding and all love of learning. Owing to these causes, the Greeks of this century were not entirely destitute of men respectable for their learning and intellectual culture.

2. I omit the names of their poets, rhetoricians, and grammarians, who if not the best were at least tolerable. Among their historians Leo the Grammarian,[4] John Scylitzes,[5] Cedrenus,[6] and some others, are not to be passed by in silence; although they adhered to the fabulous stories of their countrymen, and were not free from partiality. Michael Psellus, a man in high reputation, was a pattern of excellence in all the learning and science of his age. He also laboured to excite his countrymen to the study of philosophy, and particularly of the Aristotelian philosophy, which he attempted to explain and recommend by various productions.[7] Among the Arabians the love of science still flourished, as

[1] Hottinger, *Hist. Eccles.* sæcul. xi. sec. ii. p. 452; Geddes, *History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes out of Spain*, among his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 104, &c.

[2] These wars between the Christian kings of Spain and the Mohammedans or Moors, are described by the Spanish historians, Mariana and Ferreras.

[3] Helmold, *Chron. Slavor.* lib. i. cap. xv. p. 52, &c.; Adamus Bremensis, *Histor.* lib. ii. cap. xxvii. [Among these nations many persons had professed Christianity; but on account of the numberless taxes laid upon them particularly by the clergy, and the cruelty of the Christian magistrates, they returned to paganism again and then persecuted the Christians without mercy. See Helmold (lib. i. cap. xvi. xxiv. xxv.) and Adam. Brem. (lib. ii. cap. xxxii.) particularly in regard to the Slavonians.—*Schl.*

[4] He was the continuator of Theophanes' Chronicle from A.D. 813 to 1013, the time when he is supposed to have written. His work was published Gr. and Lat. subjoined to Theophanes, ed. Combefis, Paris, 1655, fol. and in the *Corpus Hist. Byzant.* tom. vi. p. 355–404.—*Mur.*

[5] John Scylitzes, a civilian and Curopalates at Constantinople. He wrote a *History of Transactions in the East* from A.D. 811 to 1057; and afterwards continued it to A.D. 1081. The whole was published in a Latin translation by Gabe, Venice, 1570, fol. and the latter part in Gr. by Goar, Paris, 1648, fol.—*Mur.*

[6] George Cedrenus, a Greek monk, compiled a chronicle extending from the creation to A.D. 1057. It is a mere compilation or transcript from George Syncellus, prior to the reign of Diocletian, then from Theophanes to A.D. 813, and lastly from John Scylitzes to A.D. 1057. It was first published, Gr. and Lat. by Hylander, Basil, 1566, fol. and afterwards much better and with notes by Fabrotus and Goar, Paris, 1647, fol.; also in the *Corpus Hist. Byzant.* tom. viii. p. 1—627. —*Mur.* [I may state here that a new edition of this great work of the French press, the *Corpus Hist. Byzan.* was commenced at Bonn in 1828, at the suggestion of Niebuhr, and that it is still in course of publication under the auspices of the Royal Academy of Berlin. I believe about 45 volumes have already appeared, though some disappointment has been felt at the manner in which some of the works have been edited. See Note 7. p. 396, below.—*R.*

[7] See Leo Allatius, *Diatriba de Psellis*, p. 14, ed. Fabricius. [Michael Psellus, junior, was of noble birth, a senator at Constantinople, tutor to Michael Ducas, afterwards emperor. He retired to a monastery about

is manifest from those among them who in this century excelled in the sciences of medicine, astronomy, and mathematics.

3. In the West, learning revived in some measure among those devoted to a solitary life, or the monks and the priests. For other people, and especially the nobles and the great, despised learning and science, with the exception of those who devoted themselves to the church or aspired to sacred offices. In Italy, schools flourished here and there after the middle of this century, and a number of learned men acquired reputation as authors and instructors. Some of these afterwards removed to France and especially to Normandy, and there taught the youth devoted to the service of the church.[2] The French while they admit that they were indebted in a degree to learned men who came from Italy, produce also a respectable list of their own countrymen, who cultivated and advanced learning in this age; and they name numerous schools which were distinguished by the fame of their teachers and the multitude of their students.[3] It is indeed unquestionable that the French paid great attention to letters and the arts, and that their country abounded in learned men, while the greatest part of Italy was still sunk in ignorance. For Robert king of France, the son of Hugh Capet and a pupil of Gerbert or Sylvester II. was himself a learned man, and a great patron of learning and learned men. His reign terminated in the year 1031, and his great zeal for the advancement of the arts and learning of every kind was not unsuccessful.[4] The Normans from France, after they obtained possession of the lower provinces of Italy, Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, diffused the light of science and literature over those countries. To the same people belongs the honour of restoring learning in England. For William the Conqueror, Duke of Normandy, a man of discernment and the great Mæcenas of his time, when he had conquered England in the year 1066, made commendable efforts by inviting learned men from Normandy and elsewhere, to banish from the country barbarism and ignorance, those fruitful sources of so many evils.[5] For those heroic Normans, who had been so ferocious and hostile to all learning before they embraced Christianity, imbibed after their conversion a very high regard both for religion and for learning.

4. The thirst for knowledge which gradually spread among the more civilized nations of Europe, was attended by this consequence that more schools were opened and in various places better teachers were placed over them. Until the commencement of this century, the only schools in Europe were those attached to the monasteries and the cathedral churches; and the only teachers of secular as well as sacred learning were the Benedictine monks. But in the beginning of this century other priests and men of learning undertook the instruction of youth, in various cities of France and Italy; and they not only taught more branches of science than the monks but adopted a happier method of inculcating some of the branches previously taught. Among these new teachers those were the most distinguished who either studied in the schools of the Saracens in Spain, (which was a very common thing in this age with those who aspired after a superior education,) or at least read the books of the Arabians, many of which were translated into Latin. For such masters taught philosophy, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, and the kindred sciences, in a more learned and solid manner than they were taught by the monks, or by those trained in monastic schools. For the science of medicine, the school of Salerno in the kingdom of Naples was particularly famous in this century; and to this school, medical students resorted from most of the countries of Europe. But all the medical knowledge possessed by the teachers at Salerno, was derived from the schools of the Saracens in Spain and Africa, and from the medical works of the Arabs.[6] From the same schools and books

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A.D 1077, and died not long after. He wrote a metrical paraphrase, and a prose commentary on the Canticles, on the Trinity and the person of Christ, tracts on a great variety of subjects, on the ecclesiastical canons, on the Quadrivium, &c. &c. Many of his pieces were never printed, and most of those published were published separately.—*Mur.*

[1] Elmacin, *Hist. Saracen.* p. 281; Hottinger, *Hist. Eccles.* saecul. xi. p. 419, &c.

[2] See Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 871; Giannone, *Histoire de Naples*, tome ii. p. 148.

[3] See the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome vii. Introduction, *passim*; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 355, &c.; Le Beuf, *Diss. sur l'état des Sciences en France, depuis la mort du roy Robert*, &c. which is published among his *Diss. sur l'Hist. Eccles. et Civile de Paris*, tome ii. p. 1, &c. [Among their monastic schools that of Bec in Normandy taught by Lanfranc and Anselm was particularly celebrated; and among their episcopal schools were those of Rheims, Liege, Orleans, Tours, Angers, and Chartres.—*Schl.*

[4] See Daniel, *Hist. de la France*, tome iii. p. 58; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 636, *et passim.*

[5] See the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome viii. p. 171. "The English," says Matthew Paris, *Hist. major*, lib. i. p. 4, ed. Watts, "before the time of William were so illiterate, that one who understood grammar was looked upon with astonishment."

[6] Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 935 &c.; Giannone, *Hist. de Naples*, tome ii. p. 151; Jo Friend, *History of Physic from the time of Galen*, Lond

and at the same time, nearly all the nations of Europe derived those futile arts of predicting the fortunes of men by the stars, by the countenance, and by the appearance of the hands, which in the progress of time acquired such an extensive currency and influence.

5. In most of the schools the so-called seven liberal arts were taught. The pupil commenced with grammar, then proceeded to rhetoric, and afterwards to logic or dialectics. Having thus mastered the Trivium as it was called, those who aspired to greater attainments proceeded with slow steps through the Quadrivium,[1] to the honour of perfectly learned men. But this course of study adopted in all the schools of the west, was not a little changed after the middle of this century. For logic (which included metaphysics at least in part,) having been improved by the reflection and skill of certain close thinkers, and being taught more fully and acutely, acquired such an ascendency in the minds of the majority that they neglected grammar, rhetoric, and the other sciences, both the elegant and the abstruse, and devoted their whole lives to dialectics or to logical and metaphysical discussions. For whoever was well acquainted with dialectics or what we call logic and metaphysics, was supposed to possess learning enough, and to lose nothing by being ignorant of all other branches of knowledge.[2] Hence arose that contempt for the languages, for eloquence, and the other branches of polite learning, and that gross barbarism which prevailed for several centuries in the western schools, and which had a corrupting influence on theology as well as philosophy.

6. The philosophy of the Latins in this century was confined wholly to what they called dialectics; and the other branches of philosophy were unknown even by name.[3] Moreover their dialectics were miserably dry and barren, so long as they were taught either from the work on the ten Categories falsely attributed to Augustine, or from the Introductions to Aristotle by Porphyry and Averroes.[4] Yet in the former part of this century the schools had no other guide in this science; and the teachers had neither the courage nor the skill to expand and improve the precepts contained in these works. But after the middle of the century dialectics first assumed a new aspect in France. For some of the works of Aristotle being introduced into France from the schools of the Saracens in Spain, certain eminent men of genius, as Berengarius, Roscelin, Hildebert, and afterwards Gilbert of Porrêe, Abelard, and others, following the guidance of Aristotle, laboured to extend and perfect the science.

7. None however obtained greater fame by their attempts to improve the science of dialectics and render it practically useful, than Lanfranc an Italian, who was promoted from the abbacy of St. Stephen in Caen to the archbishopric of Canterbury in England, Anselm whose last office was likewise archbishop of Canterbury, and Odo who became bishop of Cambray. The first of these men was so distinguished in this science that he was

1726, 8vo. And who does not know that the *Schola Salernitana* or rules for preserving health, was written in this century by the physicians of Salerno at the request of the king of England?

[1] See the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium* explained in Note 2, p. 178, above.—*R.*

[2] See the citations in Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 408, 409, 511, 512. To show how true the vulgar maxim is that there is nothing new under the sun, I here subjoin a passage from the *Metalogicum* of John of Salisbury, a writer of no contemptible abilities, lib. i. cap. iii. p. 741, ed. Lugd. Bat. 1639, 8vo. "The poets and historians were held in contempt, and if any one studied the works of the ancients he was pointed at and ridiculed by everybody, as being more stupid than the ass of Arcadia and more senseless than lead or a stone. For every one devoted himself exclusively to his own discoveries or those of his master."—"Thus men became at once consummate philosophers; for the illiterate novice did not usually continue longer at school than the time it takes young birds to become fledged."—"But what were the things taught by these new doctors, who spent more sleeping hours than waking ones in the study of philosophy? Lo, all things became new, grammar was quite another thing, dialectics assumed a new form, rhetoric was held in contempt, and a new course for the whole Quadrivium was got up derived from the very sanctuary of philosophy, all former rules and principles being discarded. They talked only of suitableness (convenientia) and reason; proof! resounded from every mouth, and very inept! or crude and unphilosophical! To say or do anything suitably and rationally, was thought to be impossible, without the express statement of the suitableness and reason of it." The author says more on the same subject, for which see his work. [The latter part of the extract above, is very obscure in the original Latin, at least when thus deprived of light from the context. The translation here given is not offered with great confidence.—*Mur.*

[3] In the writings of this age, we find mention indeed of many philosophers; *e.g.* Manegold the philosopher, Adalard the philosopher, and many more. But it would mislead us to attribute to the term the meaning it had anciently among the Greeks and Romans, and which it now has. In the style of the middle ages a philosopher is a man of learning. And this title was given to the interpreters of Scripture, though ignorant of everything which is properly called philosophy. The *Chronicon Salernitanum* (in Muratori's *Script. Rer. Italicar.* tom. ii. par. ii. cap. cxxiv. p. 265) states that there were thirty-two philosophers at Benevento in the tenth century, at which time the light of science scarcely glimmered in Italy. But what follows this statement shows that the writer intended to designate grammarians, and persons having some knowledge of the liberal arts.

[4] For an account of the philosophical system of this eminent Arabian, see Ritter, *Geschichte der Christ. Philos.* vol. iv. p. 115—160, in addition to the various sources of information referred to by Saxius in his *Onomasticon Liter.* vol. ii. p. 278.—*R.*

commonly called the dialectician; and he applied the principles of the science with much acuteness to the decision of the controversy with his rival, Berengarius, respecting the Lord's supper. The second, Anselm, in his dialogue *De Grammatico*, among other efforts to dispel the darkness of the dialectics of the age, investigated particularly the ideas of substance and of qualities or attributes.[1] The third, Odo, taught dialectics with great applause, and explained the science in three works *De Sophista*, *De Complexibus*, and *De Re et Ente*, which however are not now extant.[2] The same Anselm, who laboured to improve the science of dialectics, a man illustrious and renowned in many respects, was likewise the first among the Latins who rescued metaphysics and natural theology from obscurity and neglect; for he explained acutely what reason can teach us concerning God in two treatises which he entitled *Monologion* and *Proslogion*. He it was who invented what is commonly called the Cartesian argument, which aims to prove the existence of a God from the very conception of an all-perfect Nature implanted in the minds of men. The conclusiveness of this argument was assailed in this very century by the French monk Gaunilo, whom Anselm attempted to refute in a tract expressly on the subject.[4]

8. But the science of dialectics was scarcely matured, when a fierce contest broke out among its patrons respecting the subject matter of the science. This controversy was of little importance in itself and one that had long been agitated in the schools, but considered in its consequences it now became a great and momentous affair; for the parties applied their different theories to the explanation of religious doctrines, and they mutually charged each other with the most odious consequences. They were all agreed in this, that dialectics are occupied with the consideration and comparison of general ideas (rebus universalibus); because particular and individual things being liable to change, cannot become the subject matter of fixed and invariable science. But it was debated whether these general ideas with which the science of dialectics is concerned, are to be referred to the class of things, or to that of mere words or names. Some maintained that general ideas are things which have real existence; and they supported their opinion by the authority of Plato, Boethius, and others among the ancients. On the contrary others affirmed that these general ideas are nothing more than words or names; and these quoted the authority of Aristotle, Porphyry, and others. The former were called Realists and the latter Nominalists. Each of these parties became in process of time subdivided into various sects, according to the different ways in which they explained their favourite doctrine.[5] This controversy filled all the schools in Europe for many centuries; and it produced frequently mortal combats among the theologians and the philosophers. Some learned men trace back its origin to the controversy with Berengarius respecting the Lord's supper;[6] and although they have no authorities to adduce, the conjecture is very probable, because the opinion of the Nominalists might be used very conveniently in defending the doctrine of Berengarius respecting the Lord's supper.

9. The father of the Nominalist sect was one John, a Frenchman called the Sophist, of whom almost nothing is now known except the name.[7] His principal disciples were Robert of Paris, Roscelin of Compeigne, and Arnulph of Laon; and from

[1] This dialogue is among his Works, published by Gerberon, tom. i. p. 143, &c.

[2] See Herimann, *Narratio Restaurationis Abbatiæ S. Martini Tornac.* in D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. ii. p. 889, &c. of the new edition. "Odo, though well skilled in all the liberal arts, was particularly eminent in dialectics, and for this especially his school was frequented by the clergy."

[3] In the *Monologion* a person is represented as meditating or reasoning with himself alone; in the *Proslogion* the same person is represented as addressing himself to God.—*Mur.*

[4] Gaunilo's Tract against Anselm, as well as the answer to it, is to be found in Anselm's *Opera*, p. 35, 36.

[5] There is a full account of the Nominalists and likewise of the dialectic controversy in Brücker's *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. iii. p. 904, &c. He also, as his custom is, mentions the other writers concerning this sect. Among these writers is John Salabert, a presbyter of Agen, whose *Philosophia Nominalium Vindicata* was published at Paris, 1651, 8vo. None of those who have treated expressly of the Nominalists has made use of this very rare book. I have before me a manuscript copy transcribed from one in the library of the king of France; for the printed work was not to be obtained in that country. The acute Salabert however is at more pains to defend the philosophy of the Nominalists than to narrate its history. And yet he relates some facts which are generally little known.

[6] Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 443. Du Bois, *Hist. Eccles. Paris.* tom. i. p. 770.

[7] This is stated by the unknown author of the *Fragmentum Hist Franc. a Roberto Rege ad Mortem Philippi I.* which is extant in Du Chesne's *Scrip. Hist. Franciæ*, tom. iv. p. 90. This writer says: In Dialectica hi potentes extiterunt Sophistæ, Johannes, qui artem Sophisticam vocalem esse disserunt, &c. Bulæus, in his *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 443 and 612, conjectures that this John was John of Chartres surnamed the Deaf, an eminent physician and first physician to Henry I. the king of France. And he tells us, p. 377, that John's instructor was Giraldus of Orleans, an extraordinary poet and rhetorician; but of this he brings no proof. Mabillon, in his *Annales Benedictini*, tom. v. lib. lxvii. sec. 78, p. 261, supposes him to be that John who made known to Anselm the error of Roscellin, concerning the three Persons in the Godhead.

these many others imbibed the doctrine. Perhaps also we may reckon among the disciples of John, that Raimbert who taught a school at Lisle in Flanders; for he is said to have read logic to his clergy in VOCE, whereas Odo of whom mention has been made, read it to his disciples in RE.[1] But of all the Nominalists of this age no one acquired greater celebrity than Roscelin; whence he has been regarded, and is still regarded by many, as the founder of this sect.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

1. ALL the records of these times bear testimony to the vices of those who presided over the affairs of the church, and to the consequent prostration of discipline and of all religion. The western bishops when raised to the rank of dukes, counts, and nobles, and enriched with territories, towns, castles, and wealth of all sorts, became devoted to their pleasures and to magnificence, and hovered about courts attended by splendid retinues of servants.[2] At the same time the inferior clergy, few of whom exhibited any degree of virtue and integrity, gave themselves up without shame to frauds, debaucheries, and crimes of various descriptions. The Greeks practised a little more restraint; for the calamities of their country would not allow them to indulge themselves extravagantly. Yet the examples of virtue among them were few and rare.

2. The power and majesty of the Roman pontiffs attained their greatest height during this century, though it was by gradual advances and through great difficulties. They exercised indeed, at the commencement of this century, very great power in sacred and ecclesiastical affairs; for they were styled by most persons masters of the world, and popes, or universal fathers; they presided also everywhere in the councils by their legates; they performed the functions of arbiters in the controversies which arose respecting religious doctrines or discipline; and they defended with moderation the supposed rights of the church against the encroachments of kings and princes. Yet their authority had its limits, for sovereign princes on the one hand and bishops on the other made such resistance, that the court of Rome could not overthrow civil governments nor destroy the authority of councils.[3] But from the time of Leo IX. especially [A.D. 1049], the pontiffs laboured by various arts to remove these limitations. With incessant efforts they strove to be acknowledged not only the sovereign legislators of the church, superior to all councils, the divinely constituted distributors of all the offices, and dispensers of all the property belonging to the church, but also —what was the extreme of arrogance—to be acknowledged as lords of the whole world and the judges of kings, or kings over all kings.[4] These unrighteous designs were opposed by the emperors, by the kings of France, by William the Conqueror, duke of Normandy but now king of England, a most vigorous asserter of the rights of kings against the pontiffs,[5] and by other sovereigns. Nor were the bishops wholly silent, especially those of France and Germany; but others of them succumbed being influenced either by superstition or by motives of interest. Thus although the pontiffs did not obtain all they wished for, yet they secured no small part of it.

[1] Herimann, *Hist. Restaurationis Abbatii S. Martini Tornac.* in D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. ii. p. 889.

[2] See the examples of Adalbert (in Adam. Brem. lib. iii. cap. xxiii. p. 38; lib. iv. cap. xxxv. p. 52) of Gunther (in Canisius, *Lect. Antiq.* tom. iii. par. i. p. 185), of Manasses (in Mabillon, *Museum Italic.* tom. i. p. 114), and those collected by Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. vi. p. 72, &c. [Among the servants of bishops in these times we meet with the ordinary officers of courts. In Harzheim's *Concilia German.* tom. iii. p. 17, &c. we read: "The duke of Brabant—is *carver* to the bp. of Utrecht. The count of Guelders —his *hunter*. The count of Holland is styled and is the bp. of Utrecht's *marshal*. The count of Cleves is the bishop's *chamberlain*. Count de Benthem is the bishop's *janitor*. Lord de Cucke is the bishop's *butler*. Lord de Choer is the bishop's *standard-bearer*."—*Schl.*

[3] A very remarkable summary of the ecclesiastical law of this century has been collected from the Epistles of Gregory VII. by Launoi, in his *Assertio contra Privilegium S. Medardi*, par. ii. cap. xxxi.; *Opera*, tom. iii. par. ii. p. 307. From this summary it appears that even this Gregory himself did not claim absolute power over the church.

[4] Before Leo IX. there is no example of a Roman pontiff's assuming the power to transfer countries and provinces from their owners to other persons. But this pope generously gave to the Normans, ther. reigning in the south of Italy, both the provinces which they then occupied and also such as they might wrest from the Greeks and the Saracens. Malaterra, *Hist. Sicula*, lib. i. cap. xiv. in Muratori's *Script. Ital.* tom. v. p. 553.

[5] See Eadmer, *Hist. Novorum*, lib. i. p. 29, &c. subjoined to Anselm, *Opera*. And yet this very William who so openly and vigorously resisted the extension of pontifical and episcopal power, is himself a proof that the kings of Europe, when the desire of extending or confirming their power demanded it, did imprudently feed the lust of dominion which reigned in the breasts of the pontiffs. For when he was preparing to invade England, he sent ambassadors to the pontiff, Alexander II. "in order" (as Matthew Paris says, *Hist. Major*, lib. i. p. 2) "that the enterprise might be sanctioned by Apostolic authority. And the pope, after considering the claims of both the parties, sent a standard to William as the omen of kingly power." And the Normans, I can suppose, did the same thing; humbly requesting Leo IX. to confer on them the territories which they now occupied and those they might afterwards seize. What wonder then that the pontiffs should claim dominion over the whole world, when kings and princes themselves suggested to them this very thing?

3. Those who presided over the Latin church from the death of Sylvester II. in the year 1003 till A.D. 1012, namely, John XVII. John XVIII. and Sergius IV. neither did nor suffered anything great or remarkable. It is beyond a doubt however that they were elevated to the chair, with the approbation and by the authority of the emperors. Benedict VIII. who was created pontiff in 1012, being driven from Rome by one Gregory his competitor, implored the aid of the emperor, Henry II. called the Saint;[1] was restored by him and reigned peacefully till the year 1024. Under his reign the celebrated Normans, who afterwards acquired so much fame, first came into Italy and subdued its southern parts. Benedict was succeeded by his brother, John XIX. who presided over the church till A.D. 1033. These five pontiffs appear to have sustained respectable moral characters.[2] But very different from them, yea, a most flagitious man and capable of every crime was their successor Benedict IX. The Roman citizens therefore in the year 1038 hurled him from St. Peter's chair, but he was restored soon after by the emperor Conrad. As he continued however in his base conduct, the Romans again expelled him in the year 1044, and gave the government of the church to John, bishop of Sabina, who assumed the name of Sylvester III. After three months, Benedict forcibly recovered his power by the victorious arms of his relatives and adherents, and Sylvester was obliged to flee. But soon after finding it impossible to appease the resentments of the Romans, he sold the pontificate to John Gratian, archpresbyter of Rome, who took the name of Gregory VI. Thus the church now had two heads, Sylvester and Gregory. The emperor, Henry III. terminated the discord; for in the council of Sutri A.D. 1046, he caused Benedict, Gregory, and Sylvester, to be all declared unworthy of the pontificate; and he placed over the Romish church Suidger, bishop of Bamberg, who assumed the pontifical name of Clement II.[3]

4. On the death of Clement II. A.D. 1047, Benedict IX. who had been twice before divested of the pontificate, seized the third time upon that dignity. But the year following he was obliged to yield to Damasus II. or Poppo, bishop of Brixen, whom the emperor Henry III. had created pontiff in Germany and sent into Italy. Damasus dying after a very short reign of twenty-three days, Henry III. at the diet of Worms in the year 1048 elevated Bruno, bishop of Toul, to the throne of St. Peter. This pontiff bears the name of Leo IX. in the papal catalogue, and on account of his private virtues and his public acts has been enrolled among the Saints. Yet if we except his zeal for augmenting the wealth and power of the church of Rome and for correcting some more flagrant vices of the clergy, by the councils which he held in Italy, France, and Germany, we shall find nothing in his character or life to entitle him to such honour. At least many of those who on other occasions are ready to palliate the faults of the Roman pontiffs, censure freely the last acts of his reign. For in the year 1053 he rashly made war upon the Normans, whose dominion in Apulia near his estates excited his apprehensions. And the consequence was that he became their prisoner, and was carried to Benevento. Here his misfortunes so preyed upon his spirits that he fell sick; but after a year's captivity he was set at liberty, conducted to Rome, and there died on the 19th of April A.D. 1054.[4]

5. Leo IX. was succeeded in the year 1055 by Gerhard, bishop of Eichstadt, who assumed the name of Victor II.[5] and he was followed A.D. 1058 by Stephen IX.

[1] This statement, that Benedict was driven from Rome by Gregory and implored the succour of king Henry II. is given also by Baronius, ad. ann. 1012, sec. 6. and by Pagi, *Breviar. Pontif. Vita Bened.* viii. sec. 2. But it is founded on a misinterpretation of Ditmar's *Chronicon*, lib. iv. near the end, p. 339, Ditmar says: "Papa Benedictus Gregorio cuidam in electione prævaluit. Ob hoc *iste* (not Benedict, for he had the superiority, but Gregory) ad nativitatem Domini ad regem in Palithi (Pœlde) venit cum omni apparatu apostolico, expulsionem suam omnibus lamentando innotescens."—See Muratori, ad ann. 1012. and the (German) translator's notes there.—*Schl.* [But it is not so certain that Gregory was the suitor to king Henry. If he lost his election how could he appear before the king in the *pontifical habiliments*, never having been *pope*? But suppose Benedict, after "prevailing in the election," and being put in possession of the papacy, to have been vanquished and "expelled" from Rome by his antagonist, he might well flee to the king in the *habiliments* and might there plead that he had prevailed in the election, and complain of his expulsion. Besides it is certain that it was Benedict who crowned king Henry as emperor, upon his first arrival at Rome, Feb. 1014. It is therefore supposed that the people of Rome finding Benedict to be supported by the king, restored him of their own accord. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxii. p. 322, &c.—*Mur.*

[2] Yet Benedict was rescued from purgatory by the prayers of St. Odilo, and John obtained the papacy by base means;—according to Baronius, ad ann. 1012, sec. 1—4.—*Mur.*

[3] In this account of the pontiffs I have followed the best historians, Anton. and Fran. Pagi, Papebroch, and Muratori in his *Annales Italicæ*, disregarding what Baronius and others allege in defence of Gregory VI.

[4] See the *Acta Sanctor.* ad d. 19 Aprilis, tom. iii. p. 642, &c.; *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome vii. p. 459; Giannone, *Hist. de Naples*, tome ii. p. 52 [lib. ix. cap. iii.]—*Mur.*

[5] Leo of Ostia states that Hildebrand, a subdeacon of the Romish church, was sent by the clergy and people of Rome to the emperor in Germany requesting permission to elect, in the name of the Romans, whom he should deem most fit to be pope; and the request being granted, Hildebrand selected this bishop of Eichstadt.

brother to Godfrey, duke of Lorrain. Neither of these, so far as is now known, performed anything worthy of notice. Greater celebrity was obtained by Nicolaus II. who was previously bishop of Florence, and was raised to the pontificate in 1058.[1] For John, Bishop of Veletri, who, with the appellation of Benedict X. has been inserted between Stephen IX. and Nicolaus II. does not deserve to be reckoned among the popes; because after nine months he was compelled to renounce the office which a faction at Rome had induced him to usurp. In a council at Rome which he assembled in the year 1059, Nicolaus sanctioned, among other regulations calculated to remedy the inveterate evils in the church, a new mode of electing the Roman pontiffs, which was intended to put an end to the tumults and civil wars which so often took place at Rome and in Italy, and divided the people into factions when a new head of the church was to be appointed. He also in due form created Robert Guiscard, a Norman, duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, on the condition that he would be a faithful vassal of the Romish church and would pay an annual tribute. By what right Nicolaus could do this does not appear; for he was not lord of those territories which he thus gave to the Normans.[2] Perhaps he relied upon the fictitious donation of Constantine the Great; or perhaps with Hildebrand, the Romish archdeacon who afterwards became supreme pontiff under the title of Gregory VII. he believed that the whole world belonged to the bishop of Rome as Christ's vicegerent; for it is well known that this Hildebrand guided him in all his measures. This was the commencement of the Neapolitan kingdom or that of the two Sicilies, which still exists, and of that right of sovereignty over this kingdom which the Roman pontiffs assert and the Neapolitan kings recognise from year to year.

6. Before the reign of Nicolaus II. the Roman pontiffs were elected, not by the suffrages of the cardinals but by those of the whole Roman clergy; nor by theirs alone, for men of military rank, that is, the nobles and also the citizens, and in a word all the people of Rome, gave their voice. Among such a mixed and heterogeneous multitude, it was unavoidable that there should be parties, cabals, and contests. Nicolaus therefore ordered that the cardinals, bishops, and cardinal-presbyters, should elect the pontiff, yet without infringing the established rights of the Roman emperors in this important business. At the same time he did not exclude the rest of the clergy, nor the citizens and people, from all part in the election; for he required that the assent of all these should be asked and obtained.[3] From this time onwards, the cardinals always acted the principal part in the choice of a new pontiff; and yet for a long time they were much impeded in their functions both by the priests and the Roman citizens, who either laid claim to their ancient rights or abused the power given to them of approving the election. These altercations were at length terminated in the following century by Alexander III. who was so fortunate as to perfect what was begun by Nicolaus, and to transfer the whole power of creating a pontiff to the college of cardinals.[4]

7. From this period therefore the august college of Romish cardinals, and that high authority which they possess even to this day both in the election of the pontiffs and in other matters, must be dated. By the title cardinals, Nicolaus understood the seven bishops in the immediate vicinity of Rome or the suffragans of the bishop of Rome, of whom the bishop of Ostia was chief, and who were thence called cardinal bishops; together with the twenty-eight ministers of the parishes in Rome or chief presbyters of the churches, who were called cardinal clerks or presbyters. To these in process of time others were added first by Alexander II. and then by other pontiffs; partly to satisfy those who complained that they were unjustly excluded from a share in the election of pontiffs, and partly for other reasons. Therefore although the exalted order of purpled dignitaries in the

But this story is very improbable; and it is more likely that Hermanus Contractus was better acquainted with the facts, who states (ad ann. 1054) that the emperor held a council at Mentz in which Victor II. was elected. It is also worthy of notice that this pope and his predecessors continued to hold their former bishopricks when elevated to the papal throne. See Muratori, *Annales*, ad ann. 1055.—*Schl.*

[1] Besides the common historians of the pontiffs, the Benedictine Monks have treated particularly of Nicolaus II. in their *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome viii. p. 515.

[2] See Muratori, *Annales*, tom. vi. p. 186. Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 1060.

[3] The decree of Nicolaus respecting the election of Roman pontiffs is found in the collections of the Councils, and in many other works. But the copies of it, as I have learned by comparing them, differ exceedingly; some being longer and others shorter, some favouring the imperial prerogative more, and some less. The most extended form of it is found in the *Chronicon Farfense*, published in Muratori, *Script. Rer. Italicar.* tom. ii. par. ii. p. 645. Very different from this is the form exhibited by Hugo of Fleury in his book *De Regia Potestate et Sacerdotali Dignitate*, in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. iv. p. 62. Yet all the copies universally agree in the points we have stated.

[4] See Mabillon, *Comment. in Ord. Roman.* tom. ii. of his *Museum Italicum*, p. cxiv.; Cenni, *Præf. ad Concilium Lateran. Stephani* III. p. xviii. Rom. 1735 4to; Pagi, *Breviar. Pontif. Romanor.* tom. ii. p. 374

Romish church denominated cardinals had its commencement in this century, yet it did not acquire the settled character and the form of a real college before the time of Alexander III. in the next century.[1]

8. Notwithstanding Nicolaus II. had forbidden any infringement on the right of the emperor to ratify the election of a pontiff, yet on the death of Nicolaus in 1061,

[1] Concerning the cardinals, their name, origin, and rights, very many persons have written treatises; and these are enumerated by Fabricius, in his *Bibliogr. Antiq.* p. 455, 456, by Sagittarius, *Introd. ad Hist. Eccles.* cap. xxix. p. 771; and in Schmidt's *Supplement*, p. 644; by Gryphius, *Isagoge ad Hist. Sæculi* xvii. p. 430. To these I add Thomassin's, *Disciplina Eccl. vet. et nova*, tom. i. lib. ii. cap. cxv. cxvi. p. 616; and Muratori, whose *Diss. de Origine Cardinalatus* is in his *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 156.—Among these writers are many who are both copious and learned; but I am not certain that any one of them is so lucid and precise as he should be in respect to the grand points of inquiry, the origin and nature of the office. Many expend much time and labour in ascertaining the import of the word, and tracing its use in ancient authors; which is not unsuitable indeed for a philologist, but is of little use to give us clear views of the college and dignity of cardinals. It is certain that the word cardinal, whether used of things or persons or as the appellative of a certain clerical order, was of dubious import, being used in various senses by the writers of the middle ages. We also know that this title anciently was not peculiar to the priests and ministers of the church of Rome, but was common to nearly all the churches of the Latins; nor was it applied only to what are called secular clergymen, but likewise to regular ones as abbots, canons, and monks, though with some difference in signification. But after the time of Alexander III. the common use of the word was gradually laid aside, and it became the exclusive and honorary title of those who had the right of electing the pontiffs. When we undertake to investigate the origin of the college of cardinals at Rome, the inquiry is not who were they that were anciently distinguished from the other clergy by the title of cardinals, both among the Latins generally and at Rome in particular; nor is the object to ascertain the original import and the propriety of the term, or in how many different senses it was used; but the sole inquiry is whom did Nicolaus II. understand by the appellation cardinals, when he gave to the cardinals of Rome the sole power of electing the pontiffs, excluding the other clergy, the knights, the citizens, and the people at large. If this can be ascertained, the origin of the college of cardinals will be seen; and it will likewise appear how far the modern cardinals differ from those who first held the office. Now the answer to this inquiry in my view is manifest from the edict of Nicolaus itself. "We ordain," says the pontiff (according to Hugo of Fleury in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. iv. p. 62), "that on the demise of a pontiff of this universal Roman church, the cardinal bishops in the first place hold a solemn consultation among themselves, and then forthwith advise with the cardinal clerks; and so let the rest of the clergy and the people give their assent to the new election." The pontiff here very obviously divides the cardinals who are to elect a pope into two classes, cardinal bishops and cardinal clerks. The former beyond all controversy were the seven bishops of the city and its dependent territory, the *comprovinciales Episcopi*, as Nicolaus afterwards calls them, borrowing a phrase from Leo I. [These seven bishops were those of Ostia (Ostiensis), of Porto (Portuensis), of Albano (Albanensis), of St. Rufina or Silva Candida, of Frascati (Tusculanus), of Palestrina (Prænestinus), and of La Sabina (Sabinensis).—*Mur.*] These seven bishops long before this period bore the title of cardinal bishops. And the pontiff himself puts this construction beyond all doubt, by indicating that he understood the cardinal bishops to be those to whom belonged the consecration of a pontiff after his election: "Because the apostolic see can have no metropolitan over it," (to whom in that case would belong the principal part in the ordination) "the cardinal bishops undoubtedly supply the place of a metropolitan; for they it is who raise the pontiff elect to the summit of his apostolic elevation." And that it was the custom for those seven bishops above named to consecrate the Roman pontiffs, is a fact known to all men. Nicolaus would have these cardinal bishops therefore first to hold a consultation by themselves and discuss the merits of the candidates for the high office of pontiff. Immediately after they were to call in the cardinal clerks, and with them as forming one body of electors they were to choose a pontiff. Clerk here is the same as presbyter. And all admit that the cardinal presbyters were the ministers who had charge of the twenty-eight parishes or principal churches in Rome. All the remaining clergy of Rome, of whatever rank or dignity, Nicolaus excludes expressly from the office of electors of the pontiffs. And yet he would have "the clergy and the people give their assent to the new election;" that is, he leaves them what is called a negative voice or the right of approving the election. It is therefore clear that the college of electors of the Roman pontiffs, who were afterwards denominated cardinals in a new and peculiar sense of the word, as this college was at first constituted by Nicolaus, embraced only two orders of persons, namely, cardinal bishops and cardinal clerks or presbyters. And of course we are not to follow Onuphr. Panvinus (cited by Mabillon, *Comment. in Ordinem Roman.* in his *Museum Italicum*, tom. ii. p. cxv.) who undoubtedly errs when he says that Alexander III. added the cardinal bishops to the college of cardinals. And they also are to be disregarded who suppose there were cardinal deacons in the electoral college from the beginning. There were indeed then, and there had long been, as there are at the present day, cardinal deacons at Rome, that is, superintendents of the *diakoniæ* or churches from whose revenues the poor are supported and to which hospitals are annexed. But Nicolaus committed the business of electing the pontiffs solely to such cardinals as were bishops and clerks, so that he excluded deacons. And hence in the diploma of the election of Gregory VII. the cardinals are plainly distinguished from deacons. But this decree of Nicolaus could not acquire at all the force of a fixed law. "It is evident," says Anselm of Lucca (*Lib.* ii. *contra Wibertum Antipapam, et ejus sequaces*, in Canisius, *Lect. Antiq.* tom. iii. par. i. p. 383), "It is evident that the above-mentioned decree," (of Nicolaus, for of that he is speaking) "is of no importance, nor did it ever have any force. And by saying this I do not injure Pope Nicolaus of blessed memory, nor derogate at all from his honour.—Being a man he could not be secured against doing wrong." Anselm is speaking especially of that part of the decree which secures to the emperors the right of confirming the elections of pontiffs; but what he says is true of the whole decree. For those who were excluded by it from this most important transaction, namely, first the seven palatine judges as they were called, that is, the *Primicerius, Secundicerius, Arcarius, Saccellarius, Protoscrinarius, Primicerius Defensorum*, and the *Adminiculator*; next, the higher clergy who filled the more important offices, and also the inferior clergy, priests, deacons, &c. and lastly, the knights, citizens, and common people, complained that injury was done them; and they raised commotions and gave trouble to the cardinals whom Nicolaus had constituted [sole electors]. Therefore to appease these tumults Alexander III. thought proper to extend and enlarge the college of those now called cardinals in the restricted sense. And he accordingly added to the list of cardinals certain priests of high rank, namely, the prior or arch-presbyter of the Lateran church, the arch-presbyters of St. Peter and St. Maria Maggiore, and the abbots of St. Paul and St. Laurence without the walls; and after these the seven palatine judges which have been mentioned. See Cenni, *Præf. ad Concil. Lateran. Stephani III.* p. xix.; Mabillon, *Comment. ad Ord. Roman. ex Panvino*, p. 115. By this artifice the higher clergy or those of superior rank, were vanquished and ceased to disturb the elections of the cardinals. For the heads of this body of clergy being admitted into the electoral college, the rest could neither effect nor attempt anything. The inferior clergy still remained. But they were reduced to silence in the same way; for their leaders, the cardinal dea-

the Romans at the instigation of Hildebrand, then archdeacon and afterwards pontiff of Rome, proceeded without consulting Henry IV. not only to elect, but to consecrate Anselm the bishop of Lucca who assumed the name of Alexander II. When the news of this reached Agnes, the mother of Henry, through the bishops of Lombardy, she assembled a council at Basle; and to maintain the majesty and authority of her son then a minor, she there had Cadolaus, bishop of Parma, appointed pontiff, who took the name of Honorius II. Hence a long and severe contest arose between the two pontiffs, in which Alexander indeed prevailed, but he could never bring Cadolaus to abdicate the papacy [1]

9. This contest was a trifle compared with those direful conflicts which Alexander's successor, Gregory VII. whose former name was Hildebrand, produced and kept up to the end of his life. He was a Tuscan of obscure parentage, first a monk of Cluny, then archdeacon of the church of Rome, and all along from the reign of Leo IX. he had governed the pontiffs by his counsels and influence; when in the year 1073 and during the very obsequies of Alexander, he was hailed pontiff by the united suffrages indeed of the Romans, but contrary to the mode of proceeding enjoined by the decree of Nicolaus. When the election was laid before Henry IV. king of the Romans, by the ambassadors from Rome, he gave it his approbation; but greatly to his own injury and to the detriment both of the church and the public.[2] For Hildebrand being elevated to the chair of St. Peter,—a man of extraordinary abilities and competent to the greatest undertakings, intrepid, sagacious, and full of resources, but beyond measure proud, pertinacious, impetuous, untractable, and destitute of true religious principle and piety,—he being elevated, I say, to the highest post in the Christian commonwealth, laboured during his whole life to enlarge the jurisdiction and augment the opulence of the see of Rome, to subject the whole church to the sole will and power of the pontiff, to exempt all clergymen and all church property wholly from the jurisdiction of kings and princes, and to render all kingdoms tributary to St. Peter. The extravagance of his views and the vastness of his plans are discoverable in those noted propositions, which from his name are called the Dictates of Hildebrand.[3]

cons or *regionarii*, were admitted into the electoral college; and after this the whole mass of deacons, sub-deacons, acolythists, &c. had to be quiet. But which of the pontiffs it was, whether Alexander III. or some other, who admitted the principal deacons at Rome to the rank of cardinals, I have not been able to ascertain. This however I am sure of, that it was done in order to pacify the inferior clergy, who were dissatisfied at the violation of their rights. When all the clergy, both the higher and the lower, were appeased, it was an easy matter to exclude the Roman people from the election of pontiffs. Hence on the death of Alexander III. when his successor, Victor III. [rather Lucius III.—*Mur*.] was to be chosen, the assent and approbation of neither the clergy nor the people were sought as had always been done before; but the college of cardinals alone, to the exclusion of the people, created the pontiff. And the same custom has continued down to the present age. Some tell us that Innocent II. [A.D. 1130] was chosen by the cardinals only, or without the voice of the clergy and people. See Pagi, *Breviar. Pontif. Romanor.* tom. ii. p. 615. I grant it was so; but it is also true that this election of Innocent was irregular and disorderly, and therefore was no example of the ordinary practice at that time.

[1] Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, tom. ii. p. 166; Mascovius, *De Rebus sub Henrico IV. et V.* lib. i. p. 7, &c.; Pagi, *Breviar. Pontif. Roman.* tom. ii. p. 385, &c.; Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. vi. p. 214, &c.

[2] The writers who describe the life and achievements of Gregory VII. are mentioned by Sagittarius, *Introduct. ad Hist. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 687, &c. and Schmidt, in his *Supplem.* tom. ii. p. 627, &c. But especially should be consulted the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. v. Mali, ad d. xxv. page 568, and Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. vi. par. ii. p. 406, &c. Add *Vita Gregorii VII.* by Dithmar, Francf. 1710, 8vo. and all those who have written the history of the contest between the civil and the ecclesiastical powers, and of the controversy respecting investitures. [Also *Hildebrand als Papst Gregor. VII. und sein Zeitalter*, by Voigt, Weimar, 1815, 8vo.—*Mur.* [This work of Voigt has been translated into French by Jager, third ed. 1842, and also into Italian; for, though the work of a Protestant, it is very popular among the Romanists from the favourable view which it gives of Gregory's character and policy. A new and enlarged edition of it appeared at Weimar in 1846. The English reader may consult with advantage the careful and impartial review of the history of this remarkable pope by Hallam in his *Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 539, &c. See also Bowden's *Life and Pontificate of Gregory VII.* Lond. 1840, 2 vols, 8vo, in defence of Gregory; and Waddington's *Hist. of the Church*, vol. ii. p. 59–90, for a fair and candid review of his policy and character; but particularly Gieseler, *Lehrbuch*, &c. the whole of sec. 47, Cunningham's transl. vol. ii. p. 156–179, for an accurate summary of Gregory's various measures and their result, with the important quotations and references in the notes. Milman recommends Stenzel, *Geschichte Deutchlands unter den Fränkis. Kaisern*, Leip. 1827. 2 vols. as containing much valuable information. Note on Gibbon's *Decl. and Fall*, vol. x. p. 288.—*R.*

[3] By the Dictates, or as some write it, the Dictate of Hildebrand, are to be understood twenty-six short propositions relating to the supreme power of the Roman pontiffs over the whole church and over states. These are found in the second book of the epistles of Gregory VII. inserted between the 55th and 56th epistles. See Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. vi. par. i. p. 1304, and nearly all the Ecclesiastical Historians, large or small. Baronius and Lupus, (whose full Commentary on these Dictates, which he considers most sacred, is among his Notes and Dissertations on the Councils, *Opp.* tom. v. p. 164,) and nearly all the patrons and friends of the Roman pontiffs maintain, that these Dictates were drawn up and ratified perhaps in some council by Gregory VII. himself; and therefore the protestants have not hesitated to ascribe them to Hildebrand. But the very learned French writers, Launoi (*Epist.* lib. vi. Ep. xiii. in his *Opp.* tom. v. par. ii. p. 309,) Natalis Alexander (*Hist. Eccles.* sæcul. xi. xii. tom. vi. diss. iii. p. 719,) Antony and Francis Pagi (the former in his *Critica in Baron.* the latter in his *Breviarium Pontif. Roman.* tom. ii. p. 743.) Du Pin, and many others zealously contend that these propositions,

10. Nearly the whole form of the Latin church therefore was changed by this pontiff; and the most valuable rights of councils, of bishops, and of religious societies, were subverted and transferred to the Roman pontiff. The evil however was not equally grievous in all the countries of Europe; for in several of them, through the influence of different causes, some shadow of pristine liberty and prescriptive right was preserved. As Hildebrand introduced a new code of ecclesiastical law, he would have introduced also a new code of civil law, if he could have accomplished fully his designs. For he wished to reduce all kingdoms into fiefs of St. Peter, *i.e.* of the Roman pontiffs; and to subject all causes of kings and princes and the interests of the whole world to an assembly of bishops who should meet annually at Rome.[1] But neither he nor his successors could fully accomplish this arduous design, on account especially of the vigilance and firmness of the emperors, and of the kings of France and England.

called Dictates were palmed upon Hildebrand by some crafty flatterer of the Romish see. And to prove this they allege that although some of those sentences express very well the views of the pontiff, yet there are others among them which are clearly repugnant to his opinions as expressed in his epistles. The French have their reasons (which need not be here detailed) for not admitting that any pontiff ever spoke so arrogantly and loftily of his own power and authority. I can readily concede that so far as respects the form and arrangement of these Dictates, they are not the work of Gregory. For they are void of all order and connexion, and many of them also of clearness and perspicuity. But Gregory, who was a man of no ordinary genius, if he had attempted to draw up and describe what he conceived to be the prerogatives of the pontiffs, would have expressed with neatness and perspicuity what he had revolved in his own mind. But the matter of these Dictates is undoubtedly Hildebrand's; for the greater part of them are found, couched in nearly the same terms, here and there in his epistles. And those which seem to deviate from some assertions in his epistles, may without much difficulty be reconciled with them. It is probable therefore that some person collected these sentences out of his epistles, partly the printed ones and partly such as are lost or unknown, and perhaps likewise from his oral declarations; and then published them without judgment and without arrangement.—[The following are the principal propositions which compose these Dictates. I. That the Romish church was founded by our Lord alone. II. That the Roman pontiff alone is justly styled universal. III. That he alone can depose bishops and restore them. IV. That his legate has precedence of all bishops in a council, though he be of an inferior order, and can issue sentence of deposition against them. V. That the pope can depose absent persons. VI. That no person, among other things, may live under the same roof with one excommunicated by the pope. VII. That the pope alone is competent as occasion shall require to enact new laws, to gather new congregations, to divide rich bishoprics, and to unite poor ones. VIII. That he alone can use the imperial insignia. IX. That all princes should kiss his feet only. XII. That it is lawful for him to depose emperors. XVI. That no council without his order is to be accounted a general council. XVIII. That his sentence is not to be reviewed by any one, while he alone can review the decisions of all others. XIX. That he can be judged by no one. XX. That no one may presume to condemn a person who appeals to the apostolic see. XXI. That the greater causes of every church should be carried up to that see. XXII. That the Romish church never erred, nor will it, according to the scriptures, ever err. XXIV. That with his license subjects may impeach [their sovereigns]. XXVI. That no one is to be accounted a catholic who does not harmonize with the Romish church. XXVII. That he can absolve subjects from their allegiance to unrighteous rulers. See Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. vi. par. i. p. 1304, &c.—*Mur.*

[1] In confirmation of this most audacious design, proofs which are above all exception or doubt have been collected by learned men; and still more may be collected from the epistles of this pontiff and from other ancient monuments. In his *Epist.* lib. ix. ep. iii. p. 1481 (I use all along the edition of Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. vi. par. i.) he prescribes this form of an oath to be taken by future kings of the Romans or emperors:—"From this hour onward I will be faithful, with upright integrity, to the apostle Peter and to his vicar pope Gregory, and whatever the said Pope shall command me under the following form, by true obedience I will observe with fidelity. And on the day when I shall first see him, I will with my own hands make myself a vassal (miles) of St. Peter and him." What is this but a feudal oath (*ligium*) as the jurists call it, and a perfect vassalage (hominium)? That the pontiffs of Rome derived all their civil power from the kings of France is a fact well known. And yet Gregory contended that the kingdom of France was tributary to the church of Rome; and he directed his ambassadors to demand an annual contribution or tribute from the French. Lib. viii. ep. xxiii. p. 1476: "You must declare to all the Franks and command them by true obedience, that each family is to pay annually at least one denarius to St. Peter, if they recognise him as their father and shepherd according to ancient custom." It should be remembered that the phrase, by true obedience, here used, denotes, as those versed in antiquities well know, that the injunctions and commands to which it was annexed were to be inevitably obeyed. But in vain did Gregory lay this command upon the French; for he never obtained the least tribute from them. In the same epistle he vainly asserts that Saxony was a fief of the Romish church, or that Charlemagne had presented it to St. Peter. He insolently addresses Philip I. the king of France, in the following manner: (lib. vii. ep. xx. p. 1468: "Strive to the utmost to make St. Peter (*i.e.* the pontiff, St. Peter's vicar) your debtor; for in his hands are your kingdom and your soul, and he is able to bind and to loose you both in heaven and on earth." He endeavoured to instil the same principles into the Spaniards as into the French, lib. x. ep. vii.: "that the kingdom of Spain was from ancient times the property of St. Peter—and righteously belongs solely to the Apostolic see." But in lib. x. ep. xxvii. where he most earnestly inculcates the same doctrine upon the Spaniards, he has to acknowledge that the record of this important transaction was worn out and lost. Yet with the Spaniards he was rather more successful than with the French. For De Marca, in his *Hist. de Bearn*, livr. iv. p. 331, 332, proves from ancient documents that the king of Aragon, and Bernard, count of Besalva, promised and paid an annual tax to our Gregory. And it might be shown if there was room for it, that other Spanish princes did the same. William the Conqueror, a king of enlarged views and a most watchful guardian of his rights, when Gregory required him to pay St. Peter's pence and to render his kingdom a fief of St. Peter, replied with spirit: "Hubert your legate has admonished me to do fealty to you and your successors, and to be more careful to send the money which my predecessors were accustomed to remit to the Romish church. One of these I accede to, the other I do not. Fealty I have not done, nor will I do it. The money when there shall be opportunity shall be transmitted." The letter of king William is in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 127. With this answer Gregory had to be contented, for though he might fear no other he stood in fear of William. To Geusa, king of Hungary, he writes, lib. ii. ep. lxx. p. 1316, thus: "It cannot be unknown we think to your prudence, that the kingdom of Hungary is the property of the apostle Peter." [He had before, lib. ii. ep. xiii. p. 1273, written to Solomon, king of Hungary,

11. Gregory was more successful in extending the territories of the Romish church in Italy, and enlarging the patrimony of St. Peter. For he persuaded Matilda, the daughter of Boniface the very opulent duke and marquis of Tuscany, who was a very powerful Italian princess and with whom he was on terms of peculiar intimacy, after the death of her first husband Godfrey the hump-backed, duke of Lorrain, and of her mother Beatrix in the year 1076 or 1077, to make the church of Rome heir to all her estates both in Italy and out of it. A second marriage of this very heroic and prosperous lady in the year 1089, with Guelph, the son of Guelph, duke of Bavaria, contracted with the consent of the Roman pontiff Urban II. seemed to prejudice this more than princely donation. But being repudiated by her husband in the year 1095 and thus again made free and independent, Matilda in the year 1102 formally renewed the gift.[1] The pontiffs indeed had to encounter severe contests, first with the emperor Henry V. and then with others, respecting this splendid inheritance, nor were they so fortunate at last as to secure the whole of it to St. Peter; yet after various struggles and hazards they succeeded in obtaining no small share of it, which they hold to this day.[2]

claiming that kingdom by virtue of an absolute surrender of it to the see of Rome made by king Stephen, and in consequence of an acknowledgment by the emperor Henry II. after conquering it that it belonged to St. Peter. And as Solomon had done homage for it to the king of the Teutones, Gregory now threatens him with the loss of his kingdom unless he shall acknowledge the Pope, and him only, to be his liege lord.—*Mur.*] He laboured most zealously to bring the more potent princes of Germany in particular under subjection or fealty to St. Peter. Hence in lib. ix. ep. iii. p. 1480, he strongly exhorts the bishop of Padua to persuade Guelph, duke of Bavaria, and the other German chiefs, by all the means in his power, to subject their territories to the see of St. Peter, lib. ix. ep. iii. p. 1480. "We would have you admonish Duke Guelph to do homage to St. Peter. For we wish to place him wholly in the bosom of St. Peter and to draw him in a special manner into his vassalage. If you shall find such a disposition in him or in other men of power influenced by love of St. Peter, labour to bring them to do fealty." He approaches Sueno, king of Denmark, lib. ii. ep. ii. p. 1300, with much flattery to persuade him "to commit with pious devotedness his kingdom to the prince of the Apostles, and obtain for it the support of his authority." Whether he was more successful in Denmark than in England and France, I know not; but in other places his efforts certainly were not fruitless. A son of Demetrius, king of the Russians (to whom he addressed the lxxiv. ep. book ii. p. 1319), came to Rome, "and wished to obtain the kingdom" (which he expected to inherit from his father) "by gift from St. Peter through the hands of Gregory, paying due fealty to St. Peter, the Prince of Apostles:" the import of which language will be quite intelligible from what has been said. Gregory granted his "devout prayer," being certainly not backward to perform such offices, and "in behalf of St. Peter committed the government of the kingdom" to the Russian prince. More such examples might be adduced. Demetrius, surnamed Suinimer, duke of Croatia and Dalmatia, was created a king by Gregory in the year 1076, and was solemnly inaugurated at Salona by the Pontiff's legate, on the condition that he should annually pay to St. Peter on Easter day a tribute of two hundred golden Byzantines [a Grecian golden coin, of from twenty-three to twenty-four carats.—*Schl.*] See Du Mont's *Corps Diplomatique*, tome i. par. i. no. 88, p. 53; Lucius, *De Regno Dalmatiæ*, lib. ii. p. 85. Up to this time however the emperors of Constantinople held the sovereignty over the province of Croatia. Boleslaus II. king of Poland, having killed Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, Gregory not only excommunicated him, but likewise deprived him of his crown; and not contented with this severity, by a special mandate he forbade the Polish bishops to crown any one king of Poland without first obtaining the consent of the Roman pontiff. Dlugoss, *Hist. Polon.* tom. i. p. 295. But I desist.—If Gregory's success had equalled his wishes and his purpose, all Europe would at this day have been one great empire of St. Peter, or tributary to the Roman pontiffs; and all kings, feudal lords or vassals of St. Peter. But Gregory did not utterly fail in his attempts; for from this time onward the state of the whole of Europe was changed, and many of the rights and prerogatives of emperors and kings were either abridged or annulled. Among those annulled was the right of the emperor to ratify the election of a pontiff, which became extinct in Gregory and could never after be revived.

[1] The life and achievements of this extraordinary princess (than whom the Roman church had no stronger bulwark against the emperors, and Gregory VII. no more obedient daughter) are described by Luchin, Mellin, Contelorius, Julius de Putea, and especially by Florentini, in his *Monuments of the Countess Matilda*, written in Italian; and by Bachini in his *Hist. Monasterii Podalironensis* which was founded by her. The ancient biographies of her, one by Donizo and another anonymous, are given by Leibnitz, in his *Scrip. Brunsvicens.* tom. i. p. 629, &c.; and by Muratori, in his *Scrip. Rerum Italicar.* tom. v. p. 335, &c. with notes, and also the formula of her second donation mentioned above. Well worth perusing also are the remarks concerning this woman of so masculine an understanding, which are found in the *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. i. lib. iii. cap. v. p. 444, &c. and tom ii. lib. vi. cap. iii. p. 303, &c. where also is an account of her second husband Guelph.

[2] Some distinguished men infer from the terms of the conveyance, that Matilda gave to the church of Rome only her allodial possessions, and not the territories which she held as fiefs of the empire; and of course that she did not include in the donation the marquisate of Tuscany and the duchy of Spoleto. For she says: "Ego Mathildis—dedi et obtuli ecclesiæ S. Petri—omnia bona mea *jure proprietario*, tam quæ tunc habueram, quam ea, quæ in antea acquisitura eram, sive jure successionis, sive alio quocunque jure ad me pertinent." See the *Origines Guelph.* tom. i. lib. iii. p. 148, &c. But I doubt whether this is so clear that it must be admitted without hesitation. For the words *jure proprietario*, from which learned men conclude that Matilda gave to St. Peter only what she possessed *jure proprietario*, or her allodial possessions, manifestly refer, or I am greatly mistaken, not to the possession by the owner, but to the mode of the gift, and are to be construed with the verbs *dedi* and *obtuli*. The princess does not say, "I have given all the estates which I possess and hold *jure proprietario*," which had she said we must have acceded to the opinion of the learned gentlemen; but she says, "I have given all my estates to the church *jure proprietario, i.e.* it is my will that the church should possess all my estates, *jure proprietario*, as their real property. Besides the words which follow refute the construction of the learned gentlemen. Had Matilda intended to include only what she possessed, *jure allodii*, she could not have said as she does say, "whether belonging to me by right of inheritance or (*alio quocunque jure*) by any other right whatever." Certainly she excludes no species of possessions, but by using this very comprehensive language embraces all. Possibly some one however may object and say, The church of Rome never contended that the fiefs of the empire which Matilda possessed were included in this donation, and therefore they claimed only her allodial possessions. I am not sure that such was the fact; many reasons induce me to believe that the pontiffs wished to secure to

12. The design of Gregory VII. to raise the church above all human authority, and to render it perfectly free and independent, was obstructed especially by those two capital vices of the European clergy, concubinage and simony. The Roman pontiffs from the time of Stephen IX. had combated with zeal, but without much success on account of their inveteracy, these monstrous vices.[1] Gregory therefore in the second year of his reign, or A.D. 1074, attacked them with increased energy and firmness; for in a council held at Rome he renewed all the laws of the former pontiffs against simony, severely forbidding the sale of ecclesiastical benefices; and enacted that no priests should henceforth marry, and that such as now had either wives or concubines should relinquish either them or their sacred office. After these enactments he wrote letters to all bishops, requiring them to obey these decrees on pain of incurring severe punishments, and also sent ambassadors into Germany to Henry IV. king of the Romans, demanding of him a council for trying the causes of those especially who were contaminated with simony.

13. Both these decrees appeared very proper, salutary, and accordant with the principles of the religion of the age; for it was then maintained that priests should be elected and that they ought to live single. Yet both gave rise to the most lamentable contentions and to very great calamities. When the decree respecting celibacy was promulgated, serious tumults were excited in most of the countries of Europe, by those priests who were connected with either lawful wives or concubines;[2] many of whom,

their church all the estates of Matilda. But allow it to be so: as I cannot now go into the inquiry, that fact will not disprove what I contend for. Our inquiry is not how moderate were the Roman pontiffs in claiming the property bequeathed to them by Matilda, but what is the import of the words used in the bequest.

[1] Monstrous vices we may justly call them; for, although no honest man will deny that in hunting down these vices, Gregory violated not only the principles of religion but also those of natural justice and equity, and committed deeds without number which were most incompatible with the character he professed to sustain, yet it must be acknowledged that evils of no slight magnitude resulted from both these vices of the clergy to the church and to civil society; and that it was necessary restraint should be laid upon them. Very many among the married clergy were pious and upright men, whom Gregory ought to have spared. But there were also in all parts of Europe a vast number, not only of priests and canons, but likewise of monks, implicated in illicit amours; who kept concubines under the name of wives which they dismissed at their pleasure, substituting others and often a plurality in their place; who basely squandered the property of the churches and colleges which they served, even dividing it among their spurious offspring, and committed other insufferable offences. How extensive the crime of simony had become in this century, and what pernicious effects it produced everywhere, will be manifest from those examples (not to mention innumerable others) which the Benedictine monks have interspersed in various parts of their *Gallia Christiana*. I will give a few specimens. In the first volume of this excellent work, *Append. Docum.* p. 5, we have the document by which Bernard, a viscount, and Froterius, a bishop, give or rather openly sell to Bernard Almar and to his son the bishopric of Alby, reserving to themselves a large part of its revenues. Immediately after follows a writing of Pontius, a count, in which he bequeaths to his wife this bishopric of Alby [and moieties of another bishopric and an abbey; the reversion of which at her death was to belong to his children]: "Ego Pontius dono tibi dilectæ sponsæ meæ episcopatum Albiensem—cum ipsa eccleśia et cum omni adjacentia sua—et medietatem de episcopatu Nemanso—et medietatem de Abbatia S. Ægidii:—post obitum tuum remaneat ipsius alodis ad infantes qui de me erunt creati." Similar and even worse instances are stated, p. 24, 37, and elsewhere. In vol. ii. *Append. Docum.* p. 173, there is a letter of the clergy of Limoges, in which they humbly entreat William, count of Aquitain, that he would not sell the bishopric [and to give them a pastor, not a devourer of the flock]: "Rogamus tuam pietatem, ne propter mundiale lucrum vendas S. Stephani locum; quia si tu vendis episcopalia, ipse nostra manducabit communia.—Mitte nobis ovium custodem, non devoratorem." In vol. ii. p. 179, Ademar, viscount of Limoges, laments that he "had heretofore simoniacally sold the charge of souls to abbots who purchased of him." In fact, it appears from authors and documents which are above all exception, that the licentiousness of this age in buying and selling sacred offices exceeded all bounds and almost all credibility. I will subjoin only one short extract from Abbo's *Apologeticum* in Pithœus, *Codex Canon. Ecclesiæ Romanæ*, p. 398, which is worthy of notice as containing the argument by which the traders in sacred offices attempted to justify their base conduct: "There seems to be almost nothing appertaining to the church which is not put upon sale; viz. bishoprics, presbyterships, deaconries, and the other lower orders, archdeaconries also, deaneries, superintendencies, treasurers' offices, baptisteries."—"And these traffickers are accustomed to offer the cunning excuse that they do not buy the blessing by which the grace of the Holy Spirit is conveyed, but the property of the church or the possessions of the bishop" [non se emere benedictionem, qua percipitur gratia Spiritus Sancti, sed res ecclesiarum, vel possessiones episcopi]. An acute distinction truly! [See also what Glaber Radulphus, lib. v. cap. v. says of the Italian churches in the middle of this century: "All ecclesiastical offices were at that time as much accounted things vendible as merchandise is in a common market."—*Schl.*

[2] The histories of these times are full of the commotions excited by those priests who had either wives or concubines. For an account of the insurrections among the German priests, see Sigonius, *De Regno Italiæ*, lib. ix. tom. ii. p. 557; and Tengnagel's *Collectio Veter. Monumentor.* p. 45, 47, 54, &c. and the other writers of German history. [Two councils were held in Germany, one at Erfurth and the other at Mentz, in which the papal decree against the marriage of priests was made known. But in both, tumults were excited; and the adherents of the pope were in jeopardy of their lives, especially the abp. of Mentz and the papal legate the bp. of Chur. The German clergy said, "they would rather lose their priesthood than part with their wives. Let him who despises men see whence he can procure angels for the churches." See Trithemius in *Chron. Hirsaug.* and Lambert of Aschaffenb. ad. ann. 1074.—The clergy of Passau when the papal prohibition was published said to their bp. Altmann, "That they neither could nor would abandon the custom which it was clear they had followed from ancient times under all preceding bishops." The French also declared in an assembly at Paris, that they would not suffer the pope's insupportable yoke to be laid upon them. See Mansi, *Suppl. Concil.* tom. ii. p. 5.—*Schl.*] Of the commotions in England William of Paris treats, *Hist. Major*, lib. i. p. 7. For those in the Netherlands and France, see the epistles of the clergy of Cambray to those of Bremen in behalf of their wives, in Mabillon's *Annal. Benedict.* tom. v. p. 634, and the epistle of the clergy of Noyon to those of Cam-

especially in the Italian province of Milan, were willing rather to relinquish the priesthood than to part with their wives; and accordingly they seceded from the church of Rome, and branded the pontiff and his adherents who condemned the marriage of priests with the odious appellation of *Paterini*, that is, Manichæans.[1] The impartial however, though they wished priests to lead single lives, blamed Gregory for two things: first, that he fell indiscriminately upon the virtuous and the profligate with equal severity, and dissolved the most honourable marriages, to the great disgrace, hazard, and grief of husbands, wives, and children;[2] and secondly, that he did not correct the married clergy with moderation and with ecclesiastical penalties only, but delivered them over to the civil magistrates to be prosecuted, deprived of their property, and subjected to indignities and sufferings of various kinds.[3]

14. This first conflict gradually subsided in process of time, through the firmness and perseverance of the pontiff; nor was there any one among the European sovereigns disposed to become the patron of clerical matrimony. But the conflict arising from the other law (that for the suppression of simony) was extremely difficult to be settled; and being protracted through many years, it involved both the church and the state in very great calamities and distress.[4] Henry IV. received indeed the legates of the pontiff in a gracious manner, and he commended the pontiff's design of putting an end to

bray, in Mabillon's *Museum Italicum*, tom. i. p. 128. How great a commotion this thing produced in Italy, and especially among the Milanese, is fully stated by Arnulph senior and Landulf, historians of Milan; extant with notes, in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Italic.* tom. iv. p. 36, &c. Each of these historians favours the marriage of priests, in opposition to Gregory and the pontiffs.

[1] Paterini was one of the names by which the Paulicians or Manichæans were designated in Italy (who are well known to have migrated from Bulgaria to Italy in this age), and who were the same as were also called Cathari. In process of time this became the common appellation of all heretics; as might easily be shown by many examples from writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Respecting the origin of the name there are many opinions, the most probable of which is that which derives it from a certain place called Pataria, where the heretics held their meetings. And a part of the city of Milan is still vulgarly called *Pattaria*, or *Contrada de' Pattari*. See the notes on Arnulphus Mediolan. in Muratori, *Script. Rer. Italicar.* tom. iv. p. 39. Saxius ad Sigonium, *De Regno Italiæ*, lib. ix. *Opp. Sigon.* tom. ii. p. 536. An opinion has prevailed, perhaps originating from Sigonius, that this name was given at Milan to those priests who retained their wives contrary to the decrees of the pontiffs, and who seceded from the Romish church. But it appears from Arnulph and other ancient writers, that it was not the married priests who were called Paterini, but that these priests gave that appellation, by way of reproach, to such friends of the pontiffs as disapproved of the marriage of clergymen. See Arnulph, lib. iii. cap. x.; and the copious and learned proofs of this fact by Pagi, *Critica in Annal. Baron.* tom. iv. ad ann. 1058, sec. iii.; and Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 82. Nor need we look farther for the origin of this term of reproach. For the Manichæans and their brothers, the Paulicians, were opposed to marriage, which they considered as an institution of the evil demon; and therefore such as held the marriage of priests to be lawful and right, by applying the designation Paterini to the pontiffs and their adherents who prohibited such marriages, would represent them as following the opinions of the Manichæans.

[2] For there was a vast difference among those priests who were more attached to their women than to the decrees of the pontiffs; all of them being by no means equally censurable. The better sort of them, among whom those of Milan stood conspicuous, also those of the Netherlands and some others, only wished to live according to the laws of the Greek church; maintaining that it should be allowed to a priest before his ordination to marry one wife, a virgin, and no more. And they supported their opinions by the authority of Ambrose. See Puricellus, *Diss. utrum S. Ambrosius Clero suo Mediolan. permiserit, ut Virgini semel nubere possent;* republished in Muratori, *Script. Rer. Italicar.* tom. iv. p. 223, &c. With this class of priests Gregory and the other Roman pontiffs ought, as some advocates of the pontiffs have themselves acknowledged, to have been more indulgent than to those who claimed the right of marrying many wives, and those who advocated concubinage. The case of the monks also, whose vows bound them to perpetual celibacy, was very different from that of priests who were unwilling to be separated from their children and their lawful wives, whom they had espoused with upright intentions.

[3] Theodoric of Verdun, *Epistola ad Gregorium VII.* in Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 208. "They put me to the greatest confusion for this, that I should ever admit of a law for restraining the incontinence of the clergy, *by the intemperate proceedings of laymen*" (*per bilcorum insanias*).——"Nor must you suppose that persons of these sentiments, when they bring forward such vindications, wish to encourage incontinence in the clergy. They sincerely desire to see them lead blameless lives; but they wish to have only the *restraints of ecclesiastical terrors*, as is proper, held out to them" (nec aliter, quam oportet, *ecclesiasticæ ultionis censuram*, intentari gaudent.)

[4] We have numerous histories, both ancient and modern, of this famous contest about investitures, which was so calamitous to a large part of Europe, and which being commenced by Gregory VII. was carried on by him and the succeeding pontiffs on the one part, and by the emperors Henry IV. and V. on the other. Yet few if any of these histories are entirely impartial. For all the writers espouse the cause either of the popes or of the emperors; and they decide the controversy, not (as in my opinion they should do) by the laws then in force and according to the principles then universally admitted, but according to a supposed system of laws and the opinions of the present age. The principal ancient writers on the side of Gregory are collected by the noted Jesuit Gretzer, in his *Apologia pro Gregorio VII.* which was published separately, and also in his *Opp.* tom. vi. Those who defend Henry IV. are collected by Goldastus in his *Replicatio contra Gretzerum, et Apologia pro Henrico IV.* Hanov. 1611, 4to. Of the moderns, besides the Centuriatores Magdeburgenses, Baronius, the writers of Germanic and Italian history, and the biographers of Matilda, the reader may consult Schilterus, *De Libertate Ecclesiæ Germanicæ*, lib. iv. p. 481, &c.; Thomasius, *Historia Contentionis inter Imperium et Sacerdotium;* Meibomius, *De Jure Investituræ Episcopalis*, in the *Scrip. Rer. Germanicarum*, tom. iii.; Dithmar, *Hist. Belli inter Imperium et Sacerdotium*, Francf. 1714, 8vo, and others. Superior to all these in learning is Noris, in his *Istoria delle Investiture della Dignita Ecclesiastiche*, which was published after the death of this great man, Mantua, 1741, fol. It is a very learned work, but unfinished and defective; and, what is not surprising in a friend of the pontiffs or a cardinal, not candid towards the adversaries of the pontiffs or the emperors. With advantage may be also consulted Mascov's *Commentarii de Rebus Imperii German. sub Henrico IV. et V.* Lips. 1749, 4to.

simony. But neither he nor the German bishops would grant leave to the legates to assemble a council in Germany, for the purpose of trying those who were guilty of simony. The next year therefore, A.D. 1075, in a new council at Rome, Gregory proceeded still further; for in the first place he excommunicated some of the favourites of king Henry, whose advice and assistance he was said to have used in the sale of benefices, and also certain bishops of Germany and Italy; and in the next place, he decreed that "whoever should confer a bishopric or abbacy or should receive an investiture from the hands of any layman should be excommunicated."[1] For it had long been customary with the emperors and kings and princes of Europe to confer the larger benefices and the government of monasteries by the delivery of a ring and a staff. And as this formal inauguration of the bishops and abbots was the main support, both of the power claimed by kings and emperors to create whom they chose bishops and abbots, and also of the licentious sale of sacred offices to the highest bidders, or of simony, the pontiff judged that the custom ought to be wholly extirpated and abolished.[2]

15. But Henry was not dismayed at the decree of the pontiff. He acknowledged indeed that he had done wrong in selling sacred offices, and he promised amend-

[1] See Pagi, *Critica in Baronium*, tom. iv. ad ann. 1075; Noris, *Istoria delle Investiture*, p. 33, &c. Lupus, *Scholia et Diss. ad Concilia*, *Opp.* tom. vi. p. 39, &c. 44, &c.

[2] I must be allowed here to go into an investigation respecting the rite of inaugurating bishops and abbots with the ring and staff, because it is misunderstood by many and not very intelligibly explained by others. Among these last I may place the name of Henry Noris, the author of the *Istoria delle Investiture*; for in chap. iii. p. 56, where he treats of the motives which induced Gregory to prohibit investitures, though he states many things well and better than other writers do, yet he does not see through the whole thing, and he omits some circumstances important to be known. The investiture itself of bishops and abbots undoubtedly commenced at the time when the emperors, kings, and princes of Europe conferred on them the possession and use of territories, forests, fields, and castles. For according to the laws of those times (and they have not yet ceased to operate), persons holding territories, &c. by favour of the emperors and sovereigns, were not considered to be in legal possession of them until they had repaired to the court, sworn fealty to the sovereign, and received from his hand the token of the transfer and dominion of the property. But the mode of inaugurating or investing bishops and abbots with the ring and the staff or crozier (which are the insignia of the sacred office) was of later date, and introduced at the time when the emperors and kings, subverting the free elections which the ecclesiastical laws required, assumed to themselves the power not only of conferring but also of selling sacerdotal and abbatical offices at their pleasure. At first, the emperors and kings handed over to men of the sacred orders the same tokens of transferred use and possession as they did to soldiers, knights, counts, and others who approached the throne as vassals, namely, written instruments, green twigs, and other things. Humbert, a cardinal of the Romish church, who wrote before the contest about investitures was moved by Gregory VII. in his lib. iii. *Adversus Simoniacos*, cap. xi. (in Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. 787), says: "The secular authority favoured the ambitious who coveted ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, first by making request for them, next by threats, and afterwards by formal grants; and in all this finding no one gainsaying them, none who took up the pen or opened the mouth and complained, they proceeded to what was still greater; and now under the name of investiture ..... give, first, a written instrument, or deliver any sort of green twigs, and then staffs ..... which horrid abomination has become so well established that it is accounted the only canonical way, and what the ecclesiastical rule is, is neither known nor thought of."—And this custom of inaugurating or investing clergymen or laymen in the same manner would doubtless have continued unchanged, had not the clergy, who had the legal power and right of electing their bishops and abbots, artfully eluded the designs of the emperors and sovereigns. For as soon as their bishop or abbot was dead, without delay and in due form they elected a successor to him and caused him to be consecrated. *And the consecration having taken* place, the emperor or prince who had proposed to give or sell that office to some one of his friends was now obliged to desist from his purpose and to confirm the person who was elected and consecrated. There is not room here for examples and proofs of this shrewd management of the canons and monks, by which they eluded the intentions of emperors and kings to sell or give away sacred offices; but many may be collected out of the records of the tenth century. For this reason the sovereigns, that they might not lose the power of conferring the sacred offices on whom they pleased, required the insignia of such offices, namely the staff and ring, immediately after the decease of a bishop, to be transmitted to them. For according to ecclesiastical law, official power is conveyed by delivering the staff and ring; so that these being carried away, if the clergy should elect any one for their bishop, he could not be consecrated in due form. And every election, till it had been ratified by consecration, could be set aside without violation of ecclesiastical law; nor could a bishop elect perform any episcopal function till he was consecrated. As soon therefore as any one of the higher officers in the church died, the magistrate of the city where he lived or the governor of the province seized upon his staff and ring, and transmitted them to court. Ebbo, in his life of Otto of Bamberg (who lived in the court of Henry IV.) lib. i. sec. 8, 9 (in the *Acta Sanctor. Mensis Julii*, tom. i. p. 426), says: "Soon after, the ring and the pastoral staff of the bishop of Bremen were brought to the royal court. For at that period the church had not free elections, ... but when any bishop was about to go the way of all the earth, presently the commandants of his city transmitted his ring and pastoral staff to the palace; and thus by royal authority after consulting with his courtiers ..... he placed a suitable prelate over the bereaved people..... After a few days again the ring and pastoral staff of the bishop of Bamberg were transmitted to our lord the emperor. Which being told abroad many nobles ..... flocked to the royal court, who endeavoured to obtain one of these either by price or by petition."..... The emperor or king then delivered the ring and staff to whom he pleased; after which the person thus inaugurated and appointed bishop repaired to the metropolitan to whom it belonged to perform the consecration, and delivered over to him the staff and ring received from the emperor, that he might again receive these insignia of his power from the hands of the metropolitan. Thus the new bishops and abbots received the ring and staff twice; first from the hand of the king or emperor, and then from the metropolitan by whom they were consecrated. Humbert, *Contra Simoniacos*, lib. iii. cap. vi. in Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdot.* tom. v. p. 779. "Being thus consecrated" (*i.e.* invested by the emperor), "the intruder comes upon the clergy, the people, the sacred order, as their master, before he is known by them, sought after, or asked for. And he goes to the metropolitan, not to be judged by him, but to judge

ment; but he could by no means be induced to give up the power of appointing bishops and abbots, and the investiture so closely connected with that power. Gregory therefore, well knowing that many of the German princes, especially those of Saxony, were alienated from Henry, deemed this a favourable opportunity to extend and to establish his authority; and sending ambassadors to Goslar he summoned the king to Rome, there to answer before a council to the charges brought against him. The king, who was a high-minded prince and of an ardent temperament, being extremely indignant at this mandate, immediately called a convention of German bishops at Worms; and there accusing Gregory of various crimes, pronounced him unworthy of the pontificate, and appointed a meeting for the election of a new pontiff.[1] Gregory on the other hand, upon receiving this sentence by the king's messengers and letters, interdicted him from the communion, deposed him from the throne, and absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him.[2] War being thus declared on both sides, the

him.....For what does it signify or profit to give up the staff and ring which he brings with him? Is it because they were given to him by a layman? Why is that given up which is already held, unless it be either that the ecclesiastical benefice may be again sold under this form of enjoining or giving, or that the former sale may be confirmed by being subscribed to by the metropolitan and his suffrages; or at least that the appearance of a lay-ordination may be concealed under some cloak and colour of a clerical proceeding?"

What king or emperor first introduced this custom of appointing prelates by delivery of the staff and ring is uncertain. According to Adamus Bremensis (*Hist. Ec.* lib. i. cap. xxxii. p. 10, and cap. xxxix. p. 12, in Lindenbrog's *Script. Septentrion.*) as early as the ninth century, Lewis the Meek conferred on new bishops the right of enjoying the revenues of the churches they ruled, by delivery of a staff or shepherd's crook. But I suspect that Adam described the events of the former centuries in accordance with the customs of his own age, which was the eleventh century. For in the ninth century most emperors and kings allowed bishops to be created by the suffrages of the clergy and people; so that such an inauguration was then unnecessary. See the remarks of Papebroch against Adam. Brem. in the *Acta Sanctor.* Febr. tom. i. p. 557. Humbert states (lib. iii. *Contra Simoniac.* cap. vii. p. 780, and cap. xi. p. 787) that this custom commenced in the age of Otho the Great, and I am much inclined to that opinion. At least the learned men who have treated explicitly on the origin of investitures have adduced nothing which dissuades me from receiving this opinion. See Thomassin, *Discip. Ecclesiæ circa Benef.* tom. ii. lib. ii. p. 431; and Natal. Alexander, *Hist. Eccles.* sæcul. xi. xii. diss. iv. p. 725. The same Humbert relates (*ubi supra*, cap. vii. p. 780) that the emperor Henry, the son of Conrad (*i.e.* Henry III. surnamed Niger) wished to abrogate these investitures, but was prevented by various circumstances; but that Henry I. the king of France, threw everything into confusion, and was excessively addicted to simony, against whom therefore Humbert inveighs most vehemently.

In this method of inaugurating bishops and abbots by delivery of the ring and staff, there were two things especially which displeased the Roman pontiffs. First, that by it the ancient privilege of electing bishops and abbots was entirely subverted, and the power of creating prelates was placed wholly in the hands of the kings and emperors. This objection appeared a fair one, and perfectly accordant with the religious principles of that age. Secondly, it was extremely offensive to them that the insignia of spiritual power—namely, the staff and ring—should be conveyed by the hands of laymen, *i.e.* of profane persons, which seemed to them very like to sacrilege. Humbert, who wrote, as already stated, anterior to the contest between Gregory and Henry, has a long complaint on this subject, *Contra Simoniac.* lib. iii. cap. vi. p. 779, 795. I will subjoin some of his language:—"What business have laymen to distribute the ecclesiastical sacraments and episcopal or pastoral grace; that is, the curved staffs and rings by which episcopal consecration is especially performed and becomes valid, and on which it wholly depends? For the curved staff denotes the pastoral care which is committed to them; and the ring is emblematical of the celestial mysteries, admonishing preachers that they should exhibit the wisdom of God in a mystery with the apostle. Whoever therefore presume to initiate any one with these two, undoubtedly claim for themselves, by this presumption, the whole pastoral authority." And this reasoning was certainly good, if not according to our views, at least according to the opinions of that age; for the staff and the ring were viewed as the emblems of spiritual things, and whoever conferred these emblems was supposed to confer along with them spiritual authority and power.

From these considerations it will be easy to perceive what it was that induced Gregory VII. to oppose so resolutely the inauguration of bishops by means of the staff and ring. In the first council at Rome he left the subject of investitures untouched, and sought merely to abolish simony and restore the ancient right of election to the societies of priests and monks. Nor had the former pontiffs who opposed simony aimed at anything more. But when he afterwards learned that the practice of investitures was so closely connected with the power of kings and emperors to confer the higher sacerdotal offices, and with its adjunct simony, that it could not well be separated from them, he now assailed that practice that he might pluck up the evil which he opposed by the root. Thus we see the true grounds of the contest between the pontiff and the emperor. Gregory did not oppose investitures universally and as such, but only that species of investitures which was then practised. He did not object to the bishops and abbots swearing fealty to the kings and emperors, and acknowledging themselves their vassals and tenants; nor did he forbid an investiture which should be made by an oral declaration or a written instrument, for this mode of investiture he conceded to the kings of France and England; perhaps also he allowed a sceptre to be used in the transaction, as Calistus II. afterwards did. But he would not tolerate an investiture by the insignia of the sacred office, much less an investiture previous to consecration; and least of all an investiture subversive of the free election of bishops and abbots.

[1] The council of Worms was composed of a "very great number of bishops and abbots" from all parts of Germany. Hugo, a displaced cardinal, appeared there and painted the life and character of Gregory in the blackest colours. The whole assembly, with the exception of two bishops, subscribed his condemnation. Henry's letter to the pontiff concludes thus: "Thou therefore condemned by this anathema and by the decision of all our bishops, descend, quit the apostolic chair you have invaded, let another ascend it who will pollute religion by no violences, but will teach the sound doctrines of St. Peter. We Henry, by the grace of God, king, with all our bishops, say to you, descend." See Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. vi. par. i. p. 1563.—*Mur.*

[2] Gregory's excommunication of Henry is drawn up in the form of an address to St. Peter, stating what he had decreed and why. It contains these words: "Hac itaque fiducia fretus, pro ecclesiæ tuæ honore et defensione, ex parte omnipotentis Dei, Patris et Filii et Sp. Sancti, per tuam potestatem et auctoritatem, Henrico regi filio Henrici Imperatoris, qui contra tuam ecclesiam inaudita superbia insurrexit, totius regni Teutonicorum et Italiæ gubernaculo contradico; et omnes Christianos a vinculo juramenti, quod, sibi fecere vel facient, absolvo; et ut nullus ei sicut regi serviat, interdico." See Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. vi. par. i. p. 1566. —*Mur.*

church as well as the state was rent into two factions, one party supporting the king and the other the pontiff; and the evils resulting from this schism were immense.

16. The first who revolted from Henry were the chiefs of Swabia, at the head of whom was Rudolph, duke of Swabia. Next followed the Saxons, who had long been inimical to the king. Both were advised by the pontiff to elect a new king, in case Henry would not comply with the will of the church; and they assembled at Tribur in the year 1076 to deliberate on this very important subject. The result of the deliberation was, that the decision of the controversy between the king and the princes should be referred to the Roman pontiff, who should be invited to attend the diet of Augsburg the ensuing year for that purpose; and that the king during the intervening time should lead a private life, yet with this condition annexed, that unless he obtained absolution from the anathema within the year, he was to lose the kingdom. Henry therefore, with the advice of his friends, determined to go into Italy and implore the clemency of the pontiff. But the journey did not secure to him the advantages he hoped for. He obtained indeed, though with difficulty, from the pontiff, then residing at the castle of Canosa with Matilda, the great patroness of the church, the pardon of his sins, after standing for three days together, in the depth of winter, in February, A.D. 1077, barefooted and bareheaded and meanly clad, within the walls of the castle, professing himself a penitent. But the pontiff deferred the discussion and decision of his right to the throne till the convention of the princes should meet; and in the mean time wholly interdicted his wearing the ornaments or exercising the functions of royalty. The Italian princes and bishops [who had been Henry's supporters] were most indignant at this convention or compromise, and threatened the king with a deposition and other evils; so that Henry soon after violated the agreement, and, contrary to the command of Gregory, resumed the regal character which he had laid aside. The princes of Swabia and Saxony hearing of this met in convention at Pforzheim, in the month of March A.D. 1077, and by a unanimous vote elected Rudolph, the duke of Swabia, king.[1]

17. A violent war now commenced both in Germany and Italy. In Italy Gregory, with the forces of the Normans, who were sovereigns of Lower Italy and whom he had drawn over to his party, and those of the famous Matilda, a very heroic princess, resisted not unsuccessfully the Lombards who fought for Henry. In Germany Henry with his confederates encountered Rudolph and his associates, but not with good success. Gregory fearing the dubious issue of the war wished to be accounted neutral for some years. But taking courage after the unfortunate battle of Henry with the Saxons at Fladenheim in the year 1080, he excommunicated Henry a second time, and sending a crown to Rudolph, pronounced him the legitimate king of Germany.[2] In revenge Henry, supported by the suffrages of many of the German and Italian bishops, again deposed Gregory the same year in a council at Mentz; and a little after in a convention at Brixen in the Tyrol, he created the archbishop of Ravenna, Guibert, supreme pontiff, who subsequently took the name of Clement III. when consecrated at Rome A.D. 1084.

18. A few months after, Rudolph the enemy of Henry died at Merseburg, in consequence of a wound received in battle at the river Elster. Therefore the following year, A.D. 1081, the king marched with his army into Italy, intending if possible to crush Gregory and his adherents; for if these were subdued, he hoped the commotions in Germany might be easily quelled. He made several campaigns with various success against the forces of Matilda; twice he besieged Rome in vain; but at length in the year 1084 he became master of the greatest part of that city; placed Guibert whom he had made pontiff in the chair of St. Peter with the title of Clement III.; was by him crowned emperor and saluted as such by the Romans; and he now laid close siege to the castle of St. Angelo in which his enemy Gregory was shut up. But Robert, the Norman, duke of Calabria and Apulia, delivered the pontiff from his siege; and as it was not safe for him to remain at Rome, carried him with him to Salerno. And here it was in the year following that this high-minded man, whose spirit was so invincible, but who was the most ambitious and audacious of all the pontiffs that ever lived, terminated his days

[1] The ancient and modern writers of Italian and German history have given ample relations of these and subsequent events, though not all of them with equal fidelity and accuracy. I have consulted the original writers, and have followed those most to be relied on—Sigonius, Pagi, Muratori, Mascovius, Noris, and others, whose accounts differ indeed in some minor things, but agree as to the main points.

[2] The golden crown which Gregory sent to Rudolph had this memorable inscription: "*Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rudulpho.*"—*Mur.*

in the year 1085. The Romish church honours him among her saints and intercessors with God, though he was never enrolled in that order by a regular canonization. Paul V. near the commencement of the seventeenth century appointed the 25th day of May to be his festival.[1] But the sovereigns of Europe, especially the emperor of Germany and the king of France, have prevented its being publicly and everywhere observed. And even in our times [A.D. 1729] there was a contest with Benedict XIII. respecting the worship of him.[2]

19. The death of Gregory was followed by very trying times; for Clement III. or Guibert, the emperor's pontiff,[3] ruled both at Rome and over a large part of Italy; and in Germany Henry himself continued the war with the princes. The pontifical party, supported by the forces of the Normans, elected at Rome in the year 1086 Desiderius, an abbot of Monte-Cassino, successor to Gregory; and assuming the name of Victor III. he was consecrated in the church of St. Peter A.D. 1087, the Normans having rescued a part of the city of Rome from Clement. But Victor, who was a very different man from Gregory, being mild and timorous, soon retired to Benevento, because Rome was in the hands of Clement, and not long after died at Cassino. Before his death however, in a council held at Cassino, he renewed the decrees enacted by Gregory for the abolition of investitures.

20. Victor was succeeded by Otto, bishop of Ostia, and likewise a monk of Cluny, who was elected at Terracina in the year 1088 and took the name of Urban II. He was inferior to Gregory in courage and fortitude, but equalled him in arrogance and exceeded him in imprudence.[4] At first fortune seemed to smile upon him; but in the year 1090 the emperor returning into Italy and boldly and successfully attacking the younger Guelph, duke of Bavaria, and Matilda, the two heads of the pontifical party, things assumed a new aspect. Yet the hope of subduing the emperor revived again in 1091, when Conrad, his son, suffered himself to be seduced by the pontiff and the other enemies of his father, to rebel against his parent and usurp the kingdom of Italy. The condition of Italy still continued in the utmost confusion; nor was Urban able to bring the city of Rome under his subjection. Therefore after holding a council at Placentia in the year 1095, in which he reiterated the decrees and the anathemas of Gregory, he took a journey into France and there held the celebrated council of Clermont, in which the holy war against the Mohammedans who now possessed Palestine was resolved on. And what deserves particular notice, in the same council Urban most imprudently rendered the contest about investitures, which had long been so obstinate and calamitous, still more unmanageable and violent. For Gregory had not forbidden bishops and priests to swear fealty to their sovereigns; but Urban very rashly prohibited them from taking the oath of allegiance.[5] On his return to

[1] See the *Acta Sanctor. Antwerp.* ad diem 25 Maii; and Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. vi. par. ii.

[2] See the French work entitled, *L'Avocat du Diable; ou Mémoires Historiques et Critiques sur la Vie et sur la Légende du Pape Grégoire VII.* published in Holland, 1743, 3 vols. 8vo. [See also Hartung's *Unpartheyische Kirchen-Historie*, vol. ii. p. 1057; and *Mémoires pour servir à l'Hist. Ecclés. du 18me Siècle*, 2d edit. Paris, 1815, tome 2, p. 51, &c.—*Mur.* [This contest arose out of the circumstance that in 1728 Benedict XIII. appointed certain lessons to be read in public worship on the festival of Gregory VII.; one of which highly commended Gregory for having deprived the Emperor Henry IV. of his crown and absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance. This ostentatious renewal of the papal approbation of such unwarrantable deeds was warmly and justly resented by several of the Roman Catholic sovereigns of Europe, and by the king of France in particular; and the Parliament of Paris in 1729 ordered these lessons to be expunged from the Breviaries used in the churches of that kingdom. Accordingly, the Breviaries subsequently printed in France not only wanted these lessons, but some of them contained no reference at all to this festival of Gregory. The same course was adopted by the Emperor of Germany and other Romanist authorities in Europe. It is a most significant fact, however, that this obnoxious festival with its collects and its pernicious lessons, though up to the present time strictly prohibited in Austria, is *now* introduced into the French Breviaries, and also into those of Belgium. The reflections of a distinguished English divine on this ominous fact are very just. Speaking of the restoration not only of these offices lauding Gregory for deposing the emperor, but of the similar restoration of the festival and offices in commemoration of Pius V. who in like manner dethroned Queen Elizabeth and incited her subjects to rebellion:—"Such are the doctrines which the Church of Rome *now* preaches on her religious festivals in the churches of France! With her the acts of Pius and of Gregory are as fresh as if they were done yesterday; and is it too much to say that by eulogizing them in her liturgy, she shows her desire that they may be *repeated?*" Wordsworth's *Letters to M. Gondon*, Lond. 1847, p. 279.—*R.*

[3] A life of this pontiff, Clement III., was lately promised to the world by Hornius, in the *Miscell. Lips.* tom. viii. p. 609. Clement died A.D. 1100, as is expressly stated in the *Chronicon Benaventanum* published by Muratori, *Antiq. Italicæ.* tom. i. p. 262, &c. See Rubeus, *Hist. Ravennat.* lib. v. p. 397, &c.

[4] The Life of Urban II. was written by Ruinart, and is extant in Mabillon's *Opera Posthuma*, tom. iii. p. 1, &c. It is composed with learning and industry, but with what fidelity and candour I need not say. Those acquainted with facts know that the monks are not at liberty to describe to us the Roman pontiffs such as they really were. See also, concerning Urban, the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome viii. p. 514.

[5] To the fifteenth canon of this council the following addition is subjoined [constituting the seventeenth canon; according to Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. vi. par. ii. p. 1719]: "Ne episcopus vel sacerdos Regi vel alicui laico in manibus ligiam fidelitatem faciant;" *i.e.* may take the oath which vassals or subjects are accus-

Italy the pontiff succeeded in reducing the Roman castle of St. Angelo under his power; but he died a little after in the year 1099, and the year following Clement III. also died. Thus the Benedictine monk, Raynier, who was created pontiff after the death of Urban and who assumed the name of Pascal II. reigned without a competitor when the century closed.

21. Among the oriental monks nothing occurred worth noticing; but among the western monks there were several events which deserve to be mentioned. Of these events the most important perhaps was the closer union between them and the Roman pontiffs. For a long time many of the monks, in order to escape the oppressions and snares of the bishops, kings, and princes who coveted their possessions, had placed themselves under the protection of the Roman pontiffs, who readily received them on condition of their paying an annual tribute. But in this century the pontiffs in general, and especially Gregory VII. who wished to bring all things under subjection to St. Peter and to diminish the rights and prerogatives of the bishops, advised and counselled the monks to withdraw their persons and property from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and to place both under the inspection and dominion of St. Peter.[1] Hence from the time of Gregory VII. the exemptions of monasteries from the power of the Ordinary were immensely multiplied throughout Europe, to the great injury and inconvenience of kings and princes, and to the vexation of the bishops.[2]

22. The irreligious lives, the ignorance, frauds, dissoluteness, quarrels, and flagrant crimes of the greater part of the monks, are noticed by nearly all the historians of that age; not to mention other proofs of their impiety which have reached us in great numbers.[3] But still this class of people were everywhere in high repute, were promoted to the highest offices in the church, and increased continually in wealth and opulence. The causes of this are to be traced to the extreme ignorance of everything pertaining to religion, which gave rise to the grossest superstition, and to the licentiousness and the very dissolute lives of the people at large in this century.[4] While the great mass of the people, and even the clergy, secular as well as regular, addicted themselves to every species of vice, those appeared like saints and the friends of God who preserved some show of piety and religion. Besides, the nobles, knights, and men of military rank who had spent their lives in acts of robbery, in debauchery, in revelry, and other gross vices, when they became advanced in life and felt the stings of a guilty conscience, hoped they could appease their Almighty Judge if they should either purchase the prayers of the monks by rich gifts, and should bestow on God and the saints a portion of their ill-gotten wealth, or should themselves become monks and make their new brethren their heirs.

23. Of all the monks none were in higher reputation for piety and virtue than those of Cluny in France. Their rules of life therefore were propagated throughout all Europe, and whoever would establish new monasteries or resuscitate and reform old ones, adopted the discipline of Cluny.

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tomed to take. They are in an error who tell us that Gregory VII. forbade bishops taking the oath of fidelity. Unreasonable as he sometimes was, he was more reasonable than that. This is proved by Noris, *Istoria delle Investiture*, cap. x. p. 279, &c.

[1] See as a specimen the Epistle of Gregory VII. in which he subjects the monks of Redon to the Romish see, with expressions new and unheard of till his age, in Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 204, &c. To this may be added others by Urban II. and the subsequent pontiffs, which are extant in the same work, and here and there in other collections.

[2] Perhaps no exemption of a Germanic monastery can be produced which is older than the time of Gregory. Mosheim probably means to say, "No exemption by mere papal authority" occurred in Germany before Gregory VII. for there were various monasteries there which were exempt at an earlier period. That of Fulda was one exempt from its foundation A.D. 744; as appears from Boniface, *Epistola* 151. The founders of monasteries often wished to have them exempt from episcopal jurisdiction as well as from civil exactions, and therefore procured from the bishop and from the prince such exemption; which was confirmed at first by some council and afterwards by the Roman pontiff. As the pontiffs advanced in power and encroached on the prerogatives of bishops, councils, and kings, their confirmation of an exemption became more common and more necessary, till at last they assumed the exclusive right of granting exemptions at their pleasure. See De Marca, *Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*, lib. iii. cap. xvi.—*Mur.*

[3] See what Launoi, *Assertio in Privileg. S. Medardi*, cap. 26, sec. 6, *Opp.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 499, &c. and Simon, *Bibliothèque Critique*, tome iii. cap. 32, p. 331, &c. have collected and remarked on this subject. [Ivo Carnotensis, *Ep.* 70 (cited by Pagi, *Crit. Baron.* ad ann. 1100, No. ix.) says to Walter, bishop of Meaux: "I state to your goodness the shameful report which I have received from the lips of the monks of Tours, and the letters of lady Adeleid, the venerable countess, respecting the monastery of St. Fara, that it is no longer the residence of holy virgins but may be pronounced the brothel of demoniac females who prostitute their bodies to every sort of men." This is only a specimen of what is to be met with in the writers of these times. —*Mur.*

[4] On the astonishing wickedness of this age see Blondell, *De Formula, regnante Christo*, p. 14, &c. Boulainvilliers, *De l'Origine et les Droits de la Noblesse*, in Malet's *Mémoires de Littér. et de l'Hist.* tome ix. par. i. p. 63, &c. and many others. This licentiousness and impunity of all sorts of wickedness gave rise to the orders of knights errant or chivalry; whose business it was to protect the weak, the poor, and especially females, against the insults and violence of the strong. This was a laudable institution in those wretched times when the energy of law was wholly prostrate, and when those filling the office of judges were incompetent to perform the duties of their stations.

The French monks of Cluny, from whom the sect originated, gradually acquired such immense wealth in consequence of the donations of the pious of all classes, and at the same time such extensive power and influence, that towards the close of the century they were able to form a peculiar community of their own, which still exists under the name of the Cluniacensian order or congregation.[1] For all the monasteries which they reformed and brought under their rules, they also endeavoured to bring under their dominion; and in this they were so successful, especially under Hugo, the sixth abbot of Cluny, a man in high favour with pontiffs, kings, and nobles, that at the close of the century no less than thirty-five of the larger monasteries in France, besides many of the smaller ones, looked up to him as their general. Besides these there were numerous others which, though they declined becoming members of this community and continued to elect their own governors, yet chose the abbot of Cluny or the arch-abbot as he was called, for their patron and supervisor.[2] But this prosperity, this abundance of riches, honours, and power, gradually produced not only arrogance, but all those vices which disgraced the monks of those ages; and in a little time there was nothing to distinguish the Cluniacensians from the other monks except some rites and forms.

24. The example of the Cluniacensians led other pious and well-disposed men to establish similar monastic associations; and the consequence was that the Benedictine family, which hitherto had composed but one body, was now split into several sects, all subject indeed to one rule, but differing in customs, forms, and mode of living, and moreover indulging animosity towards each other. In the year 1023 Romuald, an Italian, retired to Camaldoli or Campo-Malduli, a desert spot on the lofty heights of the Apennine,[3] and there laid the foundation of the congregation of the Camaldulensians, which still flourishes, especially in Italy. Those who belong to it are divided into cœnobites and eremites. Both are required to live according to rigorous and severe laws, but the cœnobites have relaxed not a little the ancient rigour of the order.[4] Shortly after John Gualbert, a Florentine, founded at Vallombrosa, which is also on the Apennine, the congregation of Benedictine monks of Vallombrosa, which in a little time extended into many parts of Italy.[5] To these two Italian congregations may perhaps be subjoined that of Hirschau [in the diocese of Spire] in Germany, established by the abbot William, who reformed many monasteries in Germany and established several new ones.[6] But the Hirsaugians, if we examine them closely, appear not to be a new fraternity, but a branch of the Cluniacensian congregation, whose rules and customs they followed.

25. Near the end of the century, A. D. 1098, Robert, abbot of Molesme in Burgundy, a province of France, being utterly unable to bring his monks to live up to the rule prescribed by St. Benedict, retired with twenty associates to Citeaux (Cistercium), then a horrid place covered with woods and briers, but now a beautiful spot [in the diocese of Chalons and county of Beaume], and there commenced the order or rather congregation of the Cistercians. In the following century this fraternity, with the same success as that of Cluny, spread itself over the greatest part of Europe, became exceedingly opulent, and acquired the form and rights not only of a new monastic sect, but of a new commonwealth of monks. The primary law of this fraternity was the rule of St. Benedict, which the founder required the members to fulfil perfectly, without adopting any convenient interpretations of its precepts; yet he added some further regulations to serve as a rampart fortifying the rule against any violations; regulations which were severe and obnoxious to human nature, but exceedingly holy according to the views of that age. Yet the possession of wealth which had corrupted the Cluniacensians at

[1] On the very rapid advances of the order of Cluny in both wealth and reputation, Baluze has collected numerous facts in his *Miscellanea*, tom. v. p. 343, &c.; and tom. vi. p. 436; and Mabillon has treated expressly on the subject in several parts of his *Annales Benedict.* tom. v.

[2] Mabillon, Præfat. ad sæcul. v. *Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened.* p. xxvi. &c.; *Hist. Génér. de Bourgogne*, by the Benedictine Monks, tome i. p. 158, &c. Paris, 1739, fol. *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome ix. p. 470.

[3] See a description and a drawing of the spot in Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. iv. p. 261, &c.—*Mur.*

[4] Some of the writers concerning the order of Camaldulensians are named by Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 895. To which add the life of Romuald in the *Acta Sanctor.* Febr. tom. ii. p. 101. &c.; and in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. vi. par. i. p. 427; Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tome i. p. 236; Mabillon, *Annales Ord. Bened.* tom. v. in many places, especially p. 261, &c.; Ziegelbauer's *Centifolium Camaldulense, seu Notitia Scriptor. Camaldulensium*, Venice, 1750, fol. [and Costadoni, *Annales Camaldulens.* tom. i. ii. Venice, 1755, fol.—*Schl.*

[5] See the life of Gualbertus in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. vi. par. ii. p. 273; Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tome v. p. 298. Many documents relating to this order and to its history were published not long since by Lami in his *Deliciæ Eruditorum*, printed at Florence, tom. ii. p. 238 (where the ancient rules of the order are given), and p. 272, 279, tom. iii. p. 177, 212, and elsewhere.

[6] See Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. vi. par. ii. p. 716, &c.; Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tome v. p. 332.

once, also gradually extinguished among the Cistercians their first zeal for obeying their rule; so that in process of time their faults were as numerous as those of the other Benedictines.[1]

26. Besides these societies formed within the Benedictine order, there were added some new families of monks or orders in the proper sense of the term, *i.e.* societies having peculiar rules and institutions.[2] For to some persons who were constitutionally gloomy and inclined to excessive austerity, the rule of Benedict appeared too lax; and others thought it imperfect and not well accommodated to the exercise of all the duties of piety towards God. In the first place Stephen of Thiers, a nobleman of Auvergne and son of a viscount (whom some call Stephen de Muret from the place where he erected the first convent of his order), obtained from Gregory VII. in the year 1073, permission to institute a new species of monastic discipline. He at first designed to subject his followers to the rule of St. Benedict, but he afterwards changed his purpose and drew up a rule of his own. It contains many very severe injunctions; poverty and obedience it inculcates as first principles; it forbids the possession of lands beyond the boundaries of the monastery; denies wholly the use of flesh even to the sick; does not allow of keeping cattle, that a hankering after animal food might be more easily prevented; most sacredly enjoins silence, and makes solitude of so much importance, that the doors of the monastery were to be opened to none but persons of high authority; prohibits all converse with females; and finally commits the care and management of all the temporal affairs and concerns of the monastery exclusively to the converted [or lay] brethren, while the clerical brethren were to devote themselves exclusively to the contemplation of divine things. The reputation of this new order was very high in this century and the next, so long as these regulations and others no less severe were observed; but its credit sank entirely when violent animosity broke out between the clerical and the converted brethren, the latter exalting themselves above the former; and when the rigour of their rule was in many respects mitigated and softened down, partly by the presidents of the order themselves, and partly by the Roman pontiffs. This monastic sect was called the order of Grammontians, because Muret where they were first established was near to Grammont in the territory of Limoges.[3]

27. Afterwards in the year 1084 or 1086 followed the order of Carthusians, so called from Chartreuse a wild and dismal spot, surrounded with high mountains and craggy rocks, near Grenoble in [the south-easterly part of] France. The founder of this noted sect, which exceeded perhaps all others in severity of discipline, was Bruno, a German of Cologne and canon of Rheims in France. Unable to endure or to correct the perverse conduct of his archbishop Manasses, he bade adieu to the world, and with six companions took up a wretched residence in the dismal spot I have mentioned, with the permission of Hugo, bishop of Grenoble.[4] He at first adopted the rule of St. Benedict, though enlarged with a considerable number of very austere and rigid precepts; and his successors, first Guigo and afterwards others, imposed upon the order other laws

[1] The principal historian of the Cistercian order is Manriquez, whose *Annales Cistercienses*, a ponderous and minute work, was published at Lyons, 1642, in four vols. fol. The second is Le Nain, whose *Essai de l'Hist. de l' Ordre de Citeaux* was published at Paris, 1696, in nine vols. 8vo. The other writers are enumerated by Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 1066. But to them should be added Mabillon, who learnedly and diligently investigates the origin and progress of the Cistercians in the 5th and 6th vols. of his *Annal. Bened.* and also Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tome v. p. 341, &c.

[2] See note 2, p. 337, of this vol.—*Mur.*

[3] The origin of this order is described by Guidonis [de la Gayonne], whose tract was published in Labbé's *Biblio. Manuscrip.* tom. i. p. 275. For its history and affairs, see Mabillon, *Annales Bened.* tom. v. p. 65, &c. 99, &c. and tom. vi. p. 116, and *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. vi. par. ii. p. 34; Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tome vii. p. 409; *Gallia Christiana*, by the Benedictine monks, tom. ii. p. 645; Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenionens.* tom. i. p. 158, and his *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 486. Of the founder of the order, Stephen, there is a particular account in the *Acta Sanctor.* Februar. tom. ii. p. 199, &c.

[4] Some of the writers concerning Bruno and the order he established are mentioned by Fabricius, *Biblio. Lat. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 784, but there are many more extant. See Masson, *Annales Cartusiani*, Correria, 1687, fol.; Orland, *Chronicon Cartusianum*, and others; from whom Helyot (in his *Hist. des Ordres*, tome vii. p. 366) has compiled a neat but imperfect history of the Carthusian order. Many documents relating to the character and laws of the order are exhibited by Mabillon, in his *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 638, 683, &c. Of Bruno himself the Benedictine monks have given a distinct account, *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome ix. p. 233, &c. The collectors of the *Acta Sanctorum* will doubtless give a more full account when they come down to the 6th day of October, which is sacred to his memory. It was the current report formerly that Bruno took his resolution of retiring into a desert upon occasion of the death of a priest at Paris, who after his death miraculously returned to life for a short period, in order to attest his own damnation. But since Launoi attacked that story in his tract, *De Causa Secessus Brunonis in Desertum*, it has commonly been accounted a fable by the more discerning even in the Romish church itself. And the Carthusians, who might feel an interest to keep up the story, seem at this day to abandon it, or at least they defend it timidly. The arguments on both sides are clearly and fairly stated by Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 467, &c.

which were still more severe and rigorous.[1] Nor is there any sect of monks which has departed less from the severity of its original discipline. This new sect of solitaries spread itself more slowly than the others over Europe, and was later in admitting females to join it; indeed it could never prevail much among that sex, owing undoubtedly to the rigours and gloominess of its discipline.[2]

28. At the close of the century, A.D. 1095, the order of St. Anthony, which was devoted to the receiving and curing diseased persons, and especially those affected with what was called the holy disease or St. Anthony's fire, took its rise from small beginnings in France. Those who were seized with this terrible disease in this century hastened away to a cell (built by the Benedictine monks of Montmajor near Vienne), in which the body of St. Anthony was said to repose, that through the prayers of this holy man they might be restored. Gaston, a rich nobleman of the diocese of Vienne, and his son Guerin having both recovered from the disease in this cell, consecrated themselves and all their property to St. Anthony, who as they believed had healed them, and devoted themselves to works of kindness towards the sick and the indigent. Eight men first joined them and afterwards many more. This company were indeed all consecrated to God, but they were bound by no vows and were subject to the Benedictine monks of Montmajor. But after they had become rich through the bounty of pious individuals and were spread over various countries, they at first withdrew themselves from the control of the [Benedictine] monks; and at length under Boniface VIII. in the year 1297, they obtained the rank and the rights of an order, or sect of brethren observing the rule of St. Augustine.[3]

29. The canons, who since the eighth century formed an intermediate class between the monks and what are called the secular clergy, had become infected with the same dissoluteness of morals which pervaded the whole sacred order; indeed there was even greater profligacy among them in some countries of Europe. Therefore good men who had some sense of religion, and also several of the pontiffs, as Nicolaus II. in the council at Rome A.D. 1059,[4] and afterwards others, made commendable efforts for reforming the associations of the canons. Nor were these efforts without effect, for a better system of discipline was introduced into nearly all those associations. Yet all of them would not admit reform to the same extent. For some bodies of canons returned indeed into commons, that is, resided in the same house and ate at a common table, which was especially required by the pontiffs, and was extremely necessary in order to prevent marriages among this class of priests; while they still retained the perquisites and revenues of their priestly offices, and used them at their pleasure. But other associations, chiefly through the influence of Ivo, afterwards bishop of Chartres, renounced all private property and all their possessions, and these lived very much after the manner of monks. Hence arose the distinction between secular canons and regular; the former obeying the rule of Nicolaus II. and the latter following that of Ivo. And as St. Augustine introduced among his clergy nearly the same regulations as those of Ivo, though he did not commit any rules to writing, hence the regular canons were called by many, regular canons of St. Augustine or canons under the rule of St. Augustine.

[1] See Mabillon's Præf. ad sæcul. vi. par. ii. of his *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* p. xxxvii.

[2] Most of those who treat of this sect make no mention of Carthusian nuns, and hence many represent the order as embracing no females. But they have cloisters of females, though but few; for most of their nunneries are extinct, and in the year 1368 an express regulation was made prohibiting the erection of any more convents for females in the Carthusian community. At the present day therefore [A.D. 1755], there are only five convents of Carthusian nuns, four in France and one at Bruges in the Netherlands. See the learned author of the *Variétés Historiques, Physiques, et Littéraires*, tome i. p. 80, &c. Paris, 1752, 8vo. The delicate female constitution could not sustain the austere and stern mode of living required by the laws of the order; and hence in the few nunneries which remain it was necessary to yield somewhat to nature, and in particular to relax or abrogate the severe laws respecting silence, solitude, and eating alone.

[3] See the *Acta Sanctor.* Januarii, tom. ii. p. 160. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tome ii. p. 108, &c.; Pennotus, *Hist. Canonicorum Regular.* lib. ii. cap. 70; Kapp, *Diss. de Fratribus S. Antonii*, Lips. 1737, 4to. The present state of the first house or hospital of this order in which its abbot resides, is described by Martene and Durand, *Voyage Littér. de Deux Bénédictins*, tome i. p. 260, &c.

[4] The decree of Nicolaus II. in the council of Rome, A.D. 1059 (by which the old rule for canons adopted in the council of Aix-la-Chapelle was repealed and another substituted), was first published by Mabillon among the documents subjoined to tom. iv. of his *Annales Benedict.* p. 748, &c. and it is also inserted in the *Annales* themselves, lib. lxi. sec. xxxv. p. 586, &c.

[5] See Mabillon, *Annales Bened.* tom. iv. p. 586, and his *Opp. Posthuma*, tom. ii. p. 102—115; Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tome ii. p. 11, &c. Thomassin, *Disciplina Ecclesiæ circa Beneficia*, tom. i. par. i. lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 657, &c. Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 357, &c.; Many documents occur likewise in various parts of the *Gallia Christiana* by the Benedictine monks, relating to this reformation of the canons and the distinction among them. This recent origin of their order is very disagreeable to the regular canons; for they wish on many accounts to be

30. Among the Greek writers the following are the best.[1] Theophanes Cerameus, whose homilies still extant are not altogether contemptible.[2] Nilus Doxopatrius.[3] Nicetas Pectoratus, the most strenuous defender of the opinions of the Greeks against the Latins.[4] Michael Psellus, a learned man and well known by his writings of various kinds.[5] Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, who revived the contest between the Greeks and the Romans, when it was nearly put to rest.[6] Simeon junior, some of whose Meditations on the duties of a Christian life are extant.[7] Theophylact of Bulgaria, who became known especially by his interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.[8]

31. The Latins esteem the following as their best writers. Fulbert of Chartres, a man who encouraged literature and the education of youth, and who has rendered himself famous by his Epistles and by his immoderate zeal for the Virgin Mary.[9] Humbert, a cardinal who wrote against the

esteemed a very ancient order; and hence, as is well known, they refer the origin of their order to the times of Christ, or at least to those of Augustine. But the arguments and testimonies they allege to prove their high antiquity scarcely deserve a laboured confutation. The name canons was doubtless used anterior to this century, but its import was anciently very extensive. See Claude de Vert, *Explication des Cérémonies de la Messe*, tome i. p. 58. Hence nothing can be inferred from the name. But of regular and secular canons there is no mention in any work extant older than this century; and it is certain that those canons who had nothing in common but their dwelling and table were called secular canons; while those who had all things in common, without any exception whatever, were called regular canons. [To Mosheim's account of the canons it may not be improper to add a few words concerning their introduction into England, and their progress and establishment among us. The order of regular canons of St. Augustine was brought into England by Adelwald, confessor to Henry I. who first erected a priory of his order at Nostel in Yorkshire, and had influence enough to have the church of Carlisle converted into an episcopal see, and given to regular canons, invested with the privilege of choosing their bishop. This order was singularly favoured and protected by Henry I. who gave them in the year 1107 the priory of Dunstable, and by queen Maud, who erected for them the priory of the Holy Trinity in London, the prior of which was always one of the twenty-four aldermen. They increased so prodigiously that besides the noble priory of Merton, which was founded for them in 1117 by Gilbert, an earl of Norman blood, they had under the reign of Edward I. fifty-three priories, as appears by the catalogue presented to that prince, when he obliged all the monasteries to receive his protection and to acknowledge his jurisdiction.—*Macl.*

[1] Concerning all of whom the *Biblioth. Græca* of Fabricius may be consulted.

[2] Theophanes, surnamed Cerameus (the potter), was abp. of Tauromenium in Sicily and probably flourished about A.D. 1040, though some place him in the ninth century. His sixty-two Homilies on the lessons from the Gospels for all Sundays and festivals are written in a natural and didactic style. They are exegetical. Fr. Scorsus published them, Gr. and Lat. Paris, 1644, fol.—*Mur.*

[3] Nilus Doxopatrius, an abbot or archimandrite in the Greek church. He resided at Panormus in Sicily, A.D. 1043. He wrote an account of the five patriarchates, namely, of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, containing their statistics; large extracts from which were published by Leo Allat. *De Concordia Eccles. Orient. et Occident.* and the entire work, Gr. and Lat. by Le Moine, *Varia Sacra*, tom. i. p. 211, Paris, 1611.—*Mur.*

[4] He was a monk and presbyter in the monastery of Studium near Constantinople, and flourished A.D. 1050. He wrote against the Latins and also against the Armenians. His book *De Azymis, de Sabbatorum Jejunio, et Nuptiis Sacerdotum*, was published in Lat. by Canisius, tom. vi. Some others of his polemic tracts have been partially published.—*Mur.*

[5] For a notice of Michael Psellus, see note 7, p. 351, above.—*Mur.*

[6] This Michael was patriarch A.D. 1043—1058. We have nothing of his but some synodic decrees and a few letters, all in controversy with the Latins.—*Mur.*

[7] Simeon junior was abbot of St. Mamas at Constantinople about A.D. 1050. His works in a Latin translation were published by Pontanus at Ingolstadt, 1603, 4to, comprising thirty-three orations on Faith and Christian morals, a book on divine love, and 228 *Capita moralia, practica, et theologica.*—*Mur.*

[8] Theophylact was a native of Constantinople and abp. of Acris, in Bulgaria, A.D. 1077. He wrote commentaries (compiled from Chrysostom) on nearly all the New Test. and on the minor prophets, also seventy-five epistles and several tracts; all of which were well published, Gr. and Lat. Venice, 1754, fol. The older editions are less perfect.

Besides the writers mentioned by Mosheim, the Greeks of this century had the following:—

Alexius, patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 1025—1043. Some of his decrees are extant.

Peter, patriarch of Antioch in the middle of this century, has left us three epistles and a profession of his faith.

Leo, abp. of Acris in Bulgaria, A.D. 1053. He engaged in the contest against the Latins. One of his epistles and extracts from others are extant.

John, metropolitan of Euchaita in Paphlagonia, A.D. 1054, has left a poem on the history of the principal festivals, published Eton, 1610, 4to, and a few lives of monkish saints.

John Xiphilin, patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 1066—1078. He was of honourable birth, but abandoned public life, became a monk, and at last a patriarch. He has left us a homily on the cross, and some decrees. His nephew, also called John Xiphilin, and his contemporary, was the epitomizer of Dion Cassius.

Samuel, a converted Jew of Morocco in Africa, wrote, A.D. 1070, a letter or tract in Arabic, proving that the Messiah was already come. A Latin translation of it is in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xviii. p. 519.

Samonas, abp. of Gaza, A.D. 1072, wrote a tract or dispute with Achmed, a Saracen, proving the doctrine of transubstantiation; published, Gr. and Lat. in F. le Duc, *Auctarium*, tom. ii. p. 277.

Michael Attaliata, a Greek jurist, proconsul, and judge, A.D. 1072. He wrote a synopsis or practical treatise on the imperial laws in ninety-five titles, addressed to Michael Ducas; published, Gr. and Lat. by Leunclavius, *De Jure Gr. Rom.* tom. ii. p. 1.

Nicetas Serron, deacon of the church at Constantinople and then abp. of Heraclea. He flourished A.D. 1077, and wrote commentaries on Gregory Nazianzen. To him as well as to Olympiodorus has been ascribed the *Catena* on Job, published, Gr. and Lat. by Junius, Lond. 1637, fol.

Nicolaus Grammaticus, patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 1084—1111. He has left us a long letter to Alexis Comnenus against depriving metropolitans of their sees; also several decrees.—*Mur.*

[9] For an account of this famous man see the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome vii. p. 261. [St. Fulbert came from Rome to Chartres about A.D. 1000, and there taught school with great reputation. In the year 1007 he was made bishop of Chartres, and filled that office till his death in the year 1028. His writings consist of 134 letters, generally well written and of some use to the history of those times; besides several indifferent sermons, some worse poetry, and two lives of monkish saints. They were edited with bad faith, Paris, 1608, 8vo, and thence admitted into the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xviii. p. 1. See Du Pin's *Biblio des Aut. Eccles.* tome ix. p. 1, &c.—*Mur.*

Greeks, with more zeal and learning than any of the Latins in this century.[1] Petrus Damianus, whose genius, candour, integrity, and writings of various kinds, entitle him to rank among the first men of the age, although he was not free from the faults of the times.[2] Marianus Scotus, whose Chronicon and some other of his writings are extant.[3] Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, a man of great acumen, well versed in the dialectics of his age, and peculiarly well acquainted with theological subjects.[4] Lanfranc, also archbishop of Canterbury, well known for his exposition of the epistles of Paul and his other writings, from which he must be acknowledged not destitute of perspicuity nor of learning, according to the standard of his age.[5] The two Brunos, the one of Monte Cassino[6] and the other the founder of the Carthusian order.[7] Ivo of Chartres, a

[1] See Martene, *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 629; *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome vii. p. 527, &c. [Humbert was a monk of Toul, well skilled in Greek, whom pope Leo IX. took with him to Rome, A.D. 1049, and there made him a cardinal. He was employed in several important commissions, but especially in a papal embassy to Constantinople, A.D. 1054. He died after A.D. 1064. His writings are all controversial, and chiefly against the Greeks. They are extant partly in Baronius, *Annales*, and all of them in Canisius, *Lectiones Antiq.* tom. vi. and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xviii.—*Mur.*

[2] See the *Acta Sanctor.* Febr. tom. iii. p. 406; Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome ii. p. 950; Oudin, Diss. in his *Comment. de Scriptor. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 686, &c. [Peter Damian was born of humble parentage at Ravenna, A.D. 1007. Educated by his brother, he early became a monk, a teacher, a reformer of morals, an abbot of Ostia, and cardinal of the Romish church. But weary of public life, he resigned his bishopric and retired to his monastery. The pontiffs employed him as their legate on several most difficult enterprises, in which he acquitted himself with great address and prudence. He was sent to Milan A.D. 1059, to suppress simony and clerical incontinence; and, A.D. 1062, was dispatched to Cluny in France, to reform that monastery and settle its controversies; and in 1063 was legate to Florence for settling a contest between the bishop and the citizens; and 1069 he was sent into Germany to dissuade king Henry from repudiating his queen Bertha; and lastly, in 1072, he was papal legate to Ravenna for reconciling that church to the papal dominions; and died on his return, in February 1074, aged 66. He was a man of great learning, devout, honest, frank, and well acquainted with human nature. He wrote with ease and perspicuity. His numerous writings were collected in three vols. fol. by Cajetan, Rome, 1606; often reprinted since, but best at Venice, 1754, in four vols. fol. They consist of eight books of letters, about sixty tracts on various subjects of discipline, morals, and casuistry, sermons for all Sundays and festivals of the year, and the lives of several saints, besides notices of many others.—*Mur.* [His name was Petrus de Honestis, and he was called Damiani after an elder brother who acted as a parent towards him. Fabricius, in his *Biblio. Lat. Medii Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 20, &c. supposes Petrus de Honestis and Petrus Damianus to be two different persons.—*R.*

[3] Marianus Scotus was born in Ireland A.D. 1028, became a monk, travelled into Germany in 1058, where he spent the remainder of his life in the monasteries of Cologne, Fulda, and Mentz. He died A.D. 1086, aged 58. His *Chronicon* extends from the creation to A.D. 1083, and was continued by Dodechin to A.D. 1200. It is published among the *Scriptores Rer. Germanic.* by Struve and others. His other writings are of little value.—*Mur.*

[4] See the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome ix. p. 398; Rapin, *Hist. d' Angleterre*, tome ii. p. 65, 166, &c.; Colonia, *Hist. Littér. de Lyon*, tome ii. p. 210; [Eadmer (Anselm's secretary) *De Vita S. Anselmi*, lib. ii. in the *Acta Sanctor.* April. tom. ii. p. 893; Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, par. ii. p. 179, and Milner's *Hist. of the Church of Christ*, cent. xi. chap. v. St. Anselm was born at Aosta in Piedmont, A.D. 1033. After acquiring an education and travelling in France, he became a monk at Bec in Normandy at the age of twenty-seven. Here he taught with great reputation, succeeded Lanfranc in the abbacy, and was made archbishop of Canterbury next after Lanfranc, A.D. 1093. In that office he spent an unquiet life, which ended A.D. 1109. He was in continual collision with the kings of England, respecting investiture and encroachments upon clerical rights. Twice he left the kingdom, travelled to Italy, and resided at Rome and at Lyons. His works have been published frequently; the best edition is by Gerberon, Paris, 1675, 3 tom. fol. They comprise a large number of letters, many sermons, and meditations on practical and devotional subjects, and a considerable number of doctrinal and polemic treatises.—*Mur.* [There is a slight anachronism here in placing Anselm *before* his master and predecessor Lanfranc; but I suppose Mosheim gave him the precedence as being the more learned and eminent man of the two. The student will find an account of Anselm in Wright's *Biogr. Britan. Liter. Anglo-Norman Period*, p. 49, &c. with references to modern writers of Spain, Italy, and Germany, who have treated of this remarkable man, and a catalogue of his various works, and their editions and translations. To the former might have been added Möhler, *Gesammelte Schriften*, &c. Regensb. 1839, band i. p. 32, &c. and 129, &c.; and Billroth, *De Anselmi Cantuar. Proslogio et Monologio*, Leip. 1832; and to the list of editions of Anselm's works, the latest and best by Dr. Giles, in his series of *Patres Eccles. Anglic.*—*R.*

[5] *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome viii. p. 260. [And *Vita Beati Lanfranci*, by Milo Crispin, chantor in the monastery of Bec in the age next after Lanfranc, in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom ix. p. 630—660. Lanfranc was a native of Pavia, travelled into France very early in life, became a monk at Bec in Normandy, A.D. 1041, taught there with very great applause and drew pupils from afar, was made prior and then abbot of his monastery, and counsellor to William the Conqueror, and A.D. 1070 archbishop of Canterbury, in which office he died A.D. 1088. He had a contention with Thomas archbishop of York about priority, went to Rome on that and other subjects, and bore a conspicuous part in the civil transactions of England. His works, which were collected and published by D'Achery, Lucca, 1648, fol. comprise his commentary on the epistles of St. Paul, about sixty letters, a tract on transubstantiation, and a few other small pieces.—*Mur.* [Of Lanfranc see also Wright's *Biogr. Britan. Liter. ubi supra*, p. 1, and the various histories of England both civil and ecclesiastical, as he occupied a conspicuous place in the affairs of both church and state. The several histories of philosophy may also be consulted regarding both Anselm and Lanfranc, as among the earliest founders of scholasticism. Lanfranc's works have been published, for the first time in England, with great care, by Dr. Giles in his series of *Patres Eccles. Anglic.* Oxford, 1844, 2 vols. 8vo.—*R.*

[6] This Bruno was a native of Lombardy, educated in the monastery of Asti, became a canon in the cathedral of Sienna in Tuscany, disputed against Berengarius in the council at Rome, 1079, and was soon after by the Pope created bishop of Segni in the ecclesiastical states. Weary of public life he fled to Monte Cassino, A.D. 1104, but the pontiff ordered him back to his bishopric. In 1107 he again went to Monte Cassino, and was there made abbot with the consent of the Pope. But in the year 1111 the pontiff required him to resign his abbacy and resume his episcopal staff, which he held till his death, A.D. 1125. His writings were published at Venice, 1651, 2 vols. fol. The first volume contains his commentaries on the Pentateuch, Job, Psalms, Canticles, and the Revelation. The second contains 145 homilies on the Gospel lessons, some letters and tracts, and a life of the pontiff Leo IX.—*Mur.*

[7] For an account of St. Bruno, the founder of the Carthusians, see p. 370 of this vol. and note 4 there.—After spending six years at Chartreuse, Urban II. who

very active restorer of ecclesiastical law and order.[1] Hildebert of Le Mans, as a theologian, philosopher, and poet, not one of the best nor one of the worst.[2] Lastly Gregory VII. the most haughty of the Roman pontiffs, who undertook to elucidate some parts of the holy Scriptures and wrote several other things.[3]

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had been his pupil summoned him to Rome A.D. 1092, that he might become his counsellor. But the scenes of public life were so disagreeable to him, that the pontiff in 1095 gave him leave to retire. He travelled to the extreme part of Calabria, and there with a few of his monks spent the remainder of his life. He died A.D. 1101. To him have been ascribed most or all of the works written by Bruno of Segni, mentioned in the preceding note. But he wrote nothing except two letters during his residence in Calabria, and a confession of his faith, which is extant in Mabillon's *Analecta*, tom. iv. p. 400.—*Mur.*

[1] Ivo or Yvo was a native of Beauvais in France, educated under Lanfranc at Bec, then abbot of St. Quintin, and at last bishop of Chartres, A.D. 1092—1115. He was a very learned man and a partisan of the Roman pontiffs, which involved him in some difficulties. His works were published by Souchet, Paris, 1647, fol. They comprise *Decretorum Liber*, *Pannormia* or a summary of ecclesiastical law, 287 epistles, 22 sermons, and a short chronicle of the kings of France, extending from Pharamond to Philip I.—*Mur.*

[2] All the works of this Hildebert, who was certainly a man of learning and ingenuity, were published by the Benedictine monks, with the explanatory notes of Beaugendre, Paris, 1708, fol. [They comprise about a hundred well written epistles, and some sermons, tracts, and poems of an ordinary character. Hildebert was born at Lavardin in the diocese of Mans, became a monk of Cluny, studied under the famous Berengarius, and was made bishop of Mans about A.D. 1098, and archbishop of Tours A.D. 1125, where he died A.D. 1132. —*Mur.*

[3] The epistles of Gregory VII. in number 370, are found in all the collections of councils, *e.g.* by Harduin, tom. vi. par. i. p. 1195, &c. His other writings are few and little worth. To him some attribute an exposition of the seven penitential Psalms published as the work of Gregory the Great. His exposition of St. Matthew exists in MS. and some fragments of it have been published.

The following list embraces most of the Latin writers omitted by Mosheim. For a fuller account of them, see Cave's *Hist. Liter.* Du Pin, and others.

Aimoin of Aquitaine, a Benedictine monk of Fleury, A.D. 1001. His *Hist. Francorum* to A.D. 752, with an additional book by another hand, is published among the *Scriptores Francic.* He also wrote two books recounting the miracles of St. Benedict, a life of St. Abbo of Fleury, and some other things.

Godehard, a monk and bishop of Hildesheim A.D. 1002, has left us five epistles, published by Mabillon, *Analecta*, tom. iv. p. 349.

Gozbert, abbot of Tegern in Bavaria, A.D. 1002, has left us four epistles, published also by Mabillon, *Analecta*, tom. iv. p. 347.

Adelbold, a nobleman, councillor, and general under the emperor Henry, then a monk, and A.D. 1008—1027, bishop of Utrecht. He is supposed to be the author of the *Vita S. Henrici Imperat.* published by Canisius, Surius, and Gretser.

Berno, a monk of St. Gall, abbot of Richenau near Constance, died A.D. 1045. He wrote *De Officio Missæ, seu de Rebus Missæ ad Officium pertinentibus* (in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xviii.), and lives of two saints.

Hugo, archdeacon of Tours, A.D. 1020, wrote *Dialogus ad Fulbertum Carnotensem Episcopum*, published by Mabillon, *Analecta*, tom. ii.

John, surnamed Johannelinus from his diminutive stature, abbot Fiscamnensis, A.D. 1028—1078. He wrote many prayers and religious meditations, and some epistles, published by Mabillon, *Analecta*, tom. i.

Ademar, a monk of Limoges, A.D. 1030. He wrote a Chronicle of the French monarchy from its commencement to A.D. 1029, an account of some abbots of Limoges, and a supplement to the work of Amalarius *De Divinis Officiis.*

Hugo de Britolio, a monk of Cluny and bishop of Limoges, A.D. 1030—1049, when he was deposed for simony. He retired to the monastery of Verdun, and wrote a tract against Berengarius in favour of transubstantiation, which is in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xviii. p. 417.

Bruno, Duke of Carinthia, and bishop of Würtsburg, A.D. 1033—1045. To instruct his clergy, he compiled from the fathers Commentaries on the Psalms, and on all the devotional hymns of the Scriptures, also on the Apostolic, Ambrosian, and Athanasian Creeds; published, Cologne, 1494, and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xviii. p. 65.

Hermannus, surnamed Contractus because all his limbs were contracted by a paralytic affection. He was accounted a vast scholar, well skilled in Latin, Greek, and Arabic, and in theology, history, philosophy, and all the sciences of the age. Though of noble parentage he became a monk of St. Gall and of Richenau till his death, A.D. 1054. He wrote *Chronicon de Sex Mundi Ætatibus*, from the creation to A.D. 1054, published among the *Scriptores Germanici*, and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xviii. p. 348.

Glaber Radulphus, a monk of St. Germain de Auxerre and then of Cluny, A.D. 1045. He wrote *Historiarum*, libri v. extending from A.D. 900 to A.D. 1045, published among the *Scriptores Francici*; also a life of St. Gulielmus, abbot of St. Benignus of Dijon.

Deoduin or Theoduin, bishop of Liege, A.D. 1045—1075. He wrote a letter or tract addressed to Henry king of France, against the doctrine of Berengarius and his followers, in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xviii. p. 419.

Hugo, abbot of Cluny, A.D. 1048—1108. He was of noble French parentage, and became a monk at the age of fifteen. Some of his letters are extant in D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. ii.

Leo IX. pope A.D. 1048—1054. (See above p. 356.) He has left us nineteen epistles extant in the Collections of the Councils, (*e.g.* Harduin's tom. vi. par. i. p. 927), besides a number of homilies or sermons. His life written by Wibert, a contemporary, is in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. ix. p. 49, &c.

Anselm, a canon of Liege and dean of Namur, A.D. 1050. He wrote a history of the bishops of Liege, from A.D. 666 to about A.D. 1048; published by Jo. Chapeaville, Liege, 1612, 4to.

Stephen IX. pope A.D. 1057—1058. He has left two epistles.

Alberic, a monk and deacon of Monte Cassino, and a cardinal, A.D. 1057—1079. He wrote many poems and other tracts devotional and polemic, and some lives of saints, all of which are said to exist still in manuscript. His life of St. Dominic is the only work of his published; extant in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. viii. p. 35, &c.

Alphanus, abbot in the Benedictine monastery at Salerno, and then archbishop there A.D. 1057—1086. He wrote numerous poems, devotional, and in praise of the saints, most of which were published by Ughelli, annexed to his *Italia Sacra*, tom. ii.

Nicolaus II. pope A.D. 1058—1061. He has left us eight epistles, extant in the *Concilia.*

Gauferius, called also Benedict, a monk of Monte Cassino, A.D. 1060. He wrote some sermons on the festivals, and some religious poems, which are in the library of Monte Cassino.

Alexander II. pope A.D. 1061—1073. He has forty-five epistles in the *Concilia.*

Berthold, a German ecclesiastic, presbyter of Constance, and a warm partisan of Gregory VII. against Henry IV. He flourished from about A.D. 1066 to 1100. His *Historia sui Temporis, ab anno* 1053 *usque ad ann.* 1100, and his Appendix to Hermann Contractus' Chronicle, from A.D. 1055—1066, are published among the *Scriptores Rer. Germanic.* Some of his tracts also, in support of Gregory's measures, were published by Gretser.

Guitmund, a Benedictine monk of Normandy, and then archbishop of Aversa in Italy, died A.D. 1080. He has left three books on the real presence in the Eucharist, a statement of the doctrine of the Trinity, &c. and an address to William I. king of England; all extant in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xviii.

Sigifrid, archbishop of Mentz, from about 1069 to 1084. In the year 1064 he led a band of 7,000 German pilgrims to the Holy Land. In 1074 he attempted to reclaim his clergy from simony and matrimony, without success. In 1076, Gregory VII. excommunicated him for adhering to the cause of Henry; but the next year he revolted, and it was he who crowned Rudolph the competitor for the German throne. Four of his epistles are in the *Concilia*.

Durand, a monk of Normandy, A.D. 1070, was one who wrote against Berengarius. His tract is subjoined to Lanfranc's works, ed. D'Achery.

Gualdo, a monk of Corbey, A.D. 1070, wrote a metrical life of St. Ansgar, bishop of Hamburg and apostle of the North, which is in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 116.

St. Anselm, bishop of Lucca, A.D. 1071—1086. He was a decided supporter of Gregory VII. and wrote two books in his defence against Guibert the antipope; also a collection of sentences from the fathers in support of Gregory's principles respecting the independence of the clergy and the church of all civil power; both of which are extant in Canisius, *Lect. Antiq.* tom vi. and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xviii. p. 602, and tom. xxvii. p. 436. His life, written by one of his friends and pupils, is in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. ix. p. 469, &c.

Willelmus, an abbot of Metz, A.D. 1073, and friendly to Gregory VII. Mabillon has published seven of his epistles and an oration, in his *Analecta*, tom. i. p. 247.

Ingulphus of Croyland, born in London, A.D. 1030, educated at Westminster and Oxford. In 1051 he accompanied William duke of Normandy to France, and became his private secretary. To escape envy, in 1064 he retired to Germany, and was one of the 7000 who went as pilgrims to the Holy Land under Sigifrid archbishop of Mentz. On his return he was made abbot of Fontenelle; and A.D. 1076, William, now king of England, invited him thither and made him abbot of Croyland till his death, A.D. 1109. He was very intimate with Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. His *History of the Monastery of Croyland* from A.D. 664 to about A.D. 1091, was published by Saville among the five *Scriptores Anglici*, Lond. 1596, fol. and still better among the *Rerum Anglicar. Scriptores*, Oxford, 1684, vol. [See Wright's *Biogr. Britan. Liter. Anglo-Norman Period*, p. 28; Lappenberg's *Gesch. von Engl.* Thorpe's transl. vol. i. p. 51, &c. Ingulf's *History*, it appears from these writers, cannot be depended on.—*R.*

Lambert of Aschaffenburg. He became a monk at Hirsfeld A.D. 1058, soon after travelled as a pilgrim to the Holy Land, and returning, resumed his monastic life at Hirsfeld. There he composed, A.D. 1077, his History, which is a mere chronicle from the creation to A.D. 1050, and then a very diffuse history down to A.D. 1077. His style is commended very highly. The work is published among the *Scriptores Germanici*.

Hugo, bishop of Die in the year 1077, and archbishop of Lyons from A.D. 1080 till after A.D. 1099. He was much engaged in the public transactions of the times. Two of his epistles to Gregory VII. are in the *Concilia*.

Micrologus, a fictitious name for the author of a tract on the ceremonies of the mass, written in the latter part of this century or perhaps in the next; which is extant among the *Scriptores de Divinis Officiis*, Paris, 1610, fol. and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xviii. p. 469.

Adamus, surnamed Magister, a canon of Bremen from A.D. 1077 and who flourished A.D. 1080. He wrote *Hist. Eccles. præsertim Bremensis*, in which he describes with much fidelity the propagation of Christianity in Hamburg, Bremen, Denmark, and throughout the North, from the times of Charlemagne to those of Henry IV.; to which he subjoined a geographical account of Denmark and other northern countries, published by Lindenbrog, Leyden, 1595, 4to, and Helmstadt, 1670, 4to.

Benno, a German ecclesiastic who adhered to Clement III. or Guibert, the antipope, was made archpresbyter and cardinal of Rome, and took a very active part against Gregory VII. He flourished about A.D. 1085, and wrote *De Vita et Rebus gestis Hildebrandi et Papæ*, published Francf. 1581, and among the *Opuscula Anti-Gregoriana*, by Goldast, Hanover, 1611, 4to, p. 1.

Victor III. pope A.D. 1086, 1087. He was born at Benevento, A.D. 1027; bore the name of Dauferius till he became a monk of Monte Cassino, when he assumed the name of Desiderius; became abbot there in 1056, was made a cardinal, and employed on important occasions by the pontiffs. But he was ever partial to a retired and monastic life. His dialogues on the miracles of St. Benedict and other monks of Monte Cassino (a work stuffed with idle tales) has frequently published; *e.g.* by Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. iv. par. ii.

Urban II. pope A.D. 1087—1099. His former name was Otho, a native of Châtillon, in the diocese of Rheims, a monk of Cluny, cardinal bishop of Ostia, and much employed by Gregory VII. While pope he pursued the measures of Gregory. He has left us fifty-nine epistles and two harangues in favour of a crusade, extant in the *Concilia*. Mabillon gives some account of his life, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. ix. p. 902, &c.

Lambert, bishop of Arras from A.D. 1094 onwards. Three of his epistles are in the *Concilia*.

Raimund De Ageles, a canon of Le Puy in France, and chaplain to the Earl of Toulouse (who was also bishop of Le Puy), whom he accompanied in his expedition to the Holy Land A.D. 1095. He saw the holy lance dug out of the earth, and carried it at the siege of Antioch. He wrote the *History of Jerusalem*, describing especially the achievements of the Earl of Toulouse during five years from the time they entered Sclavonia on their way to the East. The work is in the collection of Bongarsius, *De Gestis Dei per Francos*, tom. i. p. 139.

Gotscalin or Goscelin, a Benedictine monk of St. Bertin in Artois, and then of St. Augustine at Canterbury, who flourished A.D. 1096. He wrote the life of St. Augustine, the apostle of England, which is extant in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. i. p. 498.

Balderic, secretary to two successive bishops of Arras and Cambray, and then bishop of Nimeguen and Tournay, A.D. 1097—1112. He wrote a history or chronicle of the churches of Cambray and Arras, published by Colvener, Douay, 1615.

Paschal II. pope A.D. 1099—1118. His former name was Rainer or Raginger, a Tuscan by birth, a monk of Cluny, a presbyter and cardinal of Rome, abbot of St. Laurence and St. Stephen, and at last pope. His wars and contests with Henry V. were very violent. One hundred and seven of his epistles are in the *Concilia*, and some more in Baluze, *Miscellanea.*—*Mur.*

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

1. It is not necessary to be minute in describing the state of the public religion of this age. For who can doubt that it was debased and corrupt, when the guardians of it were equally destitute of sacred and secular knowledge, and of virtue; and when even the first men in the church exhibited examples of the grossest vices? The people at large were wholly absorbed in superstition, and concerned themselves with nothing but statues, and images, and relics, and the futile rites which the caprice of their priests enjoined upon them. The learned had not indeed wholly lost all knowledge of the truth; but they obscured and debased it with opinions and doctrines, some of which were ludicrous and silly, others hurtful and pernicious, and others useless and uncertain. No doubt there were, here and there, pious and good men, who would willingly have aided the suffer-

ing cause of piety. But they themselves needed protection against the satellites of superstition and impiety.

2. From the time of Gregory VII. however, pretty clear traces appear in some countries of Europe, especially in Italy and France, of those persons whom the Protestants denominate witnesses of the truth; that is, of pious and good men who deplored the imperfection and defects of the public religion, and of the whole clerical order; who opposed the lordly domination both of the Roman pontiffs and of the bishops, and who attempted, sometimes covertly and sometimes openly, to effect a reformation in the church.[1] For rude as this age was, and ignorant in general of the true revealed religion, yet those few fragments, as it were, of Christianity,[2] which were exhibited and explained to the people, were sufficient to show even to the illiterate and the peasantry, that the religion publicly inculcated was not the true religion of Christ; that Christ required of his followers things wholly different from those exhibited in the discourses, and in the lives and morals of the clergy; that the pontiffs and the bishops exceedingly abused their power and opulence; and that the favour of God and salvation were to be obtained, not by a round of ceremonies, nor by donations to the churches and priests, nor by erecting and endowing monasteries, but by holiness in the soul.

3. Those however who undertook the great work of reforming the church and religion, were for the most part incompetent to the task; and by their solicitude to avoid some faults they ran into others. All indeed perceived the corruption and the defects of the prevailing religion; but none, or at least very few of them, understood the nature and essential character of true religion. This will not appear strange to one who is acquainted with those unhappy times. Hence these reformers often mixed much that was false with a little that was true. As all saw that most of the principal enormities and crimes of the bishops and clergy were the consequence of their wealth and opulence, they placed too high an estimate on indigence, and looked upon voluntary poverty as the primary virtue of a good religious teacher. They all supposed the church of the primitive times to be a model, after which all churches were ever after to be formed and regulated; and the practice of the apostles of Jesus Christ they considered as an inviolable law for all priests. Many also, grieved to see the people place all their dependence for salvation on the ceremonies of religion and the external worship of God, contended that the whole of religion consisted in the internal emotions of the mind and the contemplation of divine things, and contemned and wished to abolish all external worship, with its houses of worship, religious meetings, public teachers, and sacraments.

4. A large number both of the Greeks and the Latins applied themselves to the interpretation of the holy scriptures. Among the Latins, the two Brunos expounded the Psalms of David; Lanfranc, the Epistles of Paul; Berengarius, the Revelation of St. John; Gregory VII. the Gospel of St. Matthew; and others, different portions of the sacred volume. But all these follow the perverse custom of their age; that is, they either transcribe the works of former interpreters, or they apply the declarations of the sacred writers so whimsically to heavenly things and to the duties of life, that a wise man can scarcely restrain his indignation. The most eminent of the Greek interpreters was Theophylact of Bulgaria, though he also drew most of his comments from the ancients, particularly from Chrysostom.[3] After him we may place Michael Psellus, who attempted to explain the Psalms and the book of Canticles, Nicetas who wrote a Catena on Job, and some few others.

5. Hitherto all the Latin theologians, except a few of the Irish, who threw obscurity on religious doctrines by their philosophical speculations, had illustrated, explained, and proved the doctrines of Christianity, solely from the holy scriptures or from them in connexion with the opinions and writings of the fathers. But in the middle of this century some divines, among whom was Berengarius, well known by his controversy respecting the Lord's supper, ventured to apply the precepts of logic and metaphysics to the explanation of the scriptural doctrines, and the confirmation of

[1] Some have considered Peter Damianus, Hildebert, Ivo, Walthram bishop of Naumberg, and Lambert of Aschaffenburg, as examples of this class of persons. *Von Einem.*—[See Spanheim, *Introductio ad Hist. Eccles. N. T.* sæcul. xi. cap. vii. sec. 5, p. 313, and the *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, lib. xii. xiii.—*Mur.*

[2] In some of the writers of this century we meet with specimens of sound Christian doctrine, as well as of devout breathings of a pious soul. The English reader may see, for an example, the life of Anselm of Canterbury in Milner's *History of the Church*, century xi. chap. v.—*Mur.*

[3] For an account of Theophylact, see Simon's *Hist. Critique des Principaux Commentateurs du N. T.* chap. xxviii. p. 380; and his *Critique de la Biblio. Eccles. de M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 310, where he also treats of Nicetas and Œcumenius. [See Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics*, for notices of Theophylact, Lanfranc, and Nicetas, as biblical interpreters, p. 169, &c.—*It.*

their own opinions. Hence the opposer and rival of Berengarius, Lanfranc, who was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, employed the same weapons against Berengarius and his followers; and in general laboured to impart light and confirmation to religious truths by the aid of reason. His example was followed by St. Anselm, likewise an archbishop of Canterbury, and a man of great intellectual acumen; and to these succeeded many others. From these beginnings gradually arose that species of philosophic theology which, from the schools in which it most prevailed, obtained afterwards the name of scholastic theology.[1] But there was far more sobriety and good sense in these reconcilers of faith and reason than in their successors; for they used perspicuous language, had no fondness for vain and idle disputations, and for the most part made use of the precepts of logic and philosophy only in combating their antagonists.[2]

6. Following these principles the Latin theologians began to reduce all the truths of revealed religion into a connected system, and to subject them to the laws of the human sciences, a thing which no one before had attempted, if we except Tago of Saragossa, a writer of the seventh century, and Damascenus among the Greeks in the eighth century. For all the Latin writers previously to this age had only occasionally, and never in a formal manner, elucidated and explained the points of theology; nor had they thus explained them all, but only such as occasions demanded. The first attempt at a system of theology was by Anselm,[3] and the first who completed an entire system or body of divinity was Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans and afterwards archbishop of Tours, just at the close of the century. And all the subsequent, almost numberless writers of systems of theology (*summarum Theologicarum*), seem to have followed Hildebert as their model.[4] The method of Hildebert is, first to substantiate each doctrine by passages of Scripture and by authorities from the fathers, which had been the common method hitherto; and then to solve the difficulties and objections which may be raised by the aid of reason and philosophy, which was something new and peculiar to this age.[5]

[1] See Heumann, *Præfat. ad Tribbechovii Librum de Doctoribus Scholasticis*, p. xiv. The sentiments of the learned respecting the first author or inventor of the scholastic theology are collected by Buddeus, *Isagoge ad Theologiam*, tom. i. p. 358.

[2] That it may be seen how much wiser the first scholastics were than their disciples and followers, I will subjoin a passage from Lanfranc, whom many regard as the first author of the scholastic theology. In his tract *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, cap. viii. *Opp.* p. 236, ed. D'Achery, he says:—"God is my witness and my own conscience, that, in treating sacred subjects, I do not wish to bring forward dialectical questions and their solutions, nor to answer them when brought forward by others. And if at any time the subject under discussion is such that it can be most satisfactorily explained by the rules of this art, as far as I am able I cover over the art by citations of equivalent import, that I may not seem to place more reliance upon this art than upon the truth and the authority of the holy fathers." The concluding words in this quotation indicate those sources from which theologians previously to this age had derived all their arguments—namely, the holy Scripture, which he denominates the truth, and the writings of the ancient fathers. To these two sources of proof the theologians now suffered a third to be added—namely, dialectics. Yet they would have none recur to this except disputants, whose business it is to withstand opponents who wield dialectical weapons, and to solve the difficulties suggested by reason. But unhappily in the following centuries the two former sources of proof were used but sparingly, and philosophical proof alone, and that not very wisely stated, was deemed sufficient to substantiate everything in a system of theology.

[3] The principal treatise by Anselm here referred to is that entitled, *Cur Deus Homo?* in two books (in his *Opp.* p. 74—96, ed. Paris, 1721, fol.) The work corresponds with its title, its object being to answer the question, Why did God become incarnate? He describes the fallen state of man, and his need of an Almighty Saviour to atone for his sins and raise him to a state of bliss after death; and he shows that an incarnate God, and he only, could perform the office of a mediator. The views and speculations of Anselm on this whole subject have prevailed very generally quite down to the present times. Nor have Grotius and Edwards, and the most elaborate modern writers, added much on the subject. Another tract of Anselm on the same important subject is entitled, *De Conceptu Virginali et Originali Peccato* (in his *Opp.* p. 97—106.) Besides these he has four others on important subjects. The first is a philosophical inquiry, *De Veritate*, *Opp.* p. 109—115. The second is *De Libero Arbitrio*, *Opp.* p. 117—122. The third is on the fall of the sinning angels, *De Casu Diaboli*, *Opp.* p. 62—73 The fourth is a philosophical explanation of the doctrine of the divine decrees, and its consistency with free and accountable action in creatures, *De Concordia Præscientiæ et Prædestinationis nec non Gratiæ, cum Libero Arbitrio*, *Opp.* p. 123—134. On all these subjects Anselm thought intensely, and endeavoured to meet every objection and difficulty which could be urged. But he did not wander from his subject, and take up a whole system of divinity in one or even all of these his theological tracts.—*Mur.*

[4] This first system of theology among the Latins, or *Tractatus Theologicus* as it is entitled, is among the works of Hildebert, p. 1010, in the edition of De Beaugendre, who has shown in his preface to the volume that Peter Lombard, Robert Pullen, and the other writers of Summaries, trod in the footsteps of Hildebert. [This tract occupies about ninety folio pages, and is divided into forty chapters. It treats of the nature of faith, free-will and sin, the Trinity, the incarnation of the Son of God, original sin, grace, predestination and prescience, and the sacraments. But it scarcely touches upon the doctrine of atonement by Jesus Christ, its value and efficacy, of faith in Christ, of regeneration and sanctification, and the promises of the Gospel.—*Mur.*

[5] I will here subjoin an opinion of Anselm of Canterbury, taken from his treatise entitled, *Cur Deus Homo?* lib. i. cap. ii. *Opp.* p. 75; an opinion which the first philosophical theologians or the scholastics among the Latins seem to have received as a sacred and immutable law in theology: "As the right order of proceeding requires, that we believe the deep things of the Christian faith before we presume to discuss them by the aid of reason, so it appears to me to be negligence if, when we are confirmed in the faith, we do not study to understand what we believe." [His meaning seems to be that a Christian should neither make philosophy the rule and measure of his religious faith, nor despise her aid in elucidating and confirming the truths of revealed

7. Those of this century who undertook to give rules for Christian life and conduct, attempted a great object without possessing in general adequate resources. This will be obvious to one who shall read the work of Peter Damianus on the virtues; with the Moral Philosophy and the Tract on the four virtues of a religious life, by Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans. Nor did the moralists usually add anything to their precepts respecting the virtues, except what they called the written law, by which they intended the ten commandments of Moses. Anselm wrote some tracts calculated to excite pious emotions, and a book of meditations and prayers, in which many good thoughts occur. Nor did the mystics, as they are called, wholly abstain from writing. Among the Latins, John Johannellus composed a book expressly on divine contemplations;[1] and among the Greeks Simeon junior wrote some tracts on the same subject; not to mention a few others.

8. Many of the polemics of this age came forth armed with dialectical arguments and demonstrations, yet few of them could use such arguments dexterously and properly; and they aimed, not so much to confute their adversaries as to confound them with their subtleties. Those who were destitute of such armour contended so badly, that it is manifest they commenced writing before they had considered why and what they were to write. Damianus defended Christianity against the Jews with good intentions but with little effect. And there is extant a tract of Samuel, a converted Jew, against his nation. Anselm of Canterbury assailed the despisers of all religion and of God with acuteness, in his book against the fool (*Adversus Insipientem*); but perhaps the subtlety of the reasoning exceeded the comprehension of those whom he aimed to convince.

9. The public contests between the Greek and Latin churches, which, though not settled, had now for a long time been suspended, were indiscreetly revived and rendered more violent by new accusations, in the year 1053, by Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, a man of a restless spirit. The pretence of renewing hostilities was, zeal for the truth and for religion, but the true cause was the arrogance and ambition of the two patriarchs. The Latin patriarch endeavoured by various arts and projects to bring the Greek patriarch under subjection, and to detach from him the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and connect them with himself; and the disturbed and unhappy condition of the Greek empire was favourable to such machinations. For the friendship of the Roman pontiff seemed very important to the Greeks, who had to contend with the Normans in Italy as well as with the Saracens. The Greek patriarch on the other hand was solicitous to extend the limits of his jurisdiction, to concede nothing to the Roman pontiff, and to bring the Oriental patriarchs entirely under his control. Cerularius therefore in a letter written in his own name, and in that of his chief counsellor, Leo, bishop of Achrida, and addressed to John bishop of Trani in Apulia, publicly accused the Latins of various errors. Leo IX. who was then the pontiff of Rome, replied in a letter drawn up in a very imperious style; and moreover, in a council at Rome, excommunicated the Greeks.[2]

10. In order to stifle this controversy in its birth, the Greek emperor Constantine, surnamed Monomachus, requested the Roman pontiffs to send legates to Constantinople to negociate a settlement. Accordingly three legates of the Latin pontiff repaired to Constantinople, namely, cardinal Humbert, a fiery man, Peter, archbishop of Amalfi, and Frederic, archdeacon and chancellor of the church of Rome, carrying with them letters from the pontiff both to the emperor and to the Greek patriarch. But the issue of the legation was lamentable, although the emperor, for political reasons, favoured the side of the Latins more than that of the Greeks. For the letter of Leo IX. which displayed great arrogance, alienated the mind of Cerularius from him; and the legates showed in various ways that they were sent, not so much to restore harmony between the contending parties, as to establish Roman domination among the Greeks. All deliberation about a reconciliation being thus rendered fruitless, the Roman legates acted in the most indiscreet and most unsuitable manner possible, in the year 1054; for they excommunicated the Greek patriarch, with Leo of Achrida, and all that adhered to them, publicly in the church of St. Sophia, left a copy of the inhuman anathema upon the great altar, and then shook

religion. For a further development of his opinions, see the passages cited by Gieseler in his *Text-book*, by Cunningham, vol. ii. p. 311, &c. note 10.—*Mur.*

[1] See the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome viii. p. 48.

[2] These epistles are extant in Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 1053, tom. xi. p. 210, &c. The epistle of Cerularius is also printed in Canisius, *Lect. Antiq.* tom. iii. p. 281 of the new edition; and that of Leo in the *Concilia*, &c. [*e.g.* in Harduin's collection, tom. vi. par. i. p. 927.—*Mur.*

off the dust from their feet and departed. This most unrighteous procedure rendered the dissension incurable, though till this act it seemed capable of a compromise. The Greek patriarch now returned the anathema, excommunicating in a council the pontiff's legates and all their friends and supporters; and also directed the copy of the Latin decree of excommunication against the Greeks to be burned by order of the emperor.[1] From this time offensive and insulting writings were issued by both parties, which continually added fresh fuel to the fire.

11. To the old charges advanced by Photius, new ones were added by Cerularius, of which the chief one was, that the Latins used unleavened bread in the eucharist; and on this point the Greeks and Latins henceforth contended more vehemently, perhaps, than on all other subjects; at least they were as warm about this as about the primacy of the Roman pontiff. The other things opprobriously objected to the Latins by the Greek patriarch, betray rather his contentious disposition and his ignorance of true religion than his zeal for truth. For he was exceedingly offended that the Latins did not abstain from things strangled and from blood; that their monks used lard, and allowed the brethren when sick to eat flesh; that the Latin bishops wore rings on their fingers, as if they were bridegrooms; that their priests wore no beards, but shaved them; and that in baptising the Latins dipped the individual but once into the water.[2] When we see the Greeks and Latins not only standing aloof from each other and contending eagerly, but also fulminating anathemas and execrations against each other, for such things as these, we perceive the very lamentable state of religion in both churches; and we can be at no loss for the causes which gave rise to so many sects dissenting from the church.

12. Near the close of the century, under Alexius Comnenus, the Greeks were nearly involved in an internal controversy, in addition to this public one with the Latins. For in a time of great national emergency, the emperor not only laid hold of the money in the churches, but caused the images of gold and silver to be taken off their doors and converted into money. Leo, bishop of Chalcedon, a man of austere manners, severely censured this transaction, maintaining that it was a sacrilege. To support his views he published a tract, asserting that in the images and emblems of Jesus Christ and the saints there was a degree of sanctity which entitled them to worship and adoration; so that worship was to be paid not only to the persons represented by the statues, images, and emblems, but also to the statues themselves. To suppress the popular tumult which arose from this discussion, the emperor assembled a council at Constantinople, which decreed that the images of Christ and of the saints were to be worshipped only relatively;[3] that the material of a sacred image was not entitled to worship, but only the likeness formed upon the material; that the images of Christ and the saints, whether painted or sculptured, had nothing of their nature, although they participated somewhat in the grace of God; and that the saints were to be invoked and honoured as the servants of Christ and on his account. Leo, who had held different opinions, was deprived of his office and sent into exile.[4]

13. In the Latin church about the middle of the century, the controversy was revived respecting the manner in which Christ's body and blood are present in the eucharist. Various opinions on this subject had hitherto prevailed with impunity; for it had not yet been decided by the councils what ought to be believed respecting it.[5] Hence in the beginning of the century, A. D. 1004, Leutheric, archbishop of Sens, had taught,

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[1] Besides Baronius and the common writers, none of whom are free from errors, see Mabillon, *Annales Bened.* tom. iv. lib. lx. ad ann. 1053, and Præf. ad sæcul. vi. of his *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* par. ii. p. i. &c.; Leo Allatius, *De Libris Græcor. Ecclesiast.* diss. ii. p. 160, ed. Fabricius; and *De Perpetua Ecclesiæ Orient. et Occident. Consensione*, lib. ii. cap. ix. p. 614; Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 260; and *Diss. Damascen. Prima*, sec. xxxi. p. xvi. &c.: but especially Hermann, *Hist. Concertationum de Pane Azymo et Fermentato*, p. 59, &c. Lips. 1739, 8vo; and Cotelier, *Monumenta Eccles. Gr.* tom. ii. p. 108, &c. [See also a full yet dense and well vouched account in Schmidt's *Kirchengesch.* vol. v. p. 316, &c. The account in Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. v. is less correct.—*Mur.* [To these authorities may be added Giesceler's *Lehrbuch*, &c. Cunningham's transl. sec. 42, vol. ii. p. 142, principally for the sake of the apposite quotations in the notes from the original sources. —*R.*

[2] See the epistle of Cerularius to John of Trani in Canisius, *Lectiones Antiq* tom. iii. p. 281, where also we have Humbert's confutation of it. Cerularius' epistle to Peter of Antioch is in Cotelier's *Monumenta Eccles. Græc.* tom. ii. p. 138; add Martene's *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 847, where there is a polemic tract of an unknown Latin writer against the Greeks.

[3] Σχετικῶς προσκυνοῦμεν, οὐ λατρευτικῶς τὰς εἰκόνας.

[4] This controversy is stated at large by Anna Comnena, the emperor's daughter, *Alexias*, lib. v. p. 104; lib. vii. p. 158, ed. Venice. The acts of the council were procured from the Coislinian library, by Montfaucon, and published in his *Biblioth. Coisliniana*, p. 103, &c.

[5] The various opinions of the age respecting the eucharist are stated by Martene, from an ancient manuscript, in his *Voyage Littér. de Deux Bénédictins*, tome ii. p. 126.

contrary to the more general opinion, that only the holy and worthy communicants receive the body of Christ; but Robert, king of France, and the advice of friends prevented him from raising commotion among the people by the doctrine.[1] Much more indiscreet was Berengarius, a canon and master of the school at Tours and afterwards archdeacon of Angers, a man of a discriminating mind, learned, and venerable for the sanctity of his life;[2] for he publicly and resolutely maintained, in the year 1045, the opinion of John Scotus respecting the eucharist, rejecting that of Paschasius Radbert, which better accorded with the unenlightened piety of the multitude. He taught that the bread and wine are not converted into the body and blood of Christ, but are merely emblems of his body and blood.[3] He was forthwith opposed by some both in France and Germany, and Leo IX. the Roman pontiff in the year 1050, caused his opinion to be condemned first in a council at Rome, and then in one at Vercelli; and ordered the work of Scotus, from which it was derived, to be committed to the flames. Berengarius was not present at either of these councils. A council held at Paris in the same year by Henry king of France, concurred in the decision of the pontiff, and issued very severe threats against Berengarius who was absent, and against his adherents who were numerous. A part of these threatenings was felt by Berengarius, for the king deprived him of the income of his office. But neither threats, nor decrees, nor fines, could move him to reject the opinion which he had embraced.

14. This controversy now rested for some years; and Berengarius, who had many enemies (among whom his rival, Lanfranc, was the principal), and also many patrons and friends, was restored to his former tranquillity. But after the death of Leo IX. his adversaries incited Victor II. the new pontiff, to order the cause to be tried again before his legates, in two councils held at Tours in France, A.D. 1054. In one of these councils, in which the celebrated Hildebrand, afterwards Gregory VII. was one of the papal legates, Berengarius was present; and being overcome unquestionably by threats rather than by arguments, he not only gave up his opinion, but (if we may believe his adversaries who are the only witnesses we have) abjured it, and was reconciled to the church. This docility, however, was only feigned; for he soon after went on teaching the same doctrine as before, though perhaps more cautiously. How much censure he deserves for this transaction it is difficult to say, as we are not well informed of what was done in the council.

15. Nicolaus II. being informed of this bad faith of Berengarius, in the year 1058 summoned him to Rome, and in a very full council held there in the year 1059, he so terrified him that Berengarius requested a formula of faith to be drawn up; which being accordingly done by Humbert, Berengarius subscribed it and confirmed it with an oath. In this formula he declares that he believes what Nicolaus and the council required to be believed, namely, "that the bread and wine after consecration are not only a sacrament, but also the real body and blood of Christ; and are sensibly, and not merely sacramentally, but really and truly, handled by the hands of the priests, broken and masticated by the teeth of the faithful." This opinion however was too monstrous to be really believed by such a man as Berengarius, who was a man of discernment and a philosopher. Therefore when he returned to France, relying undoubtedly upon the protection of his patrons, he expressed his detestation, both orally and in his writings, of what he had professed at Rome, and defended his former sentiments. Alexander II. indeed admonished him in a friendly letter to reform, but he attempted nothing against him, probably because he perceived him to be upheld by powerful supporters. Of course the controversy was protracted many years in various publications, and the number of Berengarius' followers increased.

16. When Gregory VII. was raised to the chair of St. Peter, that pontiff, to whom no difficulty seemed insurmountable, undertook to settle this controversy also, and therefore summoned Berengarius to Rome in the year 1078. This new judge of the affair manifested an extraordinary, and, considering his character, a wonderful degree of moderation and gentleness. He seems to have been attached to Berengarius, and to have yielded rather to the

[1] See Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 354.

[2] For the life of Berengarius, see the works of Hildebert of Le Mans, p. 1324; *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome viii. p. 197, &c.; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 404; and those others mentioned by Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 570. I will just observe that he is erroneously called *archiepiscopus* instead of *archidiaconus* in Matthew of Paris, *Hist.* lib. i. p. 10, ed. Watts. But I suppose it is a mistake of the *printer*, and not of the historian. [For the life of Berengarius, see Mabillon, *De Berengario, ejusque Hæreseos ortu, progressu—ac multiplici condemnatione*; in *Præfat. ad Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. ix. p. 7, &c. See also *Berengarius Turonensis*, &c. by Lessing, Brunsw. 1770. Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* tom. xxxiii. p. 507, &c.—*Mur.*

[3] For the real opinion of Berengarius, see note 4, p. 370, in this chapter.—*Mur.*

clamours of his adversaries than to have followed his own inclinations. In the first place, in a council held near the close of the year, he allowed the accused to draw up a new formula of faith for himself, and to abandon the old formula drawn up by Humbert, though it had been sanctioned by Nicolaus II. and by a council; for Gregory, being a man of discernment, undoubtedly saw the absurdity of that formula.[1] Berengarius therefore now professed to believe, and swore that he would in future believe only, "that the bread of the altar after consecration is the real body of Christ which was born of the Virgin, suffered on the cross, and is seated at the right hand of the Father; and that the wine of the altar after consecration is the real blood which flowed from Christ's side." But what was satisfactory to the pontiff did not satisfy the enemies of Berengarius; for they maintained that the formula was ambiguous (and it really was so), and therefore they wished that one more definite might be prescribed for him, and that he might prove the sincerity of his belief by touching red-hot iron. The last of these, the pontiff in his friendship for the accused would not concede; to the first the importunity of their demands obliged him to yield.

17. The following year therefore, A.D. 1079, in a council held again at Rome, Berengarius was required to repeat, subscribe, and swear to a third formula which was milder than the first, but stricter than the second. According to this he professed to believe, "that the bread and wine by the mysterious rite of the holy prayer and the words of our Redeemer are changed in their substance into the real and proper and vivifying flesh and blood of Jesus Christ;" and he also added to what he had professed by the second formula, "that the bread and wine are," after consecration, "the real body and blood of Christ, not only by a sign and in virtue of a sacrament, but in their essential properties and in the reality of their substance." When he had made this profession the pontiff dismissed him to his own country with many tokens of his good-will. But as soon as he got home he discarded and confuted in a book, what he had professed at Rome in the last council. Hence Lanfranc, Guitmund, and perhaps others, violently attacked him in written treatises; but Gregory VII. neither punished his inconstancy nor manifested displeasure; which is evidence that the pontiff was satisfied with the second formula or that which Berengarius himself drew up, and disapproved of the zeal of his enemies who obtruded upon him the third formula.[2]

18. Berengarius, influenced undoubtedly by motives of prudence, returned no answer to his much-excited opposers; but retiring from the world, he repaired to the island of St. Cosme near Tours, and there led a solitary life in prayer, fasting, and other devotional exercises, till the year

[1] I wish the learned and candid to observe that Gregory VII. than whom none carried the prerogatives of the pontiffs farther or defended them more strenuously, here tacitly acknowledges that a Roman pontiff and a council are capable of erring, and have in fact erred.

[2] These statements are strongly illustrated and supported by a work of Berengarius himself, which Martene has presented to the public in his *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. iv. p. 99—109. From this tract it appears (i.), that Gregory VII. had great and sincere friendship for Berengarius. (ii.) That in general he believed with Berengarius respecting the eucharist, or at least thought we ought to abide by the words of holy writ, and not too curiously inquire after and define the mode of Christ's presence. For thus Gregory (p. 108) addressed Berengarius just before the last council: "I certainly have no doubt that your views of the sacrifice of Christ are correct and agreeable to the Scriptures; yet because it is my custom to recur on important subjects, &c. I have enjoined upon a friend, who is a religious man, ... to obtain from St. Mary that through him she would vouchsafe not to conceal from me, but expressly instruct me what course I should take in the business before me relating to the sacrifice of Christ, that I may persevere in it immoveably." Gregory therefore was inclined to the opinion of Berengarius, but yet had some doubts; and therefore he consulted St. Mary through a friend, to know what judgment he ought to form respecting the eucharistical question. And what was her response? His friend (he says) "learned from St. Mary and reported to me, that no inquiries were to be made and nothing to be held respecting the sacrifice of Christ, beyond what the authentic Scriptures contain; against which Berengarius held nothing. This I wished to state to you, that your confidence in us might be more secure, and your anticipations more pleasing." This therefore was Gregory's belief, and this he supposed or pretended he had received from the holy Virgin herself, that we should simply hold what the sacred volume teaches, that the real body and blood of Christ are exhibited in the sacred supper, but should not dispute about the manner of it. (iii.) It appears from this writing that Gregory was forced by the enemies of Berengarius, who pressed the thing beyond measure, to allow another formula to be prescribed to Berengarius in another council. "He was constrained," says Berengarius, "by the importunity of the buffoon—not bishop—of Padua, and of the antichrist—not bishop—of Pisa, to permit the calumniators of the truth, in the last Quadragesimal council, to alter the writing sanctioned by them in the former council. (iv.) It is hence manifest why Gregory attempted nothing further against Berengarius, notwithstanding he violated his faith publicly plighted in the latter council, and wrote against the formula which he had confirmed with an oath. For Gregory himself disagreed with the authors of this formula, and deemed it sufficient if a person would confess with Berengarius that the real body and blood of Christ were exhibited in the sacred supper. He therefore suffered his adversaries to murmur, to write, and to confute the man whom he esteemed and agreed with, kept silence himself, and would not allow Berengarius to be further molested. Moreover, in the book from which I have made these extracts, Berengarius most humbly begs God to forgive the sin he committed at Rome; and acknowledges that through fear of death he assented to the proposed formula and accused himself of error, contrary to his real belief. "God Almighty," says he, "the fountain of all mercy, have compassion on one who confesses so great a sacrilege."

1088, when he died, leaving numerous followers and a high reputation for sanctity.[1] In this retreat he seems to have aimed to atone for the crime, of which he confessed and deeply lamented the commission, before the last council at Rome, when he professed, contrary to the dictates of his own conscience, what he regarded as erroneous doctrine.[2] As to his real opinions, learned men are not agreed; but whoever will candidly examine his writings which yet remain, will readily see that he was one of those who consider the bread and wine to be signs of the body and blood of Christ, although he expressed himself variously and concealed his views under ambiguous phraseology.[3] Nor have those writers any solid proof to urge who contend that he receded from this opinion before his death.[4]

[1] The canons of Tours still celebrate religiously his memory. For they annually, on the third day of Easter, repair to his tomb on the island of St. Cosme, and there solemnly repeat certain prayers. See Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 130. [And Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. ix. Pref. sec. lxviii. —*Mur.*

[2] None will doubt this after reading his tract published by Martene, *Thesaurus Anecd.* tom. vi. p. 109.

[3] Some writers in the Romish church, as Mabillon and others, and some also in our own, suppose that Berengarius merely denied what is called transubstantiation, while he admitted the real presence of Christ's body and blood. And whoever inspects only the formula which he approved in the first Roman council under Gregory VII. and which he never after rejected, and does not compare his other writings with it, may be easily led to believe so. But the writers of the reformed church, Basnage, Ussher, and nearly all others, maintain, that Berengarius's opinion was the same which Calvin afterwards held. With these I have agreed, after carefully perusing his epistle to Almannus in Martene's *Thesaurus Anecd.* tom. iv. p. 109. "Constat," says he, "verum Christi corpus in ipsa mensa proponi, *sed spiritualiter interiori homini verum*, in ea Christi corpus ab his duntaxat, qui Christi membra sunt, incorruptum, intaminatum inattritumque *spiritualiter manducari*." This is so clear that an objection can scarcely, if at all, be raised against it. Yet Berengarius often used ambiguous terms and phrases in order to elude his enemies. [Since Mosheim's death the manuscript of Berengarius's reply to Lanfranc has been discovered in the library of Wolfenbuttle, and a large part of it has been presented to the public in extracts by G. E. Lessing (*Berengarius Turonensis, oder Ankündigung eines wichtigen Werkes desselben*, &c. Brunsw. 1770, 4to). From this work it is said to appear beyond all controversy, that Berengarius only denied transubstantiation or the transmutation of the substance of the bread and wine into the substance of Christ's body and blood; while yet he admitted the real presence of Christ's body and blood, as being superadded to the bread and wine in and by their consecration. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* tom. xxiii. p. 534, &c. And Münscher's *Elements of Dogmatic History*, sec. ccxliii. p. 118, ed. N. Haven. 1830. And this accords exactly with the statement of Guitmund, one of Berengarius's antagonists, as quoted by Mabillon (*De Berengario, ejusque Hæreseos ortu*, &c. in his *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. ix. p. 23). Speaking of the followers of Berengarius, Guitmund says: "All the Berengarians indeed agree in this, that the bread and wine are not changed in their essence; but I was able to draw from some of them that they differ among themselves much; for some of them say that nothing whatever of the body and blood of the Lord are in the sacraments, but that these are only shadows and figures [of the body and blood of Christ]; but others yielding to the solid arguments of the church, yet not receding from their folly that they may seem to be with us in a sort, say that the body and blood of the Lord are in reality though covertly contained there (re vera, sed latenter contineri), and in order that they may be received they are somehow, so to speak, *impanated* (impanari). And this more subtle opinion they say is that of Berengarius himself." Berengarius therefore was a Lutheran; or like Luther he held the doctrine of consubstantiation. It may be added that the newly-discovered manuscript of Berengarius throws light on various parts of his history and of the proceedings against him. In particular, it shows that Lanfranc attacked him and was answered by him at a much earlier period than Mosheim states in the text, sec. xvii.—*Mur.*

[4] It is well known that the historians of the Romish community endeavour to persuade us, that Berengarius, before his death, gave up the doctrine which he had for so many years strenuously defended, and adopted that of the Romish church. But the only proofs which they have of the fact are these: First, in the council of Bourdeaux, A.D. 1080, it is said, "he gave an account of his faith." And further, some ancient writers speak favourably of his penitence, and say that he died in the Catholic faith. But these arguments amount to nothing. Berengarius adhered to that formula which he adopted in the former council at Rome under Gregory, and which the pontiff judged to be sufficient; and they who heard it read but did not examine its meaning, looking only at the words and their natural import, might easily believe that between his opinion and the common belief of the church there was no difference. And in this conclusion they would be confirmed by the conduct of the pontiff, who, though he knew Berengarius to have renounced and opposed the formula which he had approved in the latter Roman council, yet took no measures against him, and thus [apparently] absolved him from all error and blame. To these considerations another of still greater weight may be added; namely, that the belief of the Romish church itself respecting the sacred supper was not, in that century, definitely established, as the three formulas of Berengarius evince beyond all controversy; for they most manifestly disagree, not in words only but in import. Nicolaus II. and his council decided that the first formula, which cardinal Humbert drew up, was sound and contained the true doctrine of the church. But this was rejected and deemed too crude and erroneous not only by Gregory, but also by his two councils which tried the cause. For if the pontiff and his councils had believed that this formula expressed the true sense of the church, they would never have suffered another to be substituted for it. The pontiff himself, as we have seen, supposed that the doctrine of the sacred supper was not to be explained too minutely, but that, dismissing all questions as to the mode of Christ's presence, the words of the sacred volume were simply to be adhered to; and as Berengarius had done this in his formula, the pontiff pronounced him no offender. But the last council departed from the opinion of the pontiff, and the pontiff, though reluctant, suffered himself to be drawn over to the opinion of the council. Hence the third formula disagreed with both the former ones. We may here drop the passing remark, that in this controversy a council was superior to the pontiff; and the resolute Gregory himself, who would yield to no one else, yielded to the council. Berengarius escaping from the hands of his enemies, adhered to his own formula which had met the approbation of the pontiff, and publicly assailed and condemned the third formula or that of the latter council. And he did this with the pontiff's knowledge and silent consent. Now what could be inferred from all this but that Berengarius, though he resisted the decree of the latter council, yet assented to the opinion of the pontiff and the church? -In this history of the Berengarian controversy, so memorable for various reasons, I have examined the ancient documents of it which are extant (for all of them are not extant), and have called in the aid of those learned men who have treated most copiously and accurately of this contest. First the very rare work of Francis de Roye published at Angers, 1656, 4to, under the title, *Ad Can. ego Berengarius*, 41, *De Consecrat. Distinct.* 2, *ubi Vita, Hæresis et Pœnitentia Berengarii Andegavensis Archidiaconi* 2

19. In France about the year 1023, a great contest arose about a trifling affair. The priests and monks of Limoges disputed whether Martial, the first bishop of Limoges, ought in the public prayers to be classed among the apostles or among the confessors. Jordan, the bishop of Limoges, wished him to be denominated a confessor; but Hugo, abbot of the monastery of St. Martial, insisted on his being called an apostle; and he pronounced the adherents of the bishop to be Ebionites, that is, the worst of heretics. This controversy was first taken up in the council of Poictiers, and then, A.D. 1024, in that of Paris. Their decision was, that Martial was to be honoured with the appellation of an apostle; and those who judged differently were to be classed with the Ebionites, who denied that there were any more than twelve apostles. The Ebionites, it may be noted, in order to exclude St. Paul from the number of apostles, would not allow of more than twelve apostles. But this decision of the council inflamed rather than calmed the feelings of the disputants, and the silly controversy spread over all France. The affair being carried before the pontiff, John XIX., in a letter addressed to Jordan and the other bishops of France, he decided in favour of the monks, and pronounced Martial deserving of the title and the honours of an apostle. Accordingly in the council at Limoges, A.D. 1029, Jordan yielded to the pleasure of the pontiff; afterwards, A.D. 1031, in a council of the whole province of Bourges, Martial was solemnly enrolled in the order of apostles; and lastly, in a very full council at Limoges the same year, the controversy was terminated, and the prayers in honour of Martial the apostle, as consecrated by the pontiff, were publicly recited.[1] Those who contended for the apostleship of Martial assumed that he was one of the seventy disciples of Christ; and thence they inferred that he was entitled to the rank of an apostle, upon the same ground as Paul and Barnabas were.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF CEREMONIES AND RITES.

1. THE forms of public worship used at Rome had not yet been received in all the countries of the Latin world. In this age therefore the pontiffs, who regarded all disagreement in rites as adverse to their authority, took great pains to have the Romish forms everywhere adopted, and all others excluded. In this affair again the diligence of Gregory VII. as his letters show, was very conspicuous. No people of Europe had more resolutely and perseveringly opposed the wishes of the pontiffs in this matter than the Spaniards; for no means could induce them to part with their ancient liturgy, called Mozarabic or Gothic, and to adopt that of Rome. Alexander II indeed in the year 1068 had prevailed with the people of Aragon not to oppose the introduction of the Romish mode of worship;[3] and the Catalonians no longer resisted. But the glory of having perfected this work was reserved for Gregory VII. He did not cease to press the subject upon Sanchez and Alphonso, the kings of Aragon and Castile, till they consented that the Gothic rites should be abolished and the Roman be received. Sanchez first complied, and Alphonso followed his example in the year 1080. In Castile the nobles thought this contest ought to be decided by the sword.

ad Josephi locum de Christo. Next, I have consulted Mabillon, Præf. ad tom. ix. *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* or sæcul. vi. par. ii. p. lv. &c. and his *Diss. de multiplici Damnatione, Fidei Professione et Relapsu*, which is in his *Analecta Veteris Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 456; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 404, &c.; Pagi, *Breviarium Romanor. Pontif.* tom. ii. p. 452. Among the reformed divines, Ussher, *De Successione Eccles. Christianar. in Occidente*, cap. vii. sec. 24, p. 195, &c. Basnage, *Hist. des Eglises Réformées*, tome i. p. 105, and *Hist. de l'Eglise*, tome ii. p. 1391; Oudin, *Diss. de Doctrina et Scriptis Berengarii*, in his *Comment. de Scriptor. Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. p. 624. Partiality prevails I fear among them all, but especially among the writers of the Romish church. [In studying this important and significant controversy, the student should read carefully the entire section (sec. 29) devoted to it in Giesceler, *Lehrbuch*, &c. Cunningham's transl. vol. ii. p. 102—111, with the authorities quoted and the extracts given in the notes. No additional information is afforded in the sketch given by Waddington in his *Hist. of the Church*, vol. ii. p. 91, &c. or by Bowden in his *Life of Gregory VII.* vol. ii. 240. Milner considered the contest so uninteresting that he thought it worthy of only "a few sentences." *Hist. of the Church*, vol. iii. p. 289.—*R.*

[1] See Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 372, 401. Longueval, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tome vii. p. 188, 189, 231, &c. The Benedictine monks in their *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. *Append. Documentor.* p. 162, have published Jordan's letter to the pope, Benedict VIII. against the apostleship of Martial. The acts of the councils of Bourges and Limoges respecting this controversy are published by Labbé, *Biblioth. Nova Manuscriptor.* tom. ii. p. 766, &c. Of the first author of this strife, Ademar, a monk of Chabanois, Mabillon gives an account in his *Annales Ord. S. Bened.* tom. iv. p. 348, &c. and in the appendix to the volume he subjoins the epistle of Ademar in support of the apostleship of Martial. The Benedictine monks have also given an account of this man, in their *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome vii. p. 301.

[2] See Mabillon, *De Liturgia Gallicana*, lib. i. cap. ii. p. 10; Bona, *Rerum Liturgicar.* lib. i. cap. xi. *Opp.* p. 220; Le Brun, *Explication des Cérémonies de la Messe*, tome ii. diss. v. p. 272 [and *Liturgia Antiqua, Hispanica, Gothica, Isidoriana, Mozarabica, &c.* tom. i. Romæ, 1746, fol.; as also Pinius, *Tractatus Historico-Chronolog. de Variis Vicissitudinibus Officii Mozarabici Seculo* xi. c. 6.— *Schl.* [Also Krazer, *De Liturgiis*, p. 70, &c. Augsb. 1786, 8vo.—*Mur.*

[3] De Marca, *Histoire de Bearn.* livr. ii. chap. ix.

Accordingly two champions were chosen, who were to contend in single combat, the one fighting for the Roman liturgy and the other for the Gothic. The Gothic champion conquered. After this they concluded to submit it to the decision by fire. Both liturgies, the Roman and the Gothic, were now thrown into a fire. The Roman was consumed in the flames, the Gothic remained uninjured. Yet this double victory could not save the Gothic liturgy; the authority of the pontiff and the pleasure of Constantia the queen, who controlled Alphonso the king, had greater weight and turned the scale.[1]

2. This seal of the Roman pontiffs may admit some kind of apology, but not so their prohibiting each nation from worshipping God in its own vernacular tongue. While the Latin language was spoken among all the nations of the West, or at least was understood by most people, few objections could be urged against its use in public assemblies for Christian worship. But when the Roman language with the Roman dominion had been gradually subverted and become extinct, it was most just and reasonable that each nation should use its own language in worship. But this privilege could not be obtained from the pontiffs in this and the following centuries; for they decided that the Latin language should be retained, though unknown to the people at large.[2] Different persons assign different reasons for this decision, and some have suggested such as are quite preposterous. But the principal reason, doubtless, was an excessive veneration for the ancient forms. And the Oriental Christians have fallen into the same fault of excessive love of antiquity; for public worship is still performed by the Egyptians in the ancient Coptic, by the Jacobites and Nestorians in Syriac, and by the Abyssinians in the ancient Ethiopic; although all these languages have long since become obsolete and gone out of popular use.[3]

3. The other things enjoined or voluntarily practised in this century under the name of religous acts, the rites added in the worship of the saints, relics, and images, the pilgrimages and various other things of the kind, it would be tedious to detail. I will therefore only state here that, during nearly the whole of this century, all the nations of Europe were very much occupied in rebuilding, repairing, and adorning their churches.[4] Nor will this surprise us if we recollect the panic dread of the impending final judgment, and of the end of all things, which spread throughout Europe in the preceding cenutry. For this panic, among other effects, led to neglect the repair of the churches and sacred edifices, as being soon to become useless and perish in the wreck of all things; so that they either actually fell to the ground or became greatly dilapidated. But this panic being past, they every where set about repairing the decayed churches, and vast sums were expended on their restoration.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF THE SECTS AND HERESIES.

1. THE condition of the ancient sects, particularly the Nestorians and Monophysites, who were subject to the Mohammedans in Asia and Egypt, was very nearly the same as in the preceding century; not perfectly happy and exempt from all evils, nor absolutely wretched or miserable. But the Manichæans or Paulicians, whom the Greek emperors had transported from the provinces of the East to Bulgaria and Thrace, were in almost perpetual conflicts with the Greeks. The Greek writers throw all the blame on the Manichæans, whom they represent as turbulent, perfidious, always ready for war, and inimical to the empire.[5] But there are many reasons which almost compel us to believe that the Greek bishops and priests, and by their instigation the emperors, gave much trouble and vexation to this people; and alienated their feelings by punishments, banishment, confiscation of their

[1] Bona, *ubi supra*, p. 216; Le Brun, *ubi supra*, p. 292, &c.; Jo. de Ferreras, *Hist. de l'Espagne*, tome iii. p. 237, 241, 246 [Krazer, *ubi supra*, p. 76.—*Mur.*

[2] Ussher, *Hist. Dogmatica de Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis*, published with enlargement by Wharton, London, 1690, 4to. [Yet we find in the canons of Ælfric, king of England, about A.D. 1050 (in Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. vi. par. i. p. 982, can. 23) that the priests were required on Sundays and other mass days to explain the lessons from the gospels in the English language, and to teach the people to repeat *memoriter* and to understand the Lord's prayer and the Apostles' creed in the same language. "Presbyter etiam, seu missalis sacerdos, in diebus Solis, et Missalibus, evangelii ejus intellectum populo dicet *Anglice* et *ipsorum* etiam *Pater noster* et *Credo* toties quoties poterit ad eos instruendos adhibere, et ut symbolum fidei memoriter discant, Christianamque suam teneant confessionem."—*Mur.*—[These canons are most correctly given, in Saxon and English, in the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, edited by Mr. Thorpe and published by the Record Commissioners, p. 441, &c. Their compiler was Elfric, the celebrated Anglo-Saxon writer and Archbishop of York, not king of England, as stated by Dr. Murdock.—*R.*

[3] See Renaudot, *Diss. de Liturg. Oriental. Origine et Antiquitate*, cap. vi. p. 40, &c.

[4] Glaber Radulphus, *Hist.* lib. iii. cap. iv. in Du Chesne's *Scriptores Francici*, tom. iv. p. 217. "As the year 1003 approached there was almost the world over, but especially in Italy and France, a general repairing of the churches."

[5] See Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, lib. v. p. 105, lib. vi. p. 124, 126, 145, and in other passages.

property, and other vexations. The emperor Alexius Comnenus, being a man of learning, and perceiving that the Manichæans could not easily be subdued by force, determined to try the effect of discussion and reasoning, and therefore spent whole days at Philippopolis in disputing with them. Not a few of them gave up to this august disputant and his associates; nor was this strange, for he employed not only arguments but also rewards and punishments. Those who retracted their errors, and consented to embrace the religion of the Greeks, were rewarded with rich presents, honours, privileges, lands, and houses; but those who resisted were condemned to perpetual imprisonment.[1]

2. From Bulgaria and Thrace some of this sect, either from zeal to extend their religion or from weariness of Grecian persecutions, removed first into Italy, and then into other countries of Europe; and there gradually collected numerous congregations, with which the Roman pontiffs afterwards waged bloody wars.[2] At what time the migration of the Paulicians into Europe commenced, it is difficult to ascertain. But it is well attested that as early as the middle of this century, they were numerous in Lombardy and Insubria, and especially in Milan; nor is it less certain that persons of this sect strolled about in France, Germany, and other countries, and by their appearance of great sanctity captivated no small number of the common people. In Italy they were called Paterini and Cathari, or rather Gazari; the last of which names, altered so as to suit the genius of their language, was adopted by the Germans.[3] In France they were called Albigenses [Albigeois], from the town Albi.[4] They were also called Bulgarians particularly in France, because they came formerly from Bulgaria where the patriarch of the sect resided; also Publicani, a corruption of Pauliciani, and Boni Homines [Good Men], and by other appellations.[5]

3. The first congregation of this sect in Europe is said to have been discovered at Orleans in France, A.D. 1017, in the reign of king Robert. An Italian woman is stated to have been its founder and teacher. Its principal men were ten canons of the church of the Holy Cross at Orleans, all eminent for their learning and piety, but especially two of them, Lisoius and Stephen; the congregation was composed of numerous citizens and not of the lowest rank and condition. The impious doctrines maintained by those canons being made known by Heribert, a priest, and Arifastus, a Norman nobleman, king Robert assembled a council at Orleans,

[1] Anna Comnena (*Alexias*, lib. xiv. p. 357, &c.) is very full in her account and eulogy of this holy war of her father against the Paulicians.

[2] See Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 38, &c.; Limborch, *Hist. Inquisitionis*, p. 31; Richini, *Diss. de Catharis*, prefixed to Moneta's *Summa contra Catharos*, p. xvii. xviii. and others; not to mention Glaber Radulphus, *Historia*, lib. iii. c. viii. Matth. Paris, and other ancient writers. Some of the Italians, among whom is Richini, wish to deny that this sect was propagated from Italy into other parts of Europe; and would persuade us rather that the Paulicians came into Italy from France. For they would consider it a disgrace to their country to have been the first in Europe which fostered so absurd and impious a sect. These are countenanced by Peter de Marca, a Frenchman, who supposes (in his *Hist. de Bearn*, liv. viii. chap. xiv. p. 723), that when the French were returning from the crusades in Palestine, as they passed through Bulgaria, some Paulicians joined them, and thus first migrated to France. But De Marca brings no proof of his supposition; and on the contrary it appears from the records of the inquisition of Toulouse, published by Limborch, and from other documents, that the Paulicians first settled in Sicily, Lombardy, Milan, and Liguria, and from thence sent their teachers and missionaries into France. See the *Codex Tolosanus*, p. 13, 14, 32, 68, 69, and in many other places. From the same *Codex Tolosanus* we learn that the Paulicians of Gaul had no bishops who could consecrate their presbyters, whom they called *Anciani*; so that such of the French as wished to become presbyters had to go into Italy to obtain regular consecration.

[3] Of the name Paterini, given to this sect in Italy, we have already spoken, note i. p. 363. That the name Cathari was the same as Gazari, I have shown in another work, *Hist. Ord. Apostolor.* p. 367. The name Gazaria was given in that age to the country now called the Lesser Tartary [or Crim Tartary, or the Crimea. But the derivation of Cathari from Gazaria, a distant and then little known region, is by many deemed less probable than from the Greek καθαροὶ, the Pure. So also the derivation of the German *Ketzer* (Heretic) from Gazari or Chazari is by no means universally admitted. See Neander's *Heilige Bernhard*, &c. p. 314, &c.; Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxiii. p. 350, &c. and Gieseler's *Text-book*, by Cunningham, vol. ii. p. 368, note vi.—*Mur.*

[4] That the Paulicians in France were called Albigenses, and are not to be confounded with the Waldenses and other heretics, is most manifest from the Records of the Inquisition at Toulouse. And they were called Albigenses because they were condemned in a council held A.D. 1176 at Albi (Albigea), a town of Aquitain. See Chatel, *Mémoires de l' Hist. de Languedoc*, p. 305, &c. They therefore mistake who suppose the Albigenses were certain heretics who either originated at Albi, or who resided there, or had their principal church there; they were rather the heretics condemned there. Yet there did live in the region of Albi some Paulicians, as well as many other classes of dissenters from the Church of Rome; and the name of Albigenses is often applied to all the heretics in that tract of country. [See, for a fuller illustration and confirmation of what is asserted in this note, Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 569, &c. also *Hist. de Languedoc*, tome iii. note 13. p. 553, &c. and Fuessli's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie der mittleryn Zeit*, vol. i. —*Mur.*

[5] That these people were called Bulgarians, or as it was corruptly uttered *Bougres*, is fully shown by Du Fresne, *Glossarium Latin. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 1338. And the same Du Fresne, in his *Observationes ad Vellelharduini Historiam Constantinop.* p. 169, has shown by abundant proofs, that the name *Popolicani or Publicani*, given likewise to these Manichæans, is merely the name *Pauliciani* corruptly pronounced. The Paulicians called themselves *Good Men*, or *Los Bos Homos*, as the French pronounced it. See the *Codex Inquisit. Tolosanæ*, p. 22, 84, 95, &c. but especially p. 131, &c.

and left no means untried to bring them to a better mind. But nothing could induce them to give up the opinions they had embraced. They were therefore burned alive.[1] But the case of these men is involved in obscurity and perplexity. For they are extolled for their piety by their very enemies; and at the same time crimes are attributed to them which are manifestly false; at least the opinions for which they suffered death were in general quite different from the tenets of the Manichæans.[2] So far as I

[1] The testimonies of the ancients respecting these heretics are collected by Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 364, &c.; D'Argentre, *Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus*, tom. i. p. 5; Launoi, *De Scholis Celebrioribus Caroli M.* cap. xxiv. p. 90. The proceedings of the council of Orleans, in which they were condemned, are given by D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. i. p. 604, &c. [Two principal accounts of these heretics of Orleans have reached us. The one is that of Glaber Radulphus (*Historiæ*, lib. iii. cap. viii.); the other, which some ascribe to one Agano, a monk, is an anonymous account, but more full, and apparently deserving of at least as much credit, published by D'Achery, *ubi supra*. Both accounts are in Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. vi. par. i. p. 821, &c. Glaber states, that in the year 1017 a very strange heresy was discovered at Orleans, said to have been introduced by an Italian woman, and which had long been spreading itself in secret. The leaders in this heresy were two clergymen of Orleans, respectable for their birth, education, and piety, named Heribert and Lisoi. Both were canons, and the latter was also master of the school in St. Peter's church, and enjoyed the friendship of the king and the court. These circumstances enabled them more easily to spread their errors at Orleans and in the neighbouring towns. They attempted to convert a presbyter of Rouen, and told him that the whole nation would soon be with them; but he divulged the subject to a nobleman of Rouen, and he again to king Robert. The monarch, equally distinguished for learning and piety, hastened away full of solicitude to Orleans, assembled there a number of bishops and abbots and some pious laymen, and commenced an examination of the heretics. The two leading men among them acknowledged that they anticipated a general reception of their doctrines; that they considered all that was taught in the Old Testament and the New, by miracles or otherwise, concerning a trinity in the Godhead, as being absurd; that the visible heavens and earth had always existed, as they now are, without an original author; that all acts of Christian virtue, instead of being meritorious, were superfluous; and like the Epicureans, they believed the crimes of the voluptuous would not meet with the recompense of punishment. Great efforts were made to convince them of their errors, but in vain; neither arguments nor threatenings could move them, for they expected a miraculous deliverance from death. Accordingly, when led out to the fire which was kindled for them, they all, thirteen in number, went exulting and voluntarily leaped into it. But they no sooner felt the fire consuming them than they cried out, that they had been deceived, and were about to perish for ever. The bystanders moved with pity made efforts to draw them from the flames, but without effect. They were reduced to ashes. Such others of the sect as were afterwards detected were in like manner put to death. And heresy being thus destroyed, the Catholic faith shone the more conspicuous.—The other and more full account differs from that of Glaber in several respects. It states that a Norman nobleman, named Arefast, had a clergyman in his house by the name of Herbert, who went to Orleans for the purpose of study. That two leaders among the heretics, Stephen and Lisoi, universally esteemed for their wisdom, their piety, and their beneficence, met with Herbert and instilled into him the poison of their heresy. When Herbert returned to the family of Arefast, he laboured to convert him. But Arefast was not to be seduced. He communicated the whole to count Richard, to be made known to the king, with a request that the king would take measures to suppress the heresy. King Robert directed Arefast to repair with his clergyman Herbert to Orleans, and there insinuate himself among the heretics, promising to come there himself shortly. Arefast was instructed by an aged priest of Chartres how to proceed. He was to receive the communion every day; and thus fortified, he was to go among the heretics, pretend to be captivated with their doctrines, and draw from them a full knowledge of their heresy, and then appear as a witness against them. He did so, and drew from them the following tenets: that Christ was not born of the Virgin Mary, did not suffer for mankind, was not really laid in the tomb, and did not rise from the dead; that in baptism there was no washing away of sins; nor were the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament consecrated by the priest; and that it was useless to pray to the saints and martyrs. Arefast wished to know then on what he could rely for salvation. They promised to purify him from all sin, and to impart to him the Holy Spirit, by laying their hands upon him; and that he should eat heavenly food and often see angels, and with them travel where he pleased with ease and despatch. The account then describes the heavenly food they talked of. At certain times the heretics met together by night, each with a lighted candle, and invocated the devil till he appeared to them. Then putting out their lights, they all debauched themselves promiscuously. The fruits of these horrid scenes, when eight days old, were murdered and burned to ashes, and the ashes so obtained constituted their heavenly food, and was so efficacious that whoever partook of it at all became an enthusiast of their sect, and could seldom ever after be recovered to a sound mind. While Arefast was thus learning the whole heresy, king Robert and his queen Constantia arrived at Orleans; and the next day he called a council of bishops, and apprehending a whole assembly of the heretics, arraigned them for trial. Here Arefast stated all he had learned from them. Stephen and Lisoi admitted that they held such doctrines. A bishop stating that Christ was born of the Virgin, because he could be so, and that he died and rose again to assure us of a resurrection, they replied that they were not present and could not believe it was so. Being asked how they could believe that they had a natural father and were born in the usual way, not having been present, they replied that what was according to nature they could believe, but not what was contrary to nature. They were then asked if they did not believe that God created all things from nothing by his Son. They replied, "Such things may be believed by carnal men who mind earthly things, and trust in the fictions of men written upon parchment; but we, who have a law written upon the inward man by the Holy Spirit, regard nothing but what we have learned from God the creator of all." They likewise asked the bishops to desist from questioning them, and to do with them what they saw fit; for they said they already saw their king in the heavens, who would receive them to his right hand and to heavenly joys. After a nine hours' trial the prisoners were first degraded from the priesthood, and then led away to the stake. As they passed the church door queen Constantia with a stick struck Stephen, who had been her confessor, and dashed out one of his eyes. Their bodies, together with the abominable ashes used by them, were consumed in the flames.—Such is the story as told by their enemies. It is reasonable to give them all the credit which their enemies allow to them, and to make abatements only from what is said to their disadvantage. The whole description of their infernal night meetings, and eating the ashes of murdered infants, is doubtless mere calumny. Their intelligence and the spotless purity of their lives are well attested. The account given of their doctrines is lame, and coming from those who were their inferiors in knowledge of the Scriptures, and so hostile as to burn them at the stake, it is impossible to ascertain what their real sentiments were.—*Mur.*

[2] Basnage, in his *Hist. des Eglises Réformées*, tome i. period iv. p. 97, and in his *Hist. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 1388, &c. defends the cause of these canons of Orleans. But this otherwise excellent and discerning man seems to have been carried too far, by his zeal for augmenting the number of the witnesses for the truth.

can judge, these Manichæans of Orleans were mystics, who despised the external worship of God, ascribed no efficacy to religious rites, not even to the sacraments, and supposed religion to consist in the internal contemplation of divine things, and the elevation of the soul to God. At the same time they philosophized respecting God, the three persons in the Godhead, and the soul of man, with more subtlety than the capacity of the age could comprehend. Persons of this description proceeded from Italy in the following centuries, spread over nearly all Europe, and were called in Germany Brethren of the Free Spirit, and in some other countries Beghards.[1]

4. Better characters perhaps than these, certainly honest and candid though illiterate, were those men whom Gerhard, bishop of Cambray and Arras, reconciled to the church at the council of Arras A.D. 1030. These likewise received their doctrines from Italians, and particularly from one Gundulf. According to their own account, they supposed all religion to consist in pious exercises and in actions conformable to the law of God, while they despised all external worship. In particular (1.) they rejected baptism as a rite of no use as regards salvation, and especially the baptism of infants. (2.) The Lord's Supper they discarded for the same reason. (3.) They denied that churches are more holy than private houses. (4.) Altars they pronounced to be heaps of stones, and therefore worthy of no reverence. (5.) They disapproved of the use of incense and of holy oil in religious worship. (6.) The ringing of bells or signals, as bishop Gerhard calls them, they would not tolerate. (7.) They denied that ministers of religion, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, were of divine appointment, and maintained that the church could exist without an order of teachers. (8.) They contended that funeral rites were invented by the priesthood to gratify their avarice, and that it was of no consequence whether a person were buried in the church-yard or in some other place. (9.) Penance as then practised, that is, punishments voluntarily endured for sins, they deemed of no use. (10.) They denied that the sins of the dead who are in the world of torment or in purgatory can be expiated by masses, by gifts to the poor, and by vicarious penance; and doubtless they rejected the idea of purgatory itself. (11.) They held marriage to be pernicious, and condemned it in all cases.[2] (12.) They allowed indeed some reverence to be paid to the apostles and to the martyrs; but to confessors (by whom they intended those denominated saints and who had not suffered death for Christ's sake) they would have no reverence paid, declaring that their corpses were no better than those of other persons. (13.) The custom of chanting in churches and religious assemblies they represented as superstitious and unlawful. (14.) They denied a cross to be more holy than other wood, and therefore refused it any honour. (15.) They would have the images of Christ and the saints to be removed from the churches, and receive no kind of adoration. (16.) Finally, they were displeased with the difference of rank, and of powers and prerogatives, among the clergy.[3] Whoever considers the defects in the prevailing religion and doctrines of that age, will not think it strange that many persons throughout Europe, possessing good understandings and pious feelings, should have fallen into such sentiments as these.

5. Towards the close of this century, about the year 1089, a more subtle controversy was raised in France by Roscelin, a canon of Compeigne, who was not the lowest among the dialecticians of the age, and a principal doctor in the sect of the Nominalists. He maintained that it could not be conceived at all how the Son of God could assume human nature without the Father and the Holy Spirit's doing the same, unless we supposed the three persons in the Godhead to be three things or separately existing natures (such as three angels are or three human souls), though those three divine things might have one will and one power. Being told that this opinion would imply that there are three Gods, he boldly replied that were it not for the harshness of the expression it might be truly said there are three Gods.[4] He was compelled

[1] Of this class of people we shall treat hereafter in the thirteenth century; at which period they were first drawn from their concealment into full view, and condemned in many councils, especially in Germany. Yet they had long before been working their way in secret. This sect held some opinions in common with the Manichæans; whence the undiscerning theologians of those times might easily be led to regard them as a branch of the Manichæans

[2] I cannot easily believe this was altogether so. I should rather suppose that these people did not wholly condemn matrimony, but only judged celibacy to be more holy than the married state.

[3] See the *Synodus Atrebatensis*, in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, tom. i. p. 607—624; Argentre's *Collectio Judicior. de Novis Erroribus*, tom. i. p. 7. [See also Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxiii. p. 324, &c.—*Mur.*

[4] Thus his sentiments are stated by John who accused him to Anselm in an Epistle which is published by Baluze, *Miscell.* tom. iv. p. 478; also by Anselm of Canterbury in his book *De Fide Trinitatis*, written against Roscelin, *Opp.* tom. i. p. 41, 43, and in tom ii. p. 355, *Epist.* lib. ii. ep.-xxxv.; and lastly, by Fulco of Beauvais, in Anselm's *Opp.* p. 357, *Epist.* lib. ii. ep.

to condemn this error in the council of Soissons, A.D. 1092, but as soon as the danger was past he resumed it. He was then ordered to quit the country. While an exile in England he raised new commotions, contentiously maintaining, among other things, that the sons of priests and all born out of wedlock should never be admitted to the rank of clergymen, which was a very odious doctrine in those times. Being expelled from England for these things he returned to France, and residing at Paris renewed the old contention. But being pressed and harassed on all sides by his adversaries, he at last went to Aquitain, and spent the remainder of his life there devoutly and peacefully.[1]

xii. But all these were adversaries of Roscelin, who may be supposed either to have perverted his meaning, or not to have understood it correctly. And Anselm himself leads me to have much hesitation and doubt; for while he regarded the Nominalists, of whom Roscelin was the head, with no little hatred, yet he concedes in his book, *De Fide Trinitatis*, that the opinion of his opponent may be admissible in a certain sense; he frequently states that he does not know certainly what his views were, and even says that he suspects they were less exceptionable than his adversaries represented them. *De Fide Trinitatis*, cap. iii. p. 44. He says: "But perhaps he (Roscelin) does not say, just as three human souls or three angels are; but he who communicated his sentiments to me might make this comparison without any authority for it, while he (Roscelin) only affirmed that the three persons are three things without adding any comparison." So in his forty-first *Epist.* book ii. p. 357, being about to state Roscelin's opinion, he prefaces it thus: "Which however I cannot believe without hesitation." The reader I think will clearly see that Anselm, the determined enemy of the Nominalists, distrusted the candour and fairness of Roscelin's accusers in describing his opinions, and supposed him to be less erroneous than they represented. If I do not mistake, this whole controversy originated from the hot disputes between the Nominalists and the Realists. The Realists seem to have drawn this inference from the principles of the Nominalists, of whom Roscelin was the head: If, as you suppose, universal subjects are mere words and names, and the whole science of dialectics is concerned only with names, then doubtless the three persons in the Godhead will be in your view not three things, but only three names. By no means, answered Roscelin; the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are not mere names, but belong to the class of things. But while shunning Scylla he ran upon Charybdis; for his enemies thence inferred that he taught the existence of three Gods. If any of Roscelin's own writings were now extant, a better estimate could be formed of this controversy.

[1] Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 485, 489; Mabillon's *Annales Benedict.* tom. v. p. 262; *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome ix. p. 358, &c.; Pagi, *Critica in Baronium*, ad ann. 1094, tom. iv. p. 317, &c.; Longueval, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tome iii. p. 59, &c.

CENTURY TWELFTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS OF THE CHURCH.

1. A CONSIDERABLE part of the inhabitants of Europe, especially in its northern regions, were still ignorant of Christianity and devoted to the foolish superstitions of their ancestors. In the conversion of these, therefore, the zealous in religion occupied themselves in this century, yet not all of them with equal success or equal discretion. Boleslaus, duke of Poland, after vanquishing the Pomeranians, concluded a peace with them, on the condition that they should allow the Christian religion to be freely preached and expounded to them. Accordingly Otto, bishop of Bamberg, a man distinguished in this age for his zeal in propagating Christianity, was sent among them for this purpose in the year 1124. He baptized a considerable number, but was utterly unable to overcome the obstinacy of many. On his return to Germany a large part of those baptized by him relapsed into idolatry. He therefore took another journey into Pomerania in the year 1126, and amidst many difficulties succeeded in strengthening and extending the feeble church there.[1] From this time onward Christianity became so established among the Pomeranians, that Adalbert could be ordained as their first bishop.

2. Waldemar I. king of Denmark, obtained very great fame by the many wars he undertook against the pagan nations, the Slaves, the Wends, the Vandals, and others. He fought not only for the interests of his subjects but for the extension of Christianity; and wherever he was successful, he demolished the temples and images of the gods with their altars and groves, and commanded Christian worship to be set up. In particular he subdued, in the year 1168, the whole island of Rugen which lies near to Pomerania; and now he compelled its ferocious, savage, piratical inhabitants who had been addicted to senseless superstitions, to hear Christian preachers and to embrace the Christian religion. The king's designs were promoted and executed by Absalom, archbishop of Lund, a man of talents whom the king employed as his chief counsellor on all subjects.[2]

3. The Finns who infested Sweden with frequent inroads, were attacked by Eric IX. king of Sweden, called St. Eric after his death, and were subdued by him after many bloody battles. As to the year when this took place historians disagree.[3] The vanquished nation was commanded to follow the religion of the conqueror, which most of them did with reluctance and disgust.[4] The shepherd and guardian assigned to this new church was Henry, archbishop of Upsal, who had accompanied the king. But as he treated these new Christians too rigorously and attempted to punish severely

[1] See Canisius, *Lect. Antiq.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 34, where is a Life of Otto, whom Clement III. in the year 1189, enrolled in the catalogue of saints. See the *Acta Sanctor.* mensis Julii, tom. i. p. 349, &c.; Cramer, *Chronicle of the Church of Pomerania*, book i. written in German; Schötgen's German tract on the conversion of the Pomeranians by Otto, Stutgard, 1724, 4to; Mabillon's *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 123, 146, 323. [Likewise Bugenhagen's *Pomerania*, published by Balthasar, Greifswald, 1728, 4to, p. 38, 64, 78, &c. The precepts given by this apostle to his new converts were designed chiefly to wean them from their superstitious practices. They did not go into the essentials of Christianity. They must observe Sundays and the feast-days, they must fast, must bring their children to be baptized with certain formalities at Whitsuntide, must not murder their daughters as formerly, must refrain from polygamy, must not marry their godmothers, and in general must refrain from marrying kindred within the sixth and seventh degrees; they must not bury the bodies of Christians among those of pagans, must build no idol temples, consult no soothsayer, eat nothing that is unclean, do penance often, &c. See the *Chron. Urspery. et Halberstadt.* ad ann. 1124.—*Schl.*

[2] Saxo Grammaticus, *Hist. Danica*, lib. xiv. p. 239; Helmold, *Chron. Slavorum*, lib. ii. cap. xii. p. 234, with the note there of Bangert; Pontoppidan, *Annales Eccles. Danicæ*, tom. i. p. 404, &c. [Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxv. p. 245, &c.—*Mur.*

[3] Most of them, with Baronius, refer it to the year 1151. Vastovius places it in 1150, and Oernhielmius in 1157.

[4] Oernhielmius, *Hist. Eccles. Gentis Suecorum*, lib. iv. cap. iv. sec. xiii.; Loccenius, *Hist. Suecica*, lib. iii. p. 76, ed. Francf.; Erlandus, *Vita Erici Sancti*, cap. vii.; Vastovius, *Vitis Aquilonia*, &c. p. 65, &c.

a man of great influence who had committed murder, he was himself massacred, and the pontiff, Hadrian IV. enrolled him among the saints.[1]

4. Towards the close of the century, perhaps in the year 1186, some merchants of Bremen or of Lubec trading to Livonia, took along with them Mainhard, a regular canon of St. Augustine in the monastery of Segeberg in Holsatia [Holstein], to bring that warlike and uncivilized nation to the Christian faith. But as very few would listen to him, Mainhard consulted the Roman pontiff, who created him the first bishop of the Livonians, and decreed that war should be waged against the opposers.[2] This war, first waged with the Esthonians, was extended farther and prosecuted more vigorously by Berthold, the second bishop of the Livonians, after the death of Mainhard; for this Berthold, formerly abbot of Lucca, marched with a strong army from Saxony and recommended Christianity, not by arguments but by slaughter and battle.[3] Following his example the third bishop Albert, previously a canon of Bremen, entered Livonia in the year 1198, well supported by a fresh army raised in Saxony, and fixing his camp at Riga he instituted by authority of Innocent III. the Roman pontiff, the military order of knights-swordbearers, who should compel the Livonians by force of arms to submit to baptism.[4] New forces were marched from time to time from Germany, by whose valour and that of the sword-bearers the wretched people were subdued and exhausted, so that they at last substituted the images of Christ and the saints in place of their idols. The bishops and knights partitioned out among themselves the lands most unjustly wrested from the ancient possessors.[5]

5. The subjugation and conversion of the Slavonians, who inhabited the shores of the Baltic and were most inveterate enemies of the Christians, gave employment to both civil and ecclesiastical rulers during nearly the whole century. Among them prince Henry the Lion was distinguished. Among other measures conducive to the renovation of the Slavonian character, he restored and liberally endowed three bishoprics in Slavonia beyond the Elbe, namely, Ratzeburg, Aldenburg, [Oldenburg], which was soon after transferred to Lubec, and Schwerin.[6] Among the religious teachers who assailed the ignorance and stupidity of this barbarous nation, the most distinguished was Vicelin of Hameln, a man who had few equals in that age, and who, from presiding over the regular canons of St. Augustine at Faldern, was at length made bishop of Aldenburg. For nearly thirty years, from A.D. 1124 to A.D. 1154, the time of his death, he laboured amidst innumerable difficulties, indefatigably, perseveringly, and successfully, in instructing the Slavonians and alluring them to Christianity. He also performed many other praiseworthy deeds which have rendered his name immortal.[7]

[1] Vastovius, *Vitis Aquilonia seu Vitæ Sanctor. Regni Sueogothici*, p. 62; Benzelius, *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Sueogothicæ*, par. i. p. 33, &c.

[2] The apostles of those times, according to the example of the successors of St. Peter in that age, made use of the double sword, first the spiritual, and where this was ineffectual, the material sword. And this last Mainhard knew well how to use. In the war against the Lettes or Lithuanians, he taught his Livonians the art of erecting fortified castles, and in general a better method of carrying on war. His lieutenant was Dieterich, a Cistercian monk, who was afterwards bishop of Esthonia. He also was Mainhard's envoy to the Pope, who proffered indulgences to all that would assume the cross and march against the Livonians.—*Schl.*

[3] Berthold was a Cistercian and was appointed successor to Mainhard in the year 1196, by the archbishop of Bremen, who wished to enlarge his province by the addition of Livonia. His first expedition to Livonia was unsuccessful. The Livonians believed that he came among them only to enrich himself out of them, and he found it best to make his escape. When he returned with an armed force in 1198 the Livonians killed him. But the army of crusaders so terrified the inhabitants that they admitted clergymen among them, though these they soon after chased out of the country.—*Schl.*

[4] See Schurzfleisch, *Hist. Ordinis Ensiferorum Equitum*, Wittenb. 1701, 8vo.

[5] See the *Origines Livoniæ seu Chronicon vetus Livonicum*, published with copious notes, Francf. 1740, fol. by Gruber, who in his notes mentions and corrects all the other writers on the subject. [We have also three epistles of Pope Innocent III. relating to the conversion of the Livonians. The first is addressed to all the Christians in Saxony and Westphalia; the second to the Christians in the countries of the Slavonians; and the third to the believers beyond the Elbe. In these the Pope commands those who were under vows of pilgrimage to Rome, to substitute for them a crusade against the Livonians. Raynald, *Annales* ad ann. 1199, No. 38, and *Cod. Diplom. Polon.* tom. v. p. 1.—*Schl.* [See also a full account of these conversions in Tooke's *View of the Russian Empire*, vol. i. p. 539-62, Lond. 1799, 3 vols. 8vo.—*Mur.*

[6] See the *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. iii. p. 16, 19, 34, 41, 55, 61, 63, 72, 82, and the valuable Preface of Scheidius, sec. xiv. p. 41; Ludewig's *Reliquiæ Manuscriptor.* tom. vi. p. 230, &c.; Jo. Ern. De Westphalen's *Monumenta inedita Rerum Cambricar. et Megapolens.* tom. ii. p. 1998, &c. [According to Helmold, in his *Chronicon. Slavor.* lib. i. cap. 69, it was Hartwich, archbishop of Hamburg who re-established these bishoprics. From the same Helmold it appears why the Slavonians so long opposed Christianity. They were drained by oppressive contributions and were refused the privileges enjoyed by Saxons. Pribeslav, a Pomeranian chief, said to the bishop who would convert him: "Dentur nobis jura Saxonum in prædiis et reditibus, et libenter erimus Christiani, ædificabimus ecclesias, dabimus decimas," &c.—*Schl.*

[7] A particular account of Vicelin is given by Möller, in his *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 910, &c.; and by Lambecius, in his *Res Hamburg.* lib. ii. p. 12, and by others. But the illustrious De Westphalen has exceeded all others in diligence in his *Origines Neomonaster. et Bordesholmens.* which are extant in the *Monumenta inedita Cimbrica*, tom. ii. p. 2344, &c. The preface of this volume also deserves to be consulted, p. 33, &c.; it also contains an engraved likeness of Vicelin.

6. It is scarcely necessary to repeat here, what has several times been remarked already, that barbarous nations brought into the pale of the Christian church in this manner, became disciples of Christ in name only and not in reality. The religion taught them was not the pure and simple doctrine which Christ taught, but a method of appeasing God by ceremonies and external acts, in several respects very nearly allied to the religion which they were required to abandon. Take away the history and the name of Christ, the sign of the cross, some prayers, and a disagreement in rites, and it will not be difficult to reconcile both to each other, to a great extent. Besides, many practices were still tolerated among these nations which were wholly inconsistent with the nature of Christianity, and which betrayed very great impiety; for the priests, with but few exceptions, did not labour to remove the spiritual maladies of their minds and to unite their souls to God, but to advance their own interests and those of the Roman pontiff, by extending and establishing their dominion.

7. In Asiatic Tartary, near to Cathay,[1] a great revolution took place near the beginning of this century very favourable to the cause of Christianity. For on the death of Coiremchan, or as others call him Kenchan, a very powerful king of the eastern regions of Asia at the close of the preceding century, a certain priest of the Nestorians inhabiting those countries, whose name was John, made so successful an attack upon the kingdom while destitute of a head, that he gained possession of it, and from a presbyter became the sovereign of a great empire. This was the famous Prester John, whose country was for a long time deemed by the Europeans the seat of all felicity and opulence. Because he had been a presbyter before he gained the kingdom, most persons continued to call him Prester John after he had acquired royal dignity.[2] His regal name was Ungchan. The exalted opinion of the power and riches of this Prester John entertained by the Greeks and Latins arose from this, that being elated

[1] In Marco Paolo and the oriental geographers, the names of Cathay and Mangi distinguish the northern and southern empires, which from A.D. 1234 to 1279 were those of the great Khan and of the Chinese. The search for Cathay, after China had been found, excited and misled our navigators of the sixteenth century in their attempts to discover the north-east passage. Gibbon's *Decl. and Fall*, vol. xi. p. 400.—*R.*

[2] The statements here made respecting the famous Prester John, whom our ancestors from the twelfth century onwards supposed to be the greatest and most prosperous of all kings, not only have the greatest appearance of probability among all the accounts which are given of him, but are also supported by the testimony of writers of candour and the most worthy of credit; namely, William of Tripoli (see Du Fresne, notes to Joinville's *Vie de St. Louis*, p. 89), a Dominican and bishop of Gabul, in Otto of Frisingen's *Chron.* lib. vii. c. 33. [This bishop had come to Rome to obtain the decision by an umpire of the controversies between the Armenian and Greek churches. On this occasion he related that a few years before, one John who lived in the extremities of the east, beyond Persia and Armenia, and was both a king and a priest, had with his people become a Nestorian Christian; that he had vanquished the Median and Persian kings, and attempted to march to the aid of the church at Jerusalem, but was obliged to desist from the enterprise because he was unable to pass the Tigris. This king was descended from the Magians mentioned in the gospel, and was so rich that he had a sceptre of emerald.—*Schl.*] William Rubruquis, *Voyage*, c. xviii. p. 36, in the *Antiqua in Asiam Itinera*, collected by Gerberon, and Alberic, *Chronicon*, ad ann. 1165 and 1170, in Leibnitz's *Accessiones Historicæ*, tom. ii. p. 345 and 355, and others. It is strange that these testimonies should have been disregarded by learned men, and that so many disputes should have arisen respecting Prester John and the region in which he lived, and should have continued down even to our times. But such is the human character, that what has most simplicity and plainness is despised, and what is marvellous and obscure is preferred. Peter Covillanus, who was directed in the fifteenth century by John II. king of Portugal, to make inquiries respecting the kingdom of Prester John, when he arrived in Abyssinia with his companions, on discovering many things in the emperor of the Abyssinians or Ethiopians analogous to what was then currently reported in Europe respecting Prester John, supposed that he had discovered that John whom he was ordered to inquire after. And he easily persuaded the Europeans, then scarcely emerged from barbarism, to fall in with his opinions. See John Morin, *De Sacris Ecclesiæ Ordinationibus*, par. ii. p. 367, &c. But in the seventeenth century many writings having been brought to light which had been unknown, the learned in great numbers abandoned this Portuguese conjecture, and agree that Prester John must have reigned in Asia; but they still disagreed as to the location of his kingdom and some other points. Yet there are some even in our times, and among the most learned men, who choose to give credit to the Portuguese, though supported by no proofs and authorities, that the Abyssinian emperor is that mighty Prester John, rather than follow the many contemporary and competent witnesses. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin.* p. 223, 337; Lafitau, *Hist. des Découvertes des Portugais*, tome i. p. 58, and tome iii. p. 57; Henr. le Grand, *Diss. de Johanni Presbyt.* in Lobo's *Voyage d' Abyssinie*, tome i. p. 295, &c. [See above, note i. p. 322, and Mosheim's *Hist. Tartaror. Eccles.* p. 16, &c. Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 1177, sec. 55, gives us the title of an epistle written by pope Alexander III. to Prester John, which shows that he was an Indian prince and a priest: "Alexander Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, charissimo in Christo filio illustri et magnifico Indorum regi, sacerdotum sanctissimo, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem."—*Mur.* [That the Dalai Lama was the Prester John is denied by Paulsen, the real author of Mosheim's *Hist. Tartaror. Eccles.* Yet more recently Joh. Eberh. Fischer in his Introduction to the *History of Siberia*, p. 81 (in German), has maintained this opinion, and endeavoured to show that the Dalai Lonna (Lama), and Prester John are the same person; and that the latter name is a fictitious word which the Europeans did not correctly understand. And whoever is sensible how low a people may sink under the influence of superstition, will not deem the idolatry of the Thibetians full proof that the Grand Lama and Prester John could not be the same person. At least, if reliance may be put upon the accounts of the Augustinian eremite George (of which Gatterer's *Algem. Hist. Bibl.* contains an extract), it was in the beginning of the twelfth century that the regal power in Thibet was first joined with that of the Grand Lama; which is a new argument in favour of Fischer's opinion. See the *Hist. Bibl.* vol. viii. p. 191.—*Schl.* [But this hypo-

with his prosperity and the success of his wars with the neighbouring nations, he sent ambassadors and letters to the Roman emperor Frederic I. to the Greek emperor Manuel, and to other sovereigns, in which he extravagantly proclaimed his own majesty and wealth and power, exalting himself above all the kings of the earth; and this boasting of the vain-glorious man the Nestorians laboured with all their power to confirm.[1] He was succeeded by his son or brother, whose proper name was David, but who was also generally called Prester John. This prince was vanquished and slain near the close of the century, by that mighty Tartar emperor Genghiskan.

8. The new kingdom of Jerusalem in Syria, established in the preceding century by the French, seemed at the beginning of this century to flourish and to stand firm. But this prosperity was soon succeeded by adversity; for most of the crusaders having returned home, and the Christian generals and princes who remained in Palestine being more attentive to their private interests than to the public good, the Mohammedans recovered from their sudden terror and consternation, and collecting troops and resources on every side, attacked and harassed the Christians with perpetual wars. During many years they opposed the enemy with valour; but when Atabec Zenghi,[2] after a long siege, had taken the city of Edessa and seemed disposed to attack Antioch, the courage of the Christians began to fail. They therefore implored the succour of the Christian kings of Europe, and with tears supplicated for new armies of crusaders. The Roman pontiffs favoured these petitions, and left no means untried to persuade the emperor and the other sovereigns to undertake another expedition to Palestine.

9. This new crusade was long a subject of debate in several popular assemblies and in the councils. At length, under the pontiff Eugene III. the celebrated abbot of Clairvaux in France, St. Bernard, a man of immense influence, brought the question to an issue. For when, in the year 1146, he preached the cross (as the phrase then was) in both France and Germany, but especially in a public assembly of the French at Vezelay, and promised in the name of God great victories and a most prosperous issue to the enterprise, Lewis VII. king of the French, his queen, and a vast number of nobles who were present, devoted themselves to the sacred war.[3] Conrad III. emperor of the Germans, at first resisted the admonitions of St. Bernard; but after some delay, he followed the example of the French king. Both therefore proceeded towards Palestine with very numerous armies, by different routes. But the greater part of both armies perished miserably on the road, either by famine or by shipwreck, or by the sword of the Mohammedans, to whom they were betrayed by the perfidious Greeks, who feared the Latins more than they did the Mohammedans. Lewis VII. left his country in the year 1147, and arrived at Antioch in the month of March in the following year, with a small army, and much exhausted by its sufferings. Conrad commenced his march in the month of May, 1147, and in November of the same year joined Lewis at Nice, having lost the greater part of his troops by the way. Both proceeded to Jerusalem in the year 1148, and they led back to Europe the few soldiers who survived in the year 1149; for these princes were unable to effect anything, among other causes, on account of the disagreement between them. The only effect of this second crusade was to drain Europe of a great portion of its wealth, and of a vast number of its inhabitants.[4]

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thesis of Fischer seems to be fully subverted by the arguments of Mosheim and Paulsen, *Hist. Tartaror. Eccles.* p. 137, &c. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxv. p. 192.—*Mur.*

[1] Milman in his edition of Gibbon remarks—"The extent to which Nestorian Christianity prevailed among the Tartar tribes is one of the most curious questions in Oriental history. M. Schmidt (*Geschichte der Ost Mongolen*, notes, p. 383) appears to question the Christianity of Ong Chaghan [the Ungchan of Mosheim] and his Keraite subjects." According to Schlosser (*Weltgeschichte*, &c. vol. iii. par. ii. p. 268), the name was Wamchan, and the residence of this prince and his successors was Karakorum, south of the lake Baikal.—*R.*

[2] Atabec was an official title given by the Seljukian emperors, or Sultans, to the lieutenants or viceroys whom they placed over certain provinces. The Latin historians of the crusades, of whom a catalogue is collected by Bongarsius, call this Atabec Zenghi, Sanguinus. See Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* article *Atabeck*, p. 142. [Gibbon says—"The corruption of the name of Zenghi to Sanguin afforded the Latins a comfortable allusion to his sanguinary character and end: fit sanguine sanguinolentus." *Decl. and Fall*, vol. xi. p. 117.—*R.*

[3] Specimens of Bernard's impassioned appeals in support of this second crusade are given by Neander in his *Der heil. Bernard u. sein Zeitalter*, and by Wilkins in his *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, vol. iii. par. i. —*R.*

[4] Besides the historians of the crusades mentioned by Bongarsius, see Mabillon's *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 399, 404, 407, 417, 451, &c.; Gervais, *Hist. de l'Abbé Suger*, tome iii. p. 104, 128, 173, 190, 239, &c. This Suger, a famous abbot of St. Denys, was left by Lewis VII. to govern his kingdom during his absence. Vertot, *Hist. des Chevaliers de Malte*, tome i. p. 86, &c.; Mascov, *De Rebus Imperii sub Conrado III.* [The French army of crusaders consisted of above 100,000 armed men, of whom 70,000 were mounted

10. Yet the unhappy issue of this second crusade did not render the Christian cause in the East absolutely desperate. If the Christian princes had attacked the enemy with their combined strength and acted in harmony, they would have had little to fear. But all the Latins, and especially their chiefs, abandoning themselves without restraint to ambition, avarice, injustice, and other vices, weakened each other by their mutual contentions, jealousies, and broils. Hence a valiant general of the Mohammedans, Salaheddin, whom the Latins called Saladin, viceroy or rather king of Egypt and Syria, assailed the Christians in the most successful manner, captured Guy of Lusignan, the king of Jerusalem, in the fatal battle of Tiberias, A.D. 1187; and in the same year reduced Jerusalem under his power.[1] After this ruinous campaign the hopes of the Christians in the East rested wholly on the aid to be derived from the kings of Europe. And this aid the Roman pontiff obtained for them, after much and repeated solicitations; yet the issue equalled neither his designs, wishes, nor efforts.

11. The third crusade was commenced by the emperor Frederic I. surnamed Barbarossa, who with a large army of Germans traversed the provinces of Greece in the year 1189, and after surmounting numerous difficulties in Asia Minor and vanquishing the forces of a Mohammedan king resident at Iconium, penetrated into Syria. But the next year he unfortunately lost his life in the river Saleph, which passes by Seleucia, in a manner unknown, and a great part of his soldiers returned to Europe. The others continued the war under Frederic, the son of the deceased emperor; but the plague swept away very many of them, carrying off at length their general, the emperor's son, in the year 1191, when the rest dispersed and very few of them returned to their own country.[2]

12. The emperor Frederic was followed in the year 1190 by Philip Augustus, king of France, and Richard, surnamed the Lion-hearted, king of England. Both these went by sea, and reached Palestine with a body of chosen troops in the year 1191. Their first battle with the enemy was not unsuccessful; but in July of that year after the reduction of the city of Acre, the king of France returned to Europe, leaving however a part of his troops in Palestine. After his departure the king of England prosecuted the war with vigour, and not only vanquished Saladin in several battles, but also took Jaffa and Cesarea, cities of Palestine. But being deserted by the French and Italians, and moved also by other reasons of great weight, in the year 1192 he concluded a truce with Saladin for three years, three months, and three days; and soon after left Palestine with his troops.[3] Such was the issue of the third crusade, which drained Germany, England, and France, both of men and money, but afforded very little advantage to the Christian cause in Asia.

13. During these wars of the Christians with the Mohammedans for the possession

cuirassiers, and the rest infantry. The German army was of about the same number. The emperor moved first, pursuing a direct course through Hungary, Bulgaria, and Thrace, to Constantinople, where he was to wait for the arrival of the king. But the Greek emperor received him coldly, and by artifices induced him to cross the Dardanelles and proceed towards Palestine. The Grecian guides assigned him led him into defiles and dangerous positions in Lycaonia, where the Mohammedans attacked and nearly destroyed his army. After the loss of all his baggage he was obliged to turn back with but a handful of men. The French army proceeded from Metz, crossed the Rhine at Worms and the Danube at Ratisbon, passed through Hungary, and arrived safely at Constantinople. There they were told the German army had proceeded on and were very successful against the infidels. Lewis now passed the straits and was at Nice when Conrad returned with the remnant of his ruined army. The sovereigns continued together for a few days and commenced their march southerly along the coast. But the emperor thinking it not honourable for him to attend a camp in which he had no command, returned to Constantinople and afterwards embarked for the Holy Land. Lewis led his army through Asia Minor, bending his course into the interior to avoid passing the large rivers near their mouths. The Mohammedans hovered around him, cut off his supplies, and at length attacked him in the mountains of Laodicea to great advantage, destroyed a large part of his army, and came near to capturing the king himself. At length he arrived with the wreck of his army at Attalia, the capital of Pamphylia, where the Greeks drained them of their resources, and so embarrassed their proceeding by land that the king, with part of his troops, was obliged to embark on board the few vessels he could obtain, leaving the remainder of his army to fight their way by land if they could. Those he thus left all perished. He and those with him arrived safe in Palestine. The emperor also rejoined him with a few troops. Their united forces formed but a small army; yet they would have been able to reduce Damascus if the Christian princes of the east had not disagreed and thus embarrassed their operations. The siege was abandoned, the sovereigns visited Jerusalem as pilgrims, and at length returned to Europe with less than a tenth part of the men who had enlisted in the crusade.—*Mur.* [Those who wish to trace the routes of the various crusades, will find a map on which they are carefully marked, in the 11th volume of Milman's Gibbon's *Decl. and Fall*, &c. There is also a similar chart in Michaud, *Hist. des Croisades*, vol. i. with two useful maps illustrating the extent of the short-lived Christian kingdoms in the East, in the 3d and 6th volumes.—*R.*

[1] See the Arab Bohadin's *Life of Saladin*, which Schultens published in Arabic with a Latin translation, Leyden, 1732. fol, cap. xxxiv. &c. p. 66, &c.; add Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* artic. *Salaheddin*, p. 472, &c.; and Marigny, *Hist. des Arabes*, tome iv. p. 289, &c.; [and Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, ch. 59.—*Mur.*

[2] These events are best illustrated by the celebrated Count de Bünau, in his life of Frederic I. written in German, p. 278, 293, 309, 333, &c.

[3] Daniel, *Hist. de France*, tome iii. p. 426. &c.; Rapin, *Hist. d'Angleterre*, tome ii. p. 251, &c. [Hume's *Hist. of England*, ch. x. vol. i. p. 403, &c.] Marigny, *Hist. des Arabes*, tome iv. p. 285, &c.

of the Holy Land, arose the three celebrated equestrian or military orders, whose business it was to clear the roads of robbers, to harass the Mohammedans with perpetual warfare, to afford assistance to the poor and the sick among pilgrims to the holy places, and to perform any other services which the public exigencies seemed to require. The first of these orders, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, derived their name from an hospital in the city of Jerusalem consecrated to St. John the Baptist, in which certain pious and charitable brethren were accustomed to receive and afford relief to the needy and the sick visitants of Jerusalem. After the establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem this hospital gradually acquired, from the liberality of pious persons, larger revenues than were requisite for the object of relieving the poor and the sick; and its president or master, Raymund du Puy, about the year 1120, with his brethren, offered to the king of Jerusalem to make war upon the Mohammedans at his own expense. The king approved the plan, and the Roman pontiffs confirmed it by their authority. Thus at once and to the surprise of all, from being attendants on the poor and the sick, removed from all bustle and noise, they became military characters; and the whole order was divided into three classes: knights or soldiers who were of noble birth, and whose business it was to fight for religion; priests who conducted the religious exercises of the order; and serving brethren, that is, soldiers of ignoble birth. This order exhibited the greatest feats of valour, and thus procured immense wealth. After the loss of Palestine the knights passed into the island of Cyprus; they afterwards occupied the island of Rhodes and held it a long time; when expelled from Rhodes by the Turks they obtained from Charles V. the possession of the island of Malta,[2] where their grand master still resides.[3]

14. The second order was wholly military, that is, it did not embrace both soldiers and priests. It was called the order of Templars from a house situated near the temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, which Balduin II. the king of Jerusalem gave to the knights temporarily, for their first residence. The order commenced A.D. 1118 at Jerusalem, and had for its founders Hugo de Paganis (Hugues des Payens), Godfrey de S. Amore (or St. Omer), and seven others whose names are not known. It obtained A.D. 1128 its full establishment and its rule from the council of Troyes in France.[4] These knights were required to defend the Christian religion by force of arms, to guard the highways, and to protect the pilgrims to Palestine from the cruelties and robberies of the Mohammedans. By its valour this order likewise acquired great fame and vast wealth; but, at the same time, by its pride, luxury, cruelty, and other vices, incurred peculiar odium, which rose so high at last that the order was wholly suppressed by a decree of the pontiff and of the council of Vienne.[5]

15. The third order, that of the Teutonic knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem, was similar to the first in requiring care of the poor and the sick as well as military service. It originated A.D. 1190 at the siege of Acre or Ptolemais, yet some place its obscure beginnings somewhat earlier, and at Jerusalem. During this siege some pious and benevolent Germans undertook to provide accommodations for sick and wounded soldiers; and the undertaking so pleased the German princes who were present, that they concluded to establish an association for that object, to be composed of German knights. The Roman pontiff, Cœlestine

[1] The writers who treat of these three orders are enumerated by Fabricius, *Bibliograph. Antiquar* p. 465, &c.; but some are omitted.

[2] The most recent and best history of this order is that composed by Renat. Aubert de Vertot, by order of the knights, and published first at Paris and afterwards at Amsterdam, 1732, 5 vols. 8vo; add Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tome iii. p. 72, &c.

[3] In the year 1798 the knights of Malta betrayed the Island to the French fleet, then carrying Bonaparte to Egypt. The English immediately after commenced a blockade of the island, which lasted two years, when the Island fell into the hands of the English, who have held it ever since. The order lost the greater part of its revenues during the French revolution; and from the time Malta was surrendered to the French it has been sinking into insignificance, and is now nearly if not altogether extinct.—*Mur.*

[4] See Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 159, &c. [Mabillon there says: "Their *rule* was taken almost verbatim from that of St. Benedict, and consisted of the same number of chapters, viz. 72. Many persons suppose that it was drawn up by St. Bernard." Their rule received modifications from time to time; but their earliest regulations were the following:—The knights shall attend the entire religious services by day and by night; and if any one is prevented from attending by his military duties, he shall repeat thirteen Paternosters in place of matins, nine in place of vespers, and seven in place of each of the minor canonical hours. For each deceased brother 100 Paternosters shall be said daily for seven days; and his allotment of food and drink (his rations) during forty days shall be given to some poor person. The knights may eat flesh thrice a week, on the Lord's day, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, the other four days they must abstain from flesh, and on Fridays must be content with quadragesimal fare. Each knight may have three horses and one squire. No one may either hawk or hunt. See Fleury's *Hist. de l'Eglise*, livr. lxvii. cap. 55.—*Mur.*

[5] See Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 56, &c. for an account of the origin of the order. Peter de Puy, *Hist. de l'Ordre Milit. des Templiers*, which was republished with many additional documents, Brussels, 1751, 4to; Gürtler, *Hist. Templariorum Militum*, Amstel. 1691, 8vo. [For a list of more recent writers, see Winer's *Handb. d. Theologischen Literatur*, Leips. 1826, p. 184. —*Mur.*

III. afterwards approved of the society and confirmed it by formal enactments. No one was to be admitted into this order except Germans of noble birth; and those admitted were to devote themselves to the defence of the Christian religion and the Holy Land, and to the care of the suffering poor and the sick. At first the austerity of the order was very great, clothing and bread and water being the only recompense of the soldiers for the labours they endured. But this rigour soon ceased as the wealth of the society increased. When the order retired from Palestine it occupied Prussia, Livonia, Courland, and Semigallia; and though it lost those provinces at the Reformation, yet it retained a part of its estates in Germany.[1]

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

1. NEITHER the Jews nor the polytheists could give the Christians of the West so much trouble as formerly. The former were accused by the Christians of various crimes, pretended or real; so that their efforts were directed, not so much to make opposition to the Christians as to defend themselves in the best manner they could against their attacks. Such of the polytheists as remained in the North of Europe —and they were considerably numerous in several places—frequently made great slaughter among the Christians.[2] But the Christian kings and princes in their vicinity gradually brought their rage under restraints, and continued to wage war upon them till they had deprived them both of their independence and of their religious freedom.

2. The writers of this century are full of their complaints of the cruelty and rage of the Saracens against the Christians in the East. Nor is there any reason to question their veracity. But most of them have omitted to state the great causes of this cruelty, which were for the most part on the side of the Christians. In the first place, the Saracens had a right, according to the laws of war, to repel violence by violence; nor is it easy to see with what face the Christians could require of this nation, which they attacked and slaughtered with large armies, that it should patiently receive blows and not return them. Besides, the Christians in the East committed abominable crimes, and did not hesitate to inflict the most exquisite sufferings and distress upon the Saracens. And can any think it strange that they should deem it right to retaliate? Lastly, is it a new and surprising thing that a nation not distinguished for mildness and gentleness of temper, when provoked by the calamities of what was pronounced a holy war, should be severe upon those among their subjects who were united with their enemies in religion?

3. A vast change in the state of the Christians in northern Asia took place near the close of this century, in consequence of the victories of the great Genghiskan, commander of the Tartars. For this descendant of the Mongles or Moguls, a hero who has had few equals in any age, attacked David or Ungchan, the brother or son or at least the successor of the celebrated Prester John, and himself called by that name, and having conquered him in battle, slew him;[3] then assailing the other princes who ruled over the Turks, the Indians, and the inhabitants of Cathay, he either slew them or made them tributary; and after this, invading Persia, India, and Arabia, he overturned the Saracenic empire and established that of the Tartars in those countries.[4] From this time the influence of the Christian religion was greatly diminished in the countries which had been subject to Prester John and his successor David; nor did it cease to decline and sink gradually till it

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[1] In addition to Duell's *Hist. Ordinis Teutonici*, Vienna, 1727, see Peter of Duisberg, *Chronicon Prussiæ*, edited with the notes of Hartknoch, Jena, 1679, 4to; Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tome iii. p. 140, &c.; the *Chronicon Ordinis Teutonici*, in Matthæus, *Analecta Veteris Ævi*, tom. v. p. 621, 658, ed. nova; the *Privilegia Ordinis Teutonici*, in Von Ludwig's *Reliquiæ Manuscript.* tom. vii. p. 43. [For further information relative to these three military orders, and references to additional works, both ancient and modern, which treat of their history, see sec. 72 of Gieseler, *Lehrbuch*, &c. Cunningham's transl. vol. ii. p. 307, &c.—*R.*

[2] Helmold, *Chronicon Slavor.* lib. i. cap. xxxiv. p. 38, cap. xxxv. p. 89, cap. xl. p. 99; Lindenbrog, *Scriptor. Septentrion.* p. 195, 196, 201; Lambeccius, *Res Hamburg.* lib. i. p. 23.

[3] Respecting the year in which Genghiskan invaded and conquered Prester John, the Greek, Latin, and oriental writers disagree very much. Most of the Latin writers fix on the year 1202, and thus refer the event to the thirteenth century. But Marco Paolo, the Venetian, *De Regionibus Oriental.* lib. i. cap. ii. iii. iiii. and others state that it took place in the year 1187; and I prefer following their authority. Demetrius Cantimir, prince of Moldavia, deviates from both, and in his preface to the *History of the Ottoman Empire*, p. xlv. tome i. French ed. states, on the authority of the Arabians, that Genghiskan did not invade the territories of his neighbours till the year 1214.

[4] Petit de la Croix, *Hist. de Genghiz Can*, Paris, 1711, 12mo, p. 120, 121; Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* artic. *Genghizkhan*, p. 378; Asseman, *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatic.* tom. iii. par. i. p. 101 and 295, &c.; Carpin, *Voyage en Tartarie*, chap. v. in the *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, tome vii. p. 350.

was wholly prostrated by either Mohammedan errors or idolatrous fables. Yet the posterity of John for a long time after this held, in the kingdom of Tangut which was his original seat, some degree of power, though much restricted and not independent; and these continued to adhere to the Christian religion.[1]

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LEARNING AND SCIENCE.

1. AMONG the Greeks, though the times were calamitous and revolutions and intestine wars were very frequent, the study of literature and the liberal arts was highly honoured. This was attributable to the patronage and the literary zeal of the emperors, especially the Comneni; and likewise to the vigilance of the Constantinopolitan patriarchs, who feared lest the Greek church would lack defenders against the Latins if her priests should neglect learning. The learned and luminous commentaries of Eustathius, bishop of Thessalonica, upon Homer and Dionysius [Periegetes], show that men of the best talents applied themselves diligently to the study of classic literature and antiquities.[2] And the many respectable historians of the events of their own times, John Cinnamus,[3] Michael Glycas,[4] John Zonaras,[5] Nicephorus Bryennius,[6] and others,[7] are proof that neither the disposition to benefit succeeding ages

[1] Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 500, &c. [Mosheim, *Hist. Tartaror. Eccles.* cap. ii. p. 29, &c.—*Mur.*

[2] Eustathius was archbishop of Thessalonica in the year 1185, when his eloquence saved that city from demolition by its Sicilian conquerors. He was alive in 1194. His excellent commentary on Homer was published, Rome, 1550, 4 vols. fol. and Basil, 1560, 3 vols. fol. He also wrote a good commentary on the geographical poem of Dionysius Periegetes, Gr. Paris, 1577, fol. He wrote nothing on theology so far as is known. —*Mur.* [For numerous references to authorities on the history and writings of this mediæval scholar, see Saxius, *Onomasticon*, vol. ii. p. 251-53.—*R.*

[3] John Cinnamus was secretary to Manuel Comnenus, a grammarian and a soldier, who flourished A.D. 1160 and was alive A.D. 1183. He wrote the history of the two Comneni, John and Manuel, comprising events from A.D. 1118 to A.D. 1176. The first part is very concise, the latter a full history, and both are written with fidelity and in a good style. The best edition is that of Du Fresne in six books, Paris, 1670, fol.—*Mur.*

[4] Michael Glycas was a native of Sicily and flourished A.D. 1120. His *Annales Quadripartiti* is a work not only historical, but also philosophical and theological. Part I. describes the creation of the world in six days; Part II. extends from the creation to the birth of Christ; Part III. to Constantine the Great; and Part IV. to the death of Alexius Comnenus, A.D. 1118. It was published Gr. and Lat. with notes by Labbé, Paris, 1660, fol. Glycas also wrote *Disputatiuncule II.* and many epistles of which fragments are preserved.—*Mur.*

[5] John Zonaras, who flourished about A.D. 1118, was a native of Constantinople, and for many years in public civil life; but being bereft of his wife and children, he retired to a monastery, and solaced himself by writing for posterity. His Annals or Compendious History is in three parts; the first treats of the Jews from the creation to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus; the second gives the Roman history from the founding of Rome to Constantine the Great, abridged chiefly from Dion Cassius; the third part brings the history of the Greek empire down to the death of Alexius Comnenus, A.D. 1118. The best edition is that of Du Fresne, Gr. and Lat. Paris, 1686, 2 vols. fol. Zonaras also wrote commentaries on the apostolic canons, on some canonical epistles of the Greek fathers, and on the canons of the councils; all of which were published Gr. and Lat. Paris, 1618, and with Beveridge's notes, in his *Pandectæ Canonum*, Oxon. 1672, fol. Some tracts and epistles of Zonaras have likewise been published.—*Mur.*

[6] Nicephorus Bryennius was the husband of the celebrated female historian Anna Comnena, and of course son-in-law to the emperor Alexius Comnenus, who raised him to the rank of Cæsar. He was much concerned in the public transactions from A.D. 1096 till A.D. 1137, the probable year of his death. He wrote the Byzantine history from A.D. 1057 to A.D. 1081, published Gr. and Lat. with notes by Poussin, Paris, 1661, fol. and by Du Fresne subjoined to the history of John Cinnamon, Paris, 1670, fol.—*Mur.*

[7] Anna Comnena, the daughter of the emperor Alexius Comnenus, a woman of superior talents and learning, was born A.D. 1083, lost her mother in 1118, and her husband in 1137. After this she commenced writing her history of her father's reign from A.D. 1069 to 1118, which is properly a continuation of her husband's history. She completed it A.D. 1148, and called it *Alexias*, or *De Rebus ab Alexio Patre Gestis*. It is a well-written history, and important as giving a minute account of the first crusaders of whom she had personal knowledge. The best edition is that of Poussin, Gr. and Lat. with a Glossary, Paris, 1651, fol. or rather its reprint by Du Fresne, subjoined to Cinnamus, Paris, 1670, fol.

Constantinus Manasses about A.D. 1150 wrote a compendious history or Chronicon in verse, from the creation to A.D. 1081, which he addressed to Irene, the sister of the emperor Manuel Comnenus; published Gr. and Lat. Leyden, 1616, 4to, and Paris, 1655, fol.

Neophytus, a Greek presbyter and monk, who flourished A.D. 1190, composed a narrative of the calamities of Cyprus when taken by the English crusaders, A.D. 1191, published Gr. and Lat. by Cotelier, *Monumenta Eccles. Græcæ*, tom. ii. p. 457.

The preceding list contains the most noted Greek historians of this century.—*Mur.* [They are included among the well-known Byzantine historians, and their various works are to be found in the *Corpus Byzantinæ Historicæ*, published at Paris in 26 vols. fol. 1648-88. A new edition of this series appeared at Venice in 1729, &c.; but Gibbon says "it is not less inferior in correctness than in magnificence to that of Paris." As I have already stated in note 6, p. 351, a more recent edition projected by the celebrated Niebuhr was commenced at Bonn in 1828. Mr. Milman describes it as "the most convenient in size, and containing some authors (Leo Diaconus, Johannes Lydus, Coripppus, the new fragments of Dexippus, Eunapius, &c. discovered by Mai) which could not be comprised in the former collections." Milman's Gibbon's *Decl. and Fall*, &c. vol. xii. p. 248.—*R.*

nor the ability to write with skill was wanting to many among the Greeks.[1]

2 No one took more pains to excite and cherish the love of philosophy, it is said, than Michael Anchialus, patriarch of Constantinople.[2] The philosophy to which he was attached appears to have been that of Aristotle, for the cultivators of philosophy among the Greeks were chiefly employed in expounding and improving this system, as appears among other specimens from Eustratius's exposition of Aristotle's Ethics and Analytics.[3] Yet the Platonic philosophy was not wholly neglected. On the contrary it appears that many, and especially those who embraced the principles of the mystics, much preferred this philosophy to the Peripatetic; and they considered Plato as suited to men of piety and candour, while Aristotle was suited to the disputatious and the vain-glorious. Their disagreement soon after gave rise to the noted controversy among the Greeks, respecting the comparative merits of the Platonic and the Aristotelian philosophy.

3. In a great part of the western world extraordinary zeal was awakened in this age for the prosecution of literature and the cultivation of every branch of learning, to which some of the pontiffs and the kings and princes, who could see the utility of learning in improving and consolidating the state, contributed by their authority and munificence. Hence associations of learned men were formed in many places, for teaching the various branches of human knowledge; and as the youth resorted to them in great numbers eager for instruction, those higher schools, which the next age called Universities, were gradually established. Paris exceeded all the other cities of Europe in the number of its learned men, in its schools of various kinds, as well as in the number of its students. Hence in this city, about the middle of the century, arose an institution similar to our learned bodies of the present time, which was as yet rude and imperfect, but which time gradually moulded into form and brought to perfection.[4] Nearly at the same time a distinguished school for the various sciences was founded at Angers by the efforts and care of Ulger, the bishop; though here jurisprudence appears to have held the first rank.[5] There was already at Montpelier a very celebrated school for the civil law, and for medical science.[6] In Italy the school of Bologna, which had its commencement anterior to this century, now possessed high renown. It was chiefly resorted to by the students of the Roman law, both civil and ecclesiastical; and especially after the emperor Lotharius II. reinstated it and conferred on it new privileges.[7] In the same country the medical school of Salerno, which had before been very celebrated, now attracted an immense number of students. While so many schools were rising up in Europe, the sovereign pontiff Alexander III. enacted a special law in the council of Rome, A.D. 1179, requiring schools to be everywhere set up or to be reinstated if they had before existed, in the monasteries and in the cathedral churches; for those which had formerly flourished in these situations, through the negligence of the monks and the bishops, were either wholly prostrate or much de-

[1] If the term be taken in its greatest latitude, including not merely the historians of the Greek empire and in the Greek language, but also historians of the Greek church, then it must include the monk Nestor, the father of Russian history, who flourished at Kiow in the latter part of the eleventh century and first part of the twelfth, and whose annals have procured reputation to Professor Schlözer. See his *Probe Russischer Annalen*, Bremen and Gotting. 1768, 8vo.—*Schl.* [And Nestor's *Annalen mit Uebersetz. u. Anmerk.* by Schlözer, Gotting. 1802—1809, 5 vols. 8vo.—*Mur.*

[2] Balsamon, *Præfat. ad Photii Nomocanonem* in Justell's *Biblio. Juris Canon. Vet.* tom. ii. p. 814.—[Michael Anchialus was patriarch of Constantinople from A.D. 1167 to A.D. 1185. According to Balsamon he was a consummate philosopher, and it is certain that he was a fierce antagonist of the Latins. He has left us five synodal decrees, published Gr. and Lat. in the *Jus Gr. Rom.* lib. iii. p. 227. He also composed a Dialogue which he had with the emperor Manuel Comnenus, upon occasion of the arrival at Constantinople of legates from the Roman pontiff, some extracts from which are published by Leo Allatius, *De Consensu*, &c. lib. ii. cap. iii. sec. ii. cap. v. sec. ii. and cap. ix. sec. iii.—*Mur.*

[3] Eustratius was metropolitan of Nice about A.D. 1110, and was reputed a learned man as well as a distinguished theologian. His comments on Aristotle's Ethics, and on the latter part of his Analytics, have been published. His tract against Chrysolanus, *De Processione Sp. Sancti*, still exists in MS. besides (as is said) some other tracts on the same subject.—*Mur.*

[4] Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. ii. p. 463, &c. Pasquier, *Récherches de la France*, livr. iii. c. xxix.; Lambecius, *Hist. Biblioth. Vindob.* lib. ii. c. v. p. 260; *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome ix. p. 60—68.

[5] Bulæus, *ubi supra*, tom. ii. p. 215. Pocquet de la Livoniere, *Diss. sur l' Antiquité de l' Université d' Angers*, p. 21, &c. Angers, 1736, 4to.

[6] *Hist. Génér. de Languedoc, par les Bénédictins*, tome ii. p. 517, &c.

[7] The inhabitants of Bologna tell us their university was founded as early as the fifth century by Theodosius II. and they show the diploma of that emperor by which he enriched their city with such an ornament. But most writers contend that this diploma is a fabrication; and they adduce strong proofs that the school of Bologna was not more ancient than the eleventh century, and that its principal enlargement was in the twelfth century, particularly in the time of Lothair II. See Sigonius, *Hist. Bononiensis*, as published with notes among his works; Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicæ Medii Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 23, 884, 898, and especially the very learned Keufel's elegant *History of the University of Bologna*, written in German, Helmst. 1750, 8vo. Compare Böhmer's *Præf. ad Corpus Juris Canonici*, p. 9, &c. [See also Conringius, *Antiq. Academ.* Diss. iii. p. 98—102; Mascovius, *Comment. de Reb Imperii sub. Hen. IV.* &c. Lips. 1748, p. 242.—*R.*

cayed.[1] But the daily increasing fame and glory of the higher schools or universities rendered this law of little effect; for the majority flocking to those new seats of learning, the monastic and cathedral schools gradually declined.

4. Among the benefits derived from these many literary associations at their very commencement was this, that not only were the boundaries of human knowledge extended, but a new division of the branches of it took place. Hitherto all learning had been confined to what were called the seven liberal arts; three of which, grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics, comprised what was called the Trivium, and the other four, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy, were called the Quadrivium. Most persons were contented with the Trivium; but those who wished to be thought learned men of the first rank ascended to the Quadrivium. To these [seven liberal] arts were now added, besides the study of languages for which few had much taste, theology—not however the old and simple theology which was destitute of system and connexion, and rested solely on texts of scripture and sentences from the fathers, but philosophical or scholastic theology; also, jurisprudence or civil and canon law; and lastly medicine, or physic as it was then called.[2] For as peculiar schools were now devoted to these sciences, they were of course placed in the list of studies which merited the attention of men of erudition. And when this was done, the common distribution of the sciences had to be changed. Hence the seven liberal arts were gradually included under the term philosophy, to which were added theology, jurisprudence, and medicine. And thus these four Faculties, as they are called, were in the next century formed in the universities.

5. In Italy the reputation and authority of the old Roman law revived, and it caused all other systems of law then in use to go into desuetude, after the discovery at the capture of Amalphi, A.D. 1137, by the emperor Lotharius II. of the celebrated copy of the Pandects or Digest, of which there had been very little knowledge for many centuries, and which now came into the possession of the Pisans.[3] From this time the learned began to study the Roman law with more eagerness, schools were opened for its study in the university of Bologna, and afterwards in other cities both in Italy and beyond it. The consequence was, that whereas men had previously lived under various laws, and every freeman had been at liberty to choose which he would obey, whether the Salic laws, or those of the Lombards, or of the Burgundians, &c. the Roman laws gradually obtained the ascendancy through the greater part of Europe, and excluded all others. It is an old opinion that Lotharius II. at the instigation of Irnerius or Guarnerus, the first teacher of the Roman law in the university of Bologna, published a decree that all should thenceforth obey the Roman law only, the others being abrogated. But learned men have shown that this opinion is supported by no solid evidence.[4]

6. The civil law being placed among the sciences to be taught in the schools, the Roman pontiffs and their friends deemed it not only useful but necessary that the canon law, or that which regulates the affairs of the church, should enjoy the same privilege. There existed indeed some collections of canons or ecclesiastical laws, but there was not one among them which was complete and fit to be expounded in the schools, in consequence both of their want of arrangement and their deficiency in copiousness of matter. Hence Gratian, a Benedictine monk, born at Chiusi and now residing at Bologna in the monastery of St. Felix and Nabor, about the year 1130 compiled from the writings of the ancient doctors, the epistles of the pontiffs, and the decrees of councils, an epitome of canon law, suitable for the instruction of youth in the schools.[5] The Roman pon-

[1] See Böhmer's *Jus Eccles. Protestantium*, tom. iv. p. 705.

[2] The word Physica, though according to its etymology it denotes the study of natural philosophy in general, was in the twelfth century applied particularly to medicinal studies, and it has also preserved that limited sense in the English language.—*Mael.*

[3] It has been shown by later inquirers, especially by Muratori in the Forty-fourth Dissertation of his *Antiq. Ital. Med. Ævi*, vol. iii. col. 884—998; and by Savigny in his *Geschichte des Römis. Rechts*, v. iii. p. 83, that the study of the Roman law and even of the Pandects had been cultivated in various parts of Europe prior to the capture of Amalfi. This celebrated copy of the Pandects is now in the Laurentian Library in Florence, and is in excellent preservation.—*R.*

[4] See Conringius, *De Origine Juris Germanici*, cap. xxii.; Guido Grandus, *Epist. de Pandectis*, p. 21, 69, ed. Florence, 1737, 4to; Brenemann, *Hist. Pandectar.* p. 41, &c.; Muratori, *Præf. ad Leges Longobardas*, in his *Scriptores Rer. Italicar.* tom. i. par. ii, p. 4, &c.; and in his *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 285, &c. On this subject Calixtus had a warm controversy with Barth. Nihusius, who adhered to the common opinion respecting Irnerius and Lotharius. The history of this controversy is given by Möller, *Cimbria Literata* tom. iii. p. 142, &c.

[5] Of Gratian himself nothing more is known than is stated in the text. He completed his *Decretum* about A.D. 1151. It is divided into three parts. The first part is subdivided into one hundred and one *Distinctiones*. In these he treats of law in general and canon law in particular, in the first twenty distinctions; and then proceeds to treat of the different orders of the

tiff, Eugene III. was highly pleased with the work; and the doctors of Bologna received it with applause, and immediately adopted it as their guide in teaching, and their example was followed first by the university of Paris, and then by the other universities. The most learned men of the Romish church acknowledge that *Gratian's Decretum*, as it is commonly called, or his *Concordia Discordantium Canonum*, as the author himself called it, is full of innumerable faults and mistakes.[1] Yet, as it admirably strengthens and supports the power of the Roman pontiffs, it has become in a measure sacred, and still retains that high authority which it unreasonably acquired in that illiterate and barbarous age.[2]

7. All the Latins who wished to rank among learned men eagerly studied philosophy. Most people about the middle of the century divided philosophy, taking the word in its broadest sense, into theoretical, practical, mechanical, and logical. Under theoretical philosophy was comprehended theology in that form in which it is pursued under the guidance of reason, that is, natural theology; also mathematics and physics. To practical philosophy belonged ethics, economics, and politics. Mechanical philosophy embraced the seven arts of common life, including navigation, agriculture, and hunting. Logic they divided into grammar and the art of reasoning; and the latter they subdivided into rhetoric, dialectics, and sophistics. Under the head of dialectics they included that branch of metaphysics which treats of general ideas. This distribution of the sciences was generally approved, yet some wished to separate mechanics and grammar from philosophy; but others opposed this, because they would have all science to be included under the name of philosophy.[3]

8. But the teachers of these several branches of philosophy were divided into various parties or sects, which had fierce contests with each other.[4] In the first place there was a three-fold method of teaching philosophy. (1.) The old and simple method which did not go beyond Porphyry and the Dialectics ascribed to St. Augustine, and which advised that few persons should study philosophy lest divine wisdom should become adulterated with human subtleties. (2.) The Aristotelian which explained and elucidated the works of Aristotle. For Latin translations of some of the books of Aristotle were now in the hands of the learned;[5] though these trans-

clergy, their qualifications, ordination, duties, and powers. The second part is subdivided into thirty-six *Causæ*, each embracing several questions which are treated of in one or more chapters. This part properly contains the rules and principles of proceeding in the ecclesiastical courts in all the varieties of causes which occur. The third part is much shorter than either of the preceding. It is divided into five *Distinctiones*, and treats of the consecration of churches, worship, the sacraments, fasts and festivals, images, &c. This work, with the *Decretalia* of Gregory IX. in five books, the *Liber Sextus Decretalium* of Boniface VIII. the *Constitutiones* of Clement V. and the *Extravagantes* of John XXII. and others, constitutes the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, and forms more than one-half of the whole. It is a compilation from genuine and spurious canons, decrees, and decisions, without much discrimination; and is so carelessly made that the authors are frequently confounded, and one cited for another. It is therefore no great authority, nor is it regarded as such by modern canonists. Though favourable to the pretensions of the Roman pontiffs in the main, yet it is against their claims in several particulars; and this may have tended to sink its credit with both Catholics and Protestants. After all, it was a noble work for the age in which it was compiled, and justly entitles its author to the appellation of the father of canon law.—*Mur.*

[1] See among others Anton. Augustinus, *De Emendatione Gratiani, cum Observationibus Baluzii et Van Mastricht*, Arnheim, 1678, 8vo [and Gallandius, *Sylloge de Vetustis Canonum Collect.* Mentz, 1790, tom. ii. p. 185, &c.—*R.* [Numerous errors and mistakes having been discovered in the *Decretum* of Gratian, on which Augustinus wrote a treatise, it was subjected to a careful revision by order of the court of Rome, and then published with all the corrections which could be ascertained, by authority of Gregory XIII. A.D. 1580. *Mur.* [For further information on Gratian's compilation, and on the additions subsequently made to it, see Böhmer, *Dissert. de Varia Decreti Gratiani Fortuna*, prefixed to his well-known work already referred to, the *Corpus Jur. Canon.*; and Bernardus, *Gratiani Canones Genuini ab Apocry. Discreti*, Turin, 1752, 4 vols. 4to.—*R.*

[2] See Van Mastricht, *Hist. Juris Eccles.* sec. 293, p. 325; Böhmer, *Jus Eccles. Protestant.* tom. i. p. 100, &c. and especially his Preface to his new edition of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Halle, 1747, 4to; Machiavel, *Observationes ad Sigonii Hist. Bonon.* tom. iii. *Opp. Sigonii*, p. 128, &c. He here adduces many new things respecting Gratian and his labours, from a very ancient *Kalendarium Archigymnasii Bononiensis;* but these statements are much questioned. Nor has that famous *Kalendarium* yet been published of which the Bolognians tell us so much, and of which they have repeatedly promised to give the world a copy, and thus end controversy respecting it. This fact increases suspicion; [illegible]d, if I do not mistake, the fragments of the *Kalenda-*[illegible] which have been published bear manifest marks [illegible]ulous fraud.

[3] These statements we have derived from several sources, but especially from Hugo de S. Victore, *Didascal.* lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 7, &c. *Opp.* tom. i. and from the *Metalogicum* of John of Salisbury, in various passages.

[4] See the poem of Godof. de S. Victore, on the sects of philosophers in this age, published by Le Beuf, *Dis. sur l'Hist. Ecclés. et Civile de Paris*, tome ii. p. 254, &c.; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 562, &c.; Wood, *Antiq. Oxon.* vol. i. p. 51; John of Salisbury, *Metalogicum* and *Policraticon*, passim.

[5] De Monte, *Appendix ad Sigebert. Gemblac.* published by D'Achery, subjoined to the *Opp. Guiberti de Novigento.* ad ann. 1128, p. 753. "Jacobus clericus de Venecia transtulit de Græco in Latinum quosdam libros Aristotelis, et commentatus est, scilicet Topica, Analyt. priores et posteriores, et Elenchos. Quamvis antiquior translatio super eosdem libros haberetur." Thomas à Becket, *Epistol.* lib. ii. ep. xciii. p. 454, ed. Brussels, 1682, 4to. "Itero preces, quatenus libros Aristotelis, quos habetis, mihi faciatis exscribi.—Precor etiam iterata supplicatione, quatenus in Operibus Aristotelis, ubi difficiliora fuerint, notulas faciatis, eo quod interpretem aliquatenus suspectum habeo, quia licet eloquens fuerit alias, ut sæpe audivi, minus tamen fuit in Grammatica institutus."

lations were rude, obscure, and ambiguous, so that those who used them in teaching often fell into strange incongruities and absurdities.[1] (3.) The free method, by which men attempted to investigate latent truth by their own ingenuity, aided however by the precepts of Aristotle and Plato. But those who pursued this method, commendable as it may be in itself, for the most part misapplied their ingenuity, and wearied themselves and their disciples with idle questions and distinctions.[2] These various opinions, contests, and defects of the philosophisers induced many to hold all philosophy in contempt, and to wish to banish it from the schools.

9. But none disputed more subtily or contended more fiercely than the dialecticians, who being occupied exclusively with universals as they were called or general ideas, confined their whole science to this one subject and explained it in different ways.[3] There were at this time two principal sects among them, Realists and Nominalists, each of which was subdivided into several minor parties. The Nominalists of this age were indeed inferior in numbers and in authority to the Realists, yet they were not without followers. To these was added a third sect, that of the Formalists, which may be said to take middle ground between the disputants. But they really did no good; for they cast no light on the subject, and therefore only furnished new matter for controversy.[4] Those devoted to the study of the medical art, astronomy, mathematics, and the kindred sciences, continued to repair to the schools of the Saracens in Spain, and many books of the Arabians were translated into Latin.[5] For the high reputation of the Arabic learning, joined with zeal for the conversion of the Spanish Saracens to Christianity, induced many to apply themselves to the study of the Arabic language and literature.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

1. WHEREVER we turn our eyes we discover traces of the dishonesty, ignorance, luxury, and other vices, with which both the church and the state were contaminated by those who wished to be regarded as presiding over and taking the lead in all religious matters. If we except a few individuals who were of a better character

[1] Much exceedingly curious information as to these mediæval translations of Aristotle's works into Latin is to be found in Jourdain, *Récherches Critiques sur les Traductions Latines d'Aristotle*, &c. Paris, 1819, 8vo. The result of his inquiries would appear to be, that while a very few of Aristotle's works, chiefly those on dialectics, were known in the West in Latin versions prior to the twelfth century, his principal works, those on philosophy both moral and political, on physics, and natural history, &c. were first known by means of translations into Latin, made in that century by Christian writers who frequented the Mahometan seminaries in Spain, and who there translated the Arabic versions which the Saracens had long before made from the Greek text, and sometimes even from a Syriac or Hebrew version. Jourdain thus describes the circuitous mode in which these Latin translations were made:—"Le Chrétien, avide de science, se rendoit à Tolède, s'attachoit à un Juif, ou à un Sarrazin converti, puisoit dans sa fréquentation quelque connoissance de la langue maure; quand il vouloit un livre, ce maître le lui expliquoit en idiome vulgaire (en Espagnol), et il mettoit cette traduction verbale en Latin." P. 235. Among these translators it is curious to find the well-known Michael Scott the astrologer, who thus employed himself at Toledo in 1217; see p. 139. On this topic, and on the intercourse between Christian and Arabian scholars through the medium of the Jews, see note L in the appendix to Hampden's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 443.—*E.*

[2] See John of Salisbury, *Policraticon*, p. 434, &c. and *Metalogicum*, p. 814, &c. and passim.

[3] John of Salisbury, an elegant writer of this century, pleasantly says in his *Policraticon, seu de Nugis Curialium*, lib. vii. p. 451:—"He (the philosopher) is prepared to solve the old question about genera and species, and while he is labouring upon it, the universe grows old; more time is consumed upon it than the Cæsars spent in conquering and subduing the world, more money is expended than all the wealth which Crœsus ever possessed. For this single subject has occupied many so long, that after consuming their whole lives upon it they have not understood either that or anything else."

[4] John of Salisbury, *Policrat.* lib. vii. p. 451, 452: "Some (the Formalists) with the mathematicians abstract the forms of things, and to them refer whatever is said about universals. Others (the Realists) examine men's sensations of objects, and maintain that these go by the name of universals. There were also some (the Nominalists) who held that words constitute the genera and species; but their opinion is now exploded, and with the authors of it has disappeared. Yet there are still some treading in their steps (though they blush to own their master and his opinions), and, adhering only to names, what they take away from things and from sensations they attribute to words." The sect of Formalists therefore is more ancient than John Duns Scotus, whom the learned have accounted the father of the Formalists. See also John of Salisbury's *Metalogicum*, lib. ii. cap. xvii. p. 814, &c. where he recounts the contests of these sects. "Alius (says he among other things) consistit in vocibus, licet hæc opinio cum Roscelino suo fere jam evanuerit; alius sermones intuetur; alius versatur intellectibus," &c.

[5] Gerhard of Cremona, a celebrated Italian astronomer and physician, removed to Toledo in Spain, and there translated many Arabic books into Latin. See Muratori, *Antiq. Italicæ Medii Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 936, 337. Peter Mirmet, a French monk, went among the Saracens in Spain and Africa to learn geography. See D'Achery, *Spicileg. Veter. Scriptor.* tom. ix. p. 443, old ed. Dan. Merley or Morlach, an Englishman fond of mathematics, went to Toledo in Spain, and thence brought away to his own country many Arabic books. See Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 56, &c. Peter the venerable abbot of Cluny went into Spain, and having learned the Arabian language, translated into Latin the Koran and a life of Mohammed. See Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. lib. lxxvii. p. 345. And this Peter (as he himself tells us, *Biblioth. Cluniacens.* p. 1109) found in Spain on the Ebro, Robert Retenensis, an Englishman, and Herman, a Dalmatian, as well as others, pursuing the study of astrology. Many other examples of the kind may be collected from the records of this century.

and who lamented the profligacy and vices of their order, all of them, disregarding the salvation of the people, were intent on following their base propensities, increasing their wealth and honours, encroaching and trampling upon the rights of sovereigns and magistrates, and living in luxury and splendour. Those who wish to investigate this subject may consult Bernard's five books of *Meditations* addressed to the pontiff Eugene, and his *Apology* addressed to the abbot William; in the first of which works he censures and deplores the shameful conduct of the pontiffs and bishops, and in the last the corrupt lives of the monks.[1]

2. The Roman pontiffs at the head of the Latin church laboured during the whole century, though not all with equal success, to retain the possessions and authority they had acquired, as well as to extend them still farther; while on the contrary, the emperors and kings exerted themselves to the utmost to diminish their opulence and power. Hence arose perpetual jarring and warfare between the empire and the priesthood (as it was then expressed), which were a source of great public calamity. Pascal II. who was created pontiff at the close of the preceding century, reigned securely at the commencement of this; nor was the opposing faction, which sided with the emperors, sufficiently powerful to fix an imperial pontiff in the chair of the deceased Guibert.[2] Pascal therefore in a council at Rome A.D. 1102, renewed the decrees of his predecessors against investitures, excommunicated Henry IV. anew, and stirred up enemies against him wherever he could. Henry resolutely withstood these menaces and machinations; but two years after, A.D. 1104, his own son Henry V. took up arms against his father under pretence of religion; and now all was over. For after an unsuccessful campaign he was compelled by his son to abdicate the throne, and died friendless and forsaken at Liege A.D. 1106. Whether the son was induced to engage in this war with his father, by his ambition of reigning or by the instigation of the pontiff, does not appear. But it is certain that Pascal absolved the son from his oath of obedience to his father, and very zealously supported and defended his cause.[3]

3. But this political revolution was far from answering the expectations of Pascal. For Henry V. could by no means be induced to give up the right of investing bishops and abbots, although he conceded to the colleges of canons and monks the power of electing them. Hence the pontiff, in the councils of Guastalla in Italy and Troyes in France, A.D. 1107, renewed the decrees which had been enacted against investitures. The controversy was now suspended for a few years, because Henry was so occupied with his wars that he had no leisure to pursue it. But when his wars were closed, A.D. 1110, he marched with a large army into Italy, to settle this protracted and pernicious controversy at Rome. As he advanced slowly towards Rome, the pontiff finding himself destitute of all succour, offered to compromise the matter with him on these conditions: that the king should relinquish the investiture with the staff and the ring, and the bishops and abbots should restore to the emperor the regal privileges [or regalia] which they had received since the times of Charlemagne, namely, the power of levying tribute, holding lordships, coining money, and the like. Henry V. acceded to these terms in the year 1111; but the bishops both of Italy and Germany vigorously opposed them.

[1] Gerhohus, *De Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu*, in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. v. p. 63, &c.; *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 6; Append. tom. ii. p. 265, 273, &c.; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 490, 690, &c. where he treats at large of the morals of the ecclesiastics and cœnobites. [Hume (*History of Eng.* chap. X. A.D. 1189) says of Richard I. king of England, when about to enter on his crusade to Palestine, that he "carried so little the appearance of sanctity in his conduct, that Fulk, curate of Neuilly, a zealous preacher of the crusade, who from that merit had acquired the privilege of speaking the boldest truths, advised him to rid himself of his notorious sins, particularly his pride, avarice, and voluptuousness, which he called the king's three favourite daughters. You counsel well, replied Richard, and I hereby dispose of the first to the Templars, of the second to the Benedictines, and of the third to my prelates." Such a sarcasm from a monarch shows the notoriety of clerical vice as well as the peculiar direction it took in the principal classes of clerical persons. In the preceding chapter, A.D. 1189, Mr. Hume says: "We are told by Giraldus Cambrensis (cap. v. in *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii.) that the monks and prior of St. Swithun threw themselves one day prostrate on the ground and in the mire, before Henry II. complaining, with many tears and much doleful lamentation, that the bishop of Winchester, who was also their abbot, had cut off three dishes from their table. How many has he left you? said the king. Ten only, replied the disconsolate monks. I myself, exclaimed the king, never have more than three; and I enjoin your bishop to reduce you to the same number." —*Mur.*

[2] On the death of Guibert or Clement III. the Antipope, A.D. 1100, his friends chose one Albert for his successor. But he was taken the very day of his election and confined by Pascal in the monastery of St. Lawrence. Theodoric was next chosen in his place, who also fell into Pascal's hands one hundred and five days after his election, and was shut up in the monastery of Cava. The friends of Guibert then chose Magrinulph or Silvester IV. for Pope, but he was obliged to leave Rome and died shortly after. Thus Pascal was soon left in quiet possession of St. Peter's chair. See Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. v. p. 350.—*Mur.*

[3] We have here consulted, in addition to the original sources, those excellent historians whom we mentioned in the preceding century. [See note 3, p. 356.—Hermann de Tournay (*Narratio*, &c in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, tom. ii. p. 914), states that the pontiff wrote a letter to young Henry criminating his father, and exhorting him to aid the church against him.—*Mur.*

A violent conflict having taken place in the very church of St. Peter at Rome, Henry caused the pontiff to be seized, and conducted as a prisoner to the castle of Viterbo. When he had lain there some time a new convention was formed, as was unavoidable, in which the pontiff conceded to the king the right of giving investiture to bishops and abbots with the staff and ring. Thus peace being concluded, the pontiff placed the imperial diadem upon the head of Henry.[1]

4. This peace, which was extorted by force of arms, was followed by greater commotions and more painful conflicts. In the first place, violent tumults were raised at Rome against the pontiff, who was accused of betraying the interests of the church, and of basely shrinking from his duty. To quiet these tumults Pascal assembled a council in the Lateran palace, A.D. 1112; and before that council he humbly confessed his fault in forming such a convention with the emperor, and submitted the matter to the pleasure of the council. The council rescinded the compact formed with the emperor. After this, in various synods and councils, both of France and Germany, Henry was excluded from communion, and was even classed among the heretics; than which nothing at that day was more dreaded.[2] The princes of Germany likewise made war upon him in several places in behalf of the church. To bring these many and great evils to a termination, Henry again marched an army into Italy in the year 1116, and held a convention at Rome, A.D. 1117, the pontiff having escaped by flight to Benevento. But the Normans came to the aid of the pontiff, and Pascal boldly preparing for war against the emperor made preparations for an assault upon the city of Rome. Important events were now anticipated, when the pontiff closed his life in the year 1118.

5. A few days after the death of Pascal, John Cajetan, another Benedictine monk from the monastery of Monte Cassino and chancellor of the Romish church, was created pontiff and assumed the name of Gelasius II. In opposition to him Henry set up another pontiff, Maurice Burdin, archbishop of Braga in Spain, who chose the name of Gregory VIII.[4] Gelasius therefore finding himself not safe at Rome, or in Italy, retired into France and soon after died there, at Cluny. The cardinals who had accompanied him, as soon as he was dead elected Guido, archbishop of Vienne, count of Burgundy, and a relative of the emperor, for sovereign pontiff, who took the name of Calixtus II. It was fortunate both for the church and the state, that this man was made head of the church. Of noble birth and of elevated views, he prosecuted the contest with the emperor with no less vigour than success, both by decrees of councils and by other means, reduced Rome under his power, took the emperor's pontiff prisoner and cast him into prison, and fomented civil wars in Germany. At the same time, possessing more liberal views than his predecessors in the papal chair, and having no obstinacy of character, he did not reject moderate counsels, and could relax something of the demands of his predecessors, for the sake of restoring peace now so ardently desired.[5]

6. Thus after multiplied efforts, contests, excommunications, and threats, peace was ratified between the pontiff's legates and the emperor, in the diet of Worms, A.D. 1122, on the following conditions: that hereafter bishops and abbots should be freely chosen by those whose right it was to elect, but in the presence of the emperor or of his representative;[6] that if the electors disagreed among themselves the emperor should interpose, and using bishops as his counsellors should end the contest; that the person elected should take the oath of loyalty to the emperor, receive what were called the regalia from his hand, and perform the duties due to him on account of them; and that the emperor should use a different mode of conferring the regalia from that before

[1] Besides the writers already mentioned, Mabillon, (*Annales Benedict.* tom. v. p. 681, and tom. vi. p. 1), deserves to be consulted; and likewise on each of the years of these and the subsequent transactions.

[2] Here again this pontiff, like Gregory VII. in the Berengarian controversy, placed his authority in subordination to the decisions of a council, and acknowledged a council to be his superior. The council also disapproved of the acts of the pontiff.

[3] See Gervaise, *Diss. sur l'Hérésie des Investitures*, which is the fourth of those he has prefixed to the

[4] See Baluze, *Vita Mauritii Burdini*, in his *Miscell.* tom. iii. p. 471, &c.

[5] If I do not greatly mistake, this unhappy contest between the emperors and the pontiffs respecting the investiture of bishops and abbots would not have been carried on with so much asperity, nor have been protracted so long, if men of liberal views and education had been at the head of the church. But during half a century five monks had governed the church—men born in obscurity, of coarse manners, and incapable of yielding at all, that is, possessing the characteristic fault of monks, an inflexible obstinacy and pertinacity. But as soon as a man of a better character and of a liberal mind ascended the chair of St. Peter, things assumed a different aspect, and there was a prospect of peace.

[6] From this time therefore the people in Germany have been excluded from the election of bishops. See De Marca, *De Concordia Sacerd. et Imper.* lib. vi. c. ii. sec. 9. p. 783, ed. Böhmeri.

practised, and should no longer confer human prerogatives by the staff and the ring, the emblems of sacred or divine power, but by a sceptre.[1] This Concordat, as it is commonly called, was solemnly confirmed the next year in the Lateran council; and it continues in force to our times, although there has been some dispute between the pontiffs and the emperors respecting its true import.[2]

7. Calixtus did not long survive this pacification, for he died, A.D. 1124. His place was filled by Lambert, bishop of Ostia, known among the pontiffs by the name of Honorius II. Nothing memorable was done by him. At his death, A.D. 1130, there was a schism in the church of Rome; for a part of the cardinals chose Gregory, the cardinal of St. Angelo, whose pontifical name was Innocent II.; but another part of them created Peter de Leon pontiff, who was called Anacletus II. The party of Innocent was the weaker one at Rome and in Italy; he therefore fled into France and remained there two years. But he had the strongest party out of Italy; for besides the emperor Lotharius, the kings of France, England, and Spain, and some others, induced especially by the influence of St. Bernard the particular friend of Innocent, joined themselves to his party; while Anacletus was supported only by the kings of Sicily and Scotland. The schism was terminated by the death of Anacletus, A.D. 1138; after which Innocent reigned alone till the year 1143, and held several councils, among which was the second Lateran, A.D. 1139.[3]

8. After the death of Innocent, Guido, cardinal of St. Mark, under the name of Cœlestine II. reigned during five months in peace. His successor, Lucius II. who formerly was Gerhard, a regular canon, governed the church during eleven months, but not prosperously. For he was disturbed in various ways by the tumultuous Romans; and in attempting to quell one of their insurrections, he was killed by the stroke of a stone. His successor, Eugenius III. formerly Bernard, a Cistercian monk, and a very distinguished disciple of the celebrated St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, came to the government of the church A.D. 1145, and during nine years encountered similar troubles and dangers until his death in 1152. For he was repeatedly driven from Rome, and at one time passed a long exile in France.[4] Anastatius IV. previously Conrad, bishop of Sabino, had a more tranquil reign, but it was of short duration; for he died A.D. 1154, after filling the chair one year and four months.

9. Under his successor, Hadrian IV. who was an Englishman[5] and a regular canon, and whose true name was Nicolas Breakspear, the contentions between the emperors and the Roman pontiffs, which were apparently settled in the times of Calixtus II. broke out anew. Frederic I. surnamed Barbarossa, [Red-Beard], as soon as he was chosen emperor, A.D. 1152, explicitly declared his intention to maintain the imperial authority and prerogatives throughout the empire, and especially in Italy; and to set bounds to the immense power and wealth of the pontiffs and of the clergy at large. Hadrian in view of this emergency, concluded it to be his duty to defend the authority and majesty of the church. Hence when the emperor was to be crowned, A.D. 1155, first a contest arose respecting the functions of an equerry, [holding the pope's stirrups when he mounted his horse or dismounted], which the pontiff would have Frederic perform. Then followed other disputes and controversies between them in relation to public matters, which were fiercely agitated by letters. These contests being in a measure settled, others followed of equal magnitude and difficulty in the year 1158, when the emperor, in order to set bounds to the daily increasing wealth of the pontiffs, the bishops, and the monks, made a law that no fiefs should be transferred to another person without the knowledge and consent of the lord of whom they were held;[6] and also exerted all his powers to

[1] See Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. vi. p. 76; Schilterus, *De Libertate Eccles. German.* lib. iv. c. iv. p. 545, &c.; Rasponus, *De Basilica Lateranensi*, lib. iv. p. 295, &c.

[2] It was contested among other things whether the consecration should precede or follow the collation of the regalia. See Hoffmann, *Ad Concordatum Henrici V. et Callisti II.* Wittemb. 1739, 4to.

[3] In addition to the common historians of the popes, see De Lannes, *Hist. du Pontificat du Pape Innocent II.* Paris, 1741, 8vo.

[4] These tumults at Rome originated from a strong party of citizens, who adopted the principles of Arnold of Brescia, (see chap. v. sec. 10, below), and wished to shake off the yoke of priestly government, and restore the ancient form of the Roman empire: After an unsuccessful application to the emperor of Germany to make Rome his residence, and there to exercise the same powers as the old Roman emperors had done, they determined to restore the ancient Roman republic, and to re-instate the Roman senate in all its ancient grandeur. This being their object, all their movements were of course sedition against the pontiffs as temporal sovereigns. See Planck's *Geschichte d. Christl. Kirchl. Gesellschaftsverfassung*, vol. iv. p. 324, &c. and the authors referred to in note 4, part II. chap. v. sec. 10 of this century, page 427, below.—*Mur.*

[5] He was the only Briton who has ever been Pope, though at various times, both before and since the Reformation, several have been cardinals.—*R.*

[6] See Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Med. Ævi*, tom. vi. p. 239, &c. where he shows that by this and other laws,

reduce the minor states of Italy under his authority. An open rupture seemed about to take place, when the pontiff was removed by death on the first of September, A.D. 1159.[1]

10. When a new pontiff was to be elected, the cardinals were divided into two factions. The one which was the most numerous created Roland of Sienna pontiff; the other the less numerous elected Octavianus, cardinal of St. Cæcilia. Roland assumed the name of Alexander III.; his competitor took that of Victor IV. The emperor, who for various reasons disliked Alexander, give his support to Victor. The council of Pavia summoned by the emperor A.D. 1160, decided according to the emperor's pleasure. Victor therefore prevailed in Germany and Italy; and Alexander had to quit Rome and Italy, and to retire to France. In the midst of the commotion and strife Victor died at Lucca, A.D. 1164. But another pontiff was immediately elected by order of the emperor, namely, Guido, cardinal of St. Calixtus, who assumed the name of Pascal III. and who was acknowledged by the princes of Germany in the diet of Wurtzburg, A.D. 1165. Alexander however returned from France to Italy, prosecuted his cause with some success, and in the Lateran council at Rome, A.D. 1167, deposed the emperor, whom he had before repeatedly excommunicated, and absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him. But not long after Rome was taken by the emperor, and Alexander was obliged to flee to Benevento, and leave the chair of St. Peter in the hands of Pascal.

11. The prospects of Alexander seemed to brighten up when the emperor, after losing the greater part of his army by a pestilential disease, was obliged against his inclinations to retire from Italy, and when Pascal was removed by death, A.D. 1168. But his expectations were soon disappointed. For the opposite faction elected John, abbot of Struma, to be pontiff with the title of Calixtus III.; and the emperor, though absent in Germany and occupied with various wars and contests, supported the new pontiff as far as he was able. After settling a partial peace in Germany, the emperor in 1174 marched again into Italy with a fine army, intending to chastise the cities and republics which had revolted from him. If success had attended this expedition of the emperor, he would doubtless have compelled Alexander to give place to Calixtus. But he met with disappointments and reverses; and after several years spent in alternate defeats and partial victories, being discouraged by so many discomfitures and difficulties, he concluded a peace with Alexander III. and a truce with his other enemies at Venice, in the year 1177.[2] Some tell us that the pontiff, placing his foot upon the neck of the suppliant emperor, repeated the words of David, Ps. xci. 13. But most of the moderns consider the report as entirely unsupported.[2]

12. Alexander III. whose conflict with Frederic I. procured him fame, had also no slight contention with Henry II. king of England, in the case of Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. In the council of Clarendon A.D. 1164, several regulations were enacted, by which the extent of the regal power in respect to the clergy, was more accurately defined, and the prerogatives of the bishops and clergy were circumscribed within narrower limits. Becket refused to submit to these regulations, because in his opinion they were prejudicial to the divine rights both of the church at large and of the Roman pontiffs. Enmity now took place between the king and the archbishop, and the latter fled into France to Alexander III. who was then an exile there. The pontiff and the king of France procured a sort of reconciliation, and Becket returned to England. But as no means could induce him to yield to the wishes of the king, four of the courtiers,

Frederic first opposed a barrier to the power of the clergy.

[1] These events are carefully investigated by the illustrious Count Bünau, *History of Frederic I.* written in German, p. 45, 49, 73, &c. 99, 105, &c.

[2] These transactions are well illustrated by count Bünau, *ubi supra*, p. 115—242. To which add Fortunatus Olmus, *Istoria della venuta a Venetia Occultamente nel. an.* 1177, *di Papa Alessandro III.* Venice 1622, 4to.; and Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. iv. p. 249, &c.; *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. ii. p. 379, &c.; *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. April. p. 46, in the Life of Hugo, abbot of Bonneval; and tom. ii. April. p. 596, in the Life of Galdinus of Milan, which two ecclesiastics acted as arbitrators and legates in negociating this peace.

[3] See Bünau, *ubi supra*, p. 242; Heumann, *Pœciles*, tom. iii. lib. i. p. 145; *Biblioth. Italique*, tome vi. p. 5, 16, and the writers mentioned by Sagittarius, *Introd. in Hist. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 639, tom. ii. p. 609.

[4] See Matth. Paris, *Historia Major.* p. 82, 83, 101, 102, 104; Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Brit.* tom. i. p. 434, &c. [These articles of Clarendon or constitutions as they are called, were drawn up by the king and ratified in a full assembly of the great lords, barons, and prelates of the nation. The civilians yielded a ready assent to them, and most of the prelates were disposed to do the same. But Becket long refused, and at last very reluctantly subscribed to them. Of this compliance he afterwards repented, and obtained absolution from the pontiff, who at the same time disapproved most of the articles and pronounced them null and void. The articles are exhibited in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. par. ii. p. 1607, &c. with the papal approbation or disapprobation subjoined to each.—*Mur.*

doubtless with the king's privity, assassinated him in the church before the altar, in the year 1170.[1] The king after various altercations had to make such expiations for this crime as the pontiff dictated; and in the year 1173, the assassinated archbishop was enrolled among the martyrs or the glorified saints of the highest order.[2]

13. Alexander III. employed not only arms but also artifice and the influence of councils and laws, to establish the independence of the church, and especially to confirm the power of the Roman pontiffs. For (I.) in a council at Rome A.D. 1179, called the third Lateran council, in order to avoid the commotion so often produced by the election of a new pontiff, he ordained that the right of voting should belong exclusively to the cardinals; and that the person who had the votes of two-thirds of the college of cardinals should be considered the legitimate pontiff. This constitution has continued to the present time. Thus from that period the election of pontiffs assumed the forms which it still retains; and not only the people but even the clergy of Rome were wholly excluded from any participation in it. (II.) In the same council he, the first of all the pontiffs, sanctioned a crusade against heretics who were then troubling the church at large, and especially certain provinces of France.[3] (III.) He took from bishops and councils the right of designating the persons who might be worshipped as saints, or placed canonization, as it is called, among the greater causes, that is, such as are to be decided solely by the pontiff.[4] (IV.) Omitting some things of minor importance, we add this only, that he actually put in operation the power claimed by the pontiffs since the time of Gregory VII. namely, that of creating kings. For in the year 1179 he conferred the title of king on Alphonsus I. duke of Portugal, who had previously under Lucius II. made his territory tributary to the church of Rome.[5]

[1] Guil. Stephanides, *Hist. Thomæ Cantuar.* in Spark's *Scriptores Rerum Anglicar.* London, 1723, fol. p. 4; Lupus, *Epistolæ et Vita Thomæ Cantuar. Epistolæ item Alexandri III., Ludovici VII., Henrici II., in hac causa, ex MS. Vaticano*, Brussels, 1682, 2 vols. 4to, and in the Works of Lupus; Natalis Alexander, *Selecta Hist. Eccles. Capita*, sæc. 12. diss. x. p. 833, &c.; Stapleton, *Tres Thomæ seu res gestæ Thomæ Apostoli, S. Thomæ Cantuar. et Thomæ Mori*, Colon. 1612, 8vo. [Thomas was the son of a London merchant, and educated at Oxford and Paris. Having entered into the service of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, he was sent to Bologna to study canon law. On his return he was made archdeacon of Canterbury; and not long after the king called him to court, and made him lord chancellor of England. On the death of Theobald A.D. 1162, the king made him archbishop of Canterbury. While chancellor he had served the king with great ability and lived in great splendour. But he now assumed an austere mode of life, and became a strenuous defender of the pretended rights of the church and a rigid disciplinarian. To restrain the usurpations of the clergy, the king caused the constitutions of Clarendon to be enacted. Against these and all other attempts of the king to reform abuses, Becket made strenuous opposition; and exerting his high powers as primate of all England, and possessing great and shining talents, and at the same time supported by the Pope and by the king of France, he was able to thwart all the plans of king Henry. The king therefore caused him to be prosecuted for malconduct while chancellor. He was also arraigned for contempt of the king, and condemned in a grand council of the nation at Northampton A.D. 1164. Becket now appealed to the Pope, contrary to the laws of the realm, and soon after fled to France. Protected by the pontiff and the king of France he treated Henry with insolence; and at length through the mediation of the pontiff and the king of France, Henry and Becket were so far reconciled that the latter was permitted to return to his see. But he now carried matters with a high hand, dealt out his anathemas and censures, and resisted all attempts of the king to restrain the exorbitant power of the clergy. The king was now in Normandy. The archbishop of York and several noblemen, whom Becket had excommunicated, repaired to the king complaining of the treatment they received from Becket. The archbishop remarked to him that so long as Becket lived, the king could never expect to enjoy peace and tranquillity. The king being violently agitated, burst forth into an exclamation against his servants whose want of zeal, he said, had so long left him exposed to the machinations of that ungrateful and imperious prelate. Four gentlemen of his household overhearing the exclamation, immediately formed the resolution to assassinate Becket. They asked leave to go to England and set out forthwith, without apprising the king of their designs. Soon after they were gone, the king conjectured from some circumstances and remarks of the men what they intended to do; and he sent messengers after them commanding them not to lay hands on the primate. But the messengers arrived too late, the deed was done. The king was now greatly distressed, and took every possible means to clear himself of suspicion and to pacify the Pope. The assassins fled to Rome, did penance, and obtained absolution from the Pope on condition of perpetual exile. The king also made his submission to the Pope, and with much difficulty obtained absolution some years after. See Hume's *Hist. of Engl.* chap. viii. vol. i. p. 322—361; Rapin, *Hist. of Eng.* and Collier's *Eccles. Hist. of Eng.* vol. i. p. 370. The works of Becket consist of his correspondence or letters, collected by John of Salisbury and edited by Christian Lupus, Brussels, 1682, 4to, with a Quadrilogus or the fourfold life of Becket by Heribert his chaplain, William of Canterbury, Alan abbot of Deoche, and John of Salisbury.—*Mur.* [See also the other histories of England by Lingard, Turner, Macintosh, &c. The most recent work on this subject is Giles's *Life and Letters of Tho. à Becket*, Lond. 1846, 2 vols. 8vo, which he published as a sequel to his edition of the various lives of the archbishop written in Latin by his contemporaries, published in 2 vols. 8vo, and of his *Epistolæ*, in 4 vols. 8vo, Lond. 1845.—*R.*

[2] Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 328, &c., and for his festival, p. 397; Colonia, *Hist. Littér. de la Ville de Lyon*, tome ii. p. 249, &c.

[3] See Natalis Alexander, *Selecta Hist. Eccles. Capita*, sæcul. xii. diss. ix. p. 819, where he treats at large of this council; also Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. vi. par. ii. p. 1671, &c. [Maclaine is stumbled that Mosheim and others should call this the third Lateran council, when it appears there had been six or eight councils previously held there. But there was no mistake made by Mosheim. This was the third general council of the Lateran, all the preceding, except two, having been provincial councils.—*Mur.*

[4] The subject of canonizations has been treated under the ninth and tenth centuries, p. 306, 340; and that of pontifical elections under the eleventh century, p. 357, with the notes appended.

[5] Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 1179; Innocent III. *Epistolæ*, lib. i. ep. 49, tom. i. p. 54, ed. Baluze. [It should be remembered that Alexander III. only confirmed the title of king to Alphonsus, it having long

14. Lucius III. who was previously Ubald, bishop of Ostia, was the first pontiff elected solely by the cardinals, according to the regulations of Alexander III. His reign, which commenced A.D. 1181, was a turbulent one; for he was twice driven from Rome by the citizens, who no doubt disliked a pontiff elected contrary to the ancient custom, or without the concurrence of the clergy and people. He therefore died an exile at Verona, A.D. 1185. His successor, Hubert Crivelli, bishop of Milan, known among the pontiffs by the name of Urban III. died of grief on account of the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin, A.D. 1187, after performing nothing of much importance.[1] The next pontiff, Gregory VIII. previously Albert of Benevento and chancellor of the church of Rome, died in the second month of his pontificate. After him Clement III. previously Paul, bishop of Palestrina, reigned longer; for he continued to the fourth year and died A.D. 1191, yet few of his deeds are worthy the notice of posterity.[2] More famous was Cœlestine III. who before his election was Hyacinth of Rome and cardinal deacon; for in the year 1194 he laid under an interdict the emperor Henry VI. and Leopold duke of Austria, for having imprisoned king Richard of England on his return from the Holy Land; and also Alphonso X. king of Gallicia and Leon, on account of an incestuous marriage; and he commanded, though without effect, Philip Augustus, the king of France, to receive back his repudiated wife Ingelburga.[3] But this pontiff, and nearly all the others of the present century, were outdone and eclipsed by the pontiff elected near the end of the century A.D. 1198, namely, Lothair, count of Signi, a cardinal deacon, who assumed the pontifical name of Innocent III. But his reign will properly be described under the following century.

15. Of the flagitious conduct, the frauds, ignorance, and corruption of the inferior bishops, priests, and deacons, the whole history of these times, and the laws of the ecclesiastical councils, afford ample testimony.[4] It is not strange therefore that the monks were in higher repute than the secular clergy; for being bound by their vows and by their respective rules of life, they had fewer opportunities of committing crimes. And yet these monks, who claimed pre-eminence in the church and despised and inveighed against both the secular clergy and the regular canons,[5] had in most places departed entirely from their institutions and rules, and exhibited to the public, patterns of vice and wickedness rather than of virtue.[6] The Cluniacensians were for a long time the best and most devout among the Benedictines; but under their abbot Pontius, being loaded with wealth and riches by the liberality of the pious, they entirely laid aside their former strictness and copied after the base lives of the other Benedictines. And though

before been applied to him by his army and by some neighbouring princes. See Pagi, *Critica in Baron.* ad ann. 1139, sec. xxiii.—*Mur.*

[1] He was the personal enemy of the emperor Frederic I. and quarrelled with him till the day of his death. But he could not coerce him, because the German bishops adhered to the emperor. He once resolved to excommunicate Frederic; but the people of Verona where he resided would not allow of such a transaction in their city. See Schmidt's *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. vi. p. 249, &c.—*Mur.*

[2] The most important of his acts was his compromise with the citizens of Rome, by which he gave the city a new form of government, yet retained the supreme power in his own hands. He therefore made Rome the place of his residence; whereas his three immediate predecessors had been unable to reside there. See Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 1183, no. 23.—*Mur.*

[3] Though the king did not retreat when the interdict was laid on him, yet as the pope and the king of Denmark, who was brother to Ingelburga, continued to prosecute the matter, Philip concluded to end the contest by restoring his queen. See Daniel's *Hist. of France*, English edit. vol. i. p. 426, &c.— *Mur.*

[4] "The ecclesiastics of that age had renounced all immediate subordination to the magistrate; they openly pretended to an exemption in criminal accusations from a trial before courts of justice, and were gradually introducing a like exemption in civil causes. Spiritual penalties alone could be inflicted on their offences; and as the clergy had extremely multiplied in England, and many of them were consequently of very low characters, crimes of the deepest dye, murders, robberies, adulteries, rapes, were daily committed with impunity by the ecclesiastics. It had been found, for instance, on inquiry that no less than a hundred murders had since the king's accession [A.D. 1154—1163], been perpetrated by men of that profession, who had never been called to account for those offences (*Neubr.* p. 394); and holy orders were become a full protection for all enormities. A clerk in Worcestershire having debauched a gentleman's daughter, had at this time proceeded to murder the father; and the general indignation against this crime moved the king to attempt the remedy of an abuse which was become so palpable, and to require that the clerk should be delivered up and receive condign punishment from the magistrate (*Fitz-Steph.* p. 33, *Hist. Quad* p. 32). Becket insisted on the privileges of the church, and confined the criminal in the bishop's prison lest he should be seized by the king's officers, and maintained that no greater punishment could be inflicted on him than degradation. And when the king demanded that immediately after he was degraded he should be tried by the civil power, the primate asserted that it was iniquitous to try a man twice upon the same accusation, and for the same offence." Hume's *Hist. of Engl.* vol. i. chap. viii. reign of Henry II. p. 333, 334.— *Mur.*

[5] See the epistle of Rupert Tuitiensis, in Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 285, &c. who places the monks before the apostles themselves.

[6] See Nigel Wireker, an English poet of much wit, who lived about the middle of this century, in his *Speculum Stultorum* or *Brunellus*, a poem often published and in which he severely lashes the several orders of monks of his age, sparing almost none except the Carthusians. [This poem, among other editions, was published at Frankfort, 1602, and at Wolfenbuttle, 1662, 8vo. In it an ass is represented as wishing to exchange his short tail for a long one, indicative of a monk aspiring after an abbey.— *Schl.*] Also Bernard's *Considerationes ad Eugenium*, lib. iii. cap. iv.

some of the succeeding abbots endeavoured to cure the evil, their efforts fell far below their wishes and their expectations; nor could the primitive sanctity of Cluny ever be restored.[1]

16. Among the Cistercians, who were neither so old nor so rich an order as the Cluniacensians, there was far more appearance of innocence and sanctity. Hence a large share of the respectability which the Cluniacensians had enjoyed was transferred to the Cistercians; and they increased daily in numbers, wealth, and power. No man in this age contributed more to the advancement of this order than the celebrated abbot of Clairvaux, St. Bernard, a man of immense influence throughout Christian Europe, one who could effect whatever he pleased, often merely by his word or nod, and could dictate even to kings what they must do. He is therefore justly called the second parent and founder of the Cistercian order; and both in France and in Germany this order was called from him the Bernardine order.[2] A hundred and sixty monasteries owed their origin or their regulations to him; and when he died he left seven hundred monks in his monastery of Clairvaux. Among his disciples there were many who became archbishops and bishops, besides one sovereign pontiff, Eugene III.

17. But this prosperity of the Cistercians excited the envy of the Cluniacensians, and produced, first, strong dislike and afterwards open quarrels between these two opulent and powerful orders. Each of them followed the rule of St. Benedict; but they differed in dress and in the regulations superadded to the rule. The Cluniacensians accused the Cistercians of too great austerity; and on the other hand, the Cistercians taxed the Cluniacensians with having abandoned their former sanctity and regular discipline, which was strictly true. St. Bernard, the oracle and guardian of the Cistercians, in the year 1127 first attacked the Cluniacensians in writing. St. Peter Maurice, abbot of Cluny, replied to him with much modesty. The controversy was now propagated farther, and extended over other countries of Europe.[3] To this contest, another of great warmth was added respecting tithes. In the year 1132, Innocent II. among other new privileges conferred on the Cistercians, exempted them from the payment of tithes on their lands; and as many of these lands had paid tithes to the Cluniacensians, they were greatly offended at this indulgence of the pontiff, and entered into warm controversy both with the Cistercians and with the pontiff himself. In the year 1155 this controversy was in some way adjusted, but how does not clearly appear.[4]

18. Of the regular canons whose origin was in the preceding century, many spent their time much better than the crowd of monks did; and they were not unserviceable to the church by keeping schools here and there, and by performing other offices.[5] And as the pious and the good therefore treated them with much kindness, and as they were often put in possession of the goods of the unprincipled monks, the latter loaded them with abuse. The canons on the contrary assailed the monks both orally and in writings, and maintained that they ought to be excluded from sacred offices and honours, and to live in their cloisters secluded from the intercourse of men. Hence a long and bitter controversy arose between the monks and the canons, respecting their comparative merits and rank, in which both parties went to extremes.[6] On the side of the monks, among others, the following eminent men in particular engaged ardently in the contest, namely, Peter Abelard, Hugo of Amiens, and Rupert of Duytz: the cause of the canons was defended, among others, by Philip Harveng, abbot of Good Hope.[7] The remains of this old controversy are visible at the present day [1760].

19. To the Benedictine order a new sect was added near the commencement of this century, namely, the order of Fontevraud [Fontis Ebraldi], so named from the place where its first monastery was erected, on the confines of Angers and Tours, then a

[1] See, beside many others, Martene's *Amplissima Collectio Monum. Vet.* tom. ix. p. 1119.

[2] See Mabillon, *Annales Ord. Bened.* tom. vi. passim; and in his life of St. Bernard prefixed to his edition of Bernard's works; Manriquez, *Annales Cistercienses*, nearly throughout the second volume, and in a part of the third.

[3] Bernard's *Apologia* (for so his book is entitled) among his *Opera*, tom. i. p. 523—533. The reply of Peter Cluniacensis, surnamed Venerabilis, is extant among his epistles, lib. i. ep. 28, in the *Biblioth. Cluniacens.* tom. i. p. 657—695; add the *Dialogus inter Cluniacensem et Cisterciensem*, published by Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1573—1613. Compare Mabillon, *Annales Bened.* tom. vi. p. 80, &c. and Manriquez, *Annales Cister.* tom. i. p. 28, &c. [Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. lxvii. sec. 49, 50.—*Mur.*

[4] See Manriquez, *Annales Cister.* tom. i. p. 232, &c.; Mabillon, *Annales Bened.* tom. vi. p. 212, 479, and his preface to the *Opp. S. Bernardi*; De Lannes, *Hist. du Pontificat d'Innocent II.* p. 68, &c. 79, &c.; Hertius, *De Exemptione Cisterc. a Decimis.*

[5] See the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome ix. p. 112, &c.

[6] See Lambertus, *Epistola*, in Martene's *Thesaur. Anecdot.* tom. i. p. 329, &c.

[7] Abelard, *Opp.* p. 228, ed. Paris, 1616, 4to; Martene's *Thesaur. Anecdot.* tom. v. p. 970, 975, 1614, &c. and his *Amplissima Collectio*, tom. ix. p. 971, 972; Harvengius, *Opera*, p. 385, Douay, 1621, fol.

wild spot beset with thorns. Its founder was Robert of Abrissel, first an eremite and then a monk, who prescribed for his followers of both sexes the rule of St. Benedict, but with the addition of some singular and very austere regulations. Among these regulations a very remarkable and altogether peculiar one was, that he united the monasteries for the two sexes, and subjected both the men and women to the government of a female, professedly in accordance with the example of Christ, who commended St. John to the care of his mother, and would have him to obey her as a mother.[1] Robert was equally successful with the other founders of new [monastic] sects in those times; for the novelty of the institution and the singularity of its form allured great numbers to embrace it. But he fell under strong suspicion of having undue and illicit familiarity with females, from which his modern disciples use all the means in their power to vindicate his character.[2]

20. Norbert, a German, and subsequently archbishop of Magdeburg, attempted to restore the discipline of the regular canons, which was now sinking in many places, and wholly prostrate in others. For this purpose, in the year 1121 he established a new sect at Premontré, in Champagne,[3] which, recommending itself by sobriety of life and manners and cultivating literature and the useful arts, at once extended itself throughout Europe, and in a little time acquired immense riches.[4] But this prosperity of the order soon extinguished their primitive zeal, and plunged the Præmonstratensians into all kinds of vice. They followed the rule called St. Augustine's, but with some slight alterations and the addition of certain severe laws, whose authority and influence however did not long survive their author.[5]

21. About the middle of the century, one Berthold, a Calabrian, with a few companions, migrated to Mount Carmel [in Palestine], and in the place where the prophet Elias of old is said to have hid himself, built an humble cottage with a chapel, in which he and his associates led a laborious and solitary life. As others continued to unite themselves with these residents on Mount Carmel, Albert, the patriarch of Jerusalem, near the commencement of the next century, prescribed for them a rule of life, which the pontiffs afterwards sanctioned by their authority and also changed in various respects, and

[1] Peter Abelard, *Opera*, p. 38, whose testimony is confirmed by the form still retained by the order, and is placed beyond all doubt; notwithstanding Mabillon, from his zeal for the Benedictine fraternity, labours after a sort to invalidate it in his *Annales Benedict.* tom. v. p. 423. Concerning this Robert and his order, see the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. iii. Februar. p. 593, &c.; Dion. Sammarthanus, *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 1311, &c.; Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tomo ii. art. *Fontevraud*, p. 1187, &c.; Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tome vi. p. 83. On the present state of Fontevraud see Moleon. *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 108, &c. and Martene's *Voyage Littér. de Deux Bénédictins*, par. ii. p. 1, &c.

[2] The epistles of Godfrey of Vendome, and of Marbod, in which Robert is severely censured, are well known. In what manner these accusations are answered by the monks of Fontevraud may be learned from Jo. De la Mainferme, *Clypeus Nascentis Ordinis Fontebraldensis*, Paris, 1684, 8vo, and his *Dissertationes in Epistolam contra Robertum de Arbrissello*, Saumur, 1682, 8vo. There was a dispute on this subject with Peter Bayle. See the *Dissertation Apologétique pour le Bienheureux Rob. d'Arbrisselles sur ce qu'en a dit M. Bayle*, Antwerp, 1701, 8vo; not to mention Mabillon, *Annales Bened.* tom. v. and vi. p. 9, 10, and many others.—[The founder of this order, Robert or Rodbert, was born about A.D. 1047 at Arbrissel, seven leagues from Rennes, became doctor of divinity at Paris in 1074, assisted the bishop of Rennes, was made arch-presbyter in 1085, formed a college of regular canons in 1094, became famous as a preacher, resigned an abbacy in 1098 to travel and preach, set up the monastery of Fontevraud in 1100, and employed several succeeding years in travelling about France and establishing monasteries, till his death in the year 1117. His order was confirmed by the pontiff in 1113; and Bertrade (formerly queen of France) was the first lady abbess. She died in 1115. About A.D. 1700 the order was divided into four provinces, those of France, Aquitaine, Auvergne, and Bretagne, which collectively contained fifty-seven priories. See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Fontevraud*; and Baillet, *Vies des Saints*, tome i. Feb. p. 325, &c.—*Mur.*

[3] Premontré, the original seat of this order, is placed by Mosheim and by Helyot in Champagne, by Maclaine in Picardy, and by some maps in the Isle of France. It is situated indeed near the borders of all three; but according to Busching's *Geography* (vol. ii. p. 373, ed. 5 Hamb. 1764), the last-mentioned is the true location; for Premontré belongs to the Laonnois, a dependence of the government of the Isle of France.—*Von Einem.*

[4] The religious of this order were at first so poor that they had nothing they could call their own but a single ass, which served to carry the wood they cut down every morning and sent to Laon in order to purchase bread. But in a short time they received so many donations and built so many monasteries, that thirty years after the foundation of this order they had above a hundred abbeys in France and Germany. In process of time the order increased so prodigiously that it had monasteries in all parts of Christendom, amounting to 1000 abbeys, 300 provostships, a vast number of priories, and 500 nunneries. But this number is now greatly diminished. Besides what they lost in Protestant countries, of 65 abbeys which they had in Italy there is not one now remaining.—*Macl.*

[5] See Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tome ii. p. 156, and the writers cited by him; Van der Sterre, *Vita S. Norberti Præmonstratensium Patriarchæ*, Antw. 1658, 8vo; Hugo, *Vie de S. Norbert*, Luxemb. 1704, 4to; add Launoi (though sometimes uncandid), *Inquisitio in Privilegia Ordinis Præmonstrat.* cap. i. ii. in his *Opp.* tom. iii. par. i. p. 448, &c. On the present state of the place and the monastery of Premontré, see Martene's *Voyage Littér. de Deux Bénéd.* tome ii. p. 49, &c. [The Præmonstratenses, or monks of Premontré, vulgarly called White Canons, came first into England A.D. 1146. Their first monastery, called New-House, was built in Lincolnshire by Peter De Saulia, and dedicated to St. Martial. In the reign of Edward I. the order in question had twenty-seven monasteries in England.—*Macl.* [They had six monasteries in Scotland—four in Galloway; one near Stranraer, and the others at Holywood, Whithorn, and Tongland; one at Dryburgh, and one at Ferne in Ross. Keith's *Scott. Bish.* p. 398, &c. This order had also several houses in Ireland.—*R.*

when it was found too rigorous and burdensome mitigated it considerably.[1] Such was the origin of the celebrated order of Carmelites, or as it is commonly called, the order of St. Mary of Mount Carmel, which subsequently passed from Syria into Europe, and became one of the principal mendicant orders. The Carmelites themselves reject with disdain this account of their origin, and most strenuously contend that the holy prophet Elias of the Old Testament was the parent and founder of their society.[2] But they are able to persuade very few (or rather none out of their society) that their origin was so ancient and illustrious; and many, even in the Romish communion, treat their pretensions with great severity.[3]

22. We will now mention the principal writers, both Greeks and Latins. Among the former, the most noted in after times were the following:—Philip Solitarius, whose Dioptra or dispute between the soul and the body is sufficiently known;[4] Eustratius, who defended the cause of the Greeks against the Latins and explained some books of Aristotle;[5] Euthymius Zigabenus, who on account of his Panoply against all Heretics and his expositions of the scriptures, may be ranked among the principal writers of the age;[6] John Zonaras, whose Annals with some other works are still preserved;[7] Michael Glycas, who also devoted himself to history and to some other species of writing;[8] Constantine Harmenopulus, a respectable writer on both civil and canon law;[9] Andronicus Camaterus, a strenuous polemic against the Latins and the Armenians who were opposed to the Greeks;[10] Eustathius of Thessalonica, the most learned Greek of his time, and the

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[1] I have here followed principally Papebroch, an accurate writer on this subject, and well supported by authorities, in the *Acta Sanctor. Antwerp.* mense Aprili, tom. iii. p. 774—802. It is well known that the Carmelites moved a great contest with this learned Jesuit at the court of Rome, for disparaging the dignity and antiquity of their order. The history of this long contest is given by Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tome i. p. 282, &c. It was terminated in the year 1698 by Innocent XII. who imposed silence on both parties. [The Carmelites accused Papebroch before the pontiff Innocent XII. alleging that the volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* which bore his name were full of errors. The pontiff referred the case to the Congregation of the Index. The Carmelites being in high repute in Spain brought these books before the Inquisition of that country in the year 1691; and by that tribunal the 14 volumes for March, April, and May, were condemned A.D. 1695. Papebroch and his friends however obtained liberty to offer to the Inquisition a vindication of these volumes; but all their controversial writings with the Carmelites were, in the year 1697, proscribed by the Inquisition. The next year the pope interposed, commanding both parties to be silent and to drop the whole controversy.—*Mur.*

[2] Of the many Carmelite writers who have written upon this subject, the neatest and most concise is Thomas Aquinas, a French Carmelite, in his *Dissertatio Histor. Theol. in qua Patriarchatus Ordinis Carmelitarum Prophetæ Eliæ Vindicatur.* Paris, 1632, 8vo. The modern writers on this controversy with Papebroch are far more tedious.

[3] See Harduin's *Opp. Posthuma* p. 642, &c.; Labat, *Voyage en Espagne et Italie*, tome iii. p. 87; Courayer, *Examen des Défauts Théologiques*, tome i. p. 455, &c. [The pretentions of the Carmelites to an antiquity reaching back to the time of Elijah are ridiculous in the extreme; and it is astonishing that they should dare to hazard their reputation by advancing such pretensions. The rule prescribed to them by Albert, A.D. 1205, consisted of sixteen articles, and it required them to confine themselves to their cells except when at work, and to spend their time in prayer; to possess no individual property; to fast from the feast of the holy cross till Easter, except on Sundays; to abstain from eating flesh altogether, to labour with their hands; and to observe total silence from vespers till the tierce of the next day. This rule was mitigated considerably by Innocent IV. On the conclusion of peace with the Saracens, A.D. 1229, the Carmelites left Syria. Some of them went to Cyprus, others to Sicily, and others to France. They came to England about 1240, and had about forty houses in that country. In the 16th century St. Theresa, a Spanish lady, undertook to reform the order. They were now divided into two classes. The Carmelites of the ancient observance were called the mitigated or moderate; the reformed or those of the strict observance were called bare-footed Carmelites, because they went barefooted. The former were distributed into forty provinces, subject to one general. The latter quarrelled among themselves, and became divided into the congregation of Spain containing six provinces, and the congregation of Italy embracing all the rest.—*Mur.* [They had nine or ten houses in Scotland. Keith, *ubi supra*, p. 454, &c.—*R.*

[4] Little is known of this Grecian Monk, who flourished A.D. 1105. His *Dioptra* or Dialogue between the soul and the body, on the principles which should regulate man's life, is extant only in the Latin translation of Pontanus, Ingoldstadt, 1604, 4to, and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxi.—*Mur.* [See respecting him Fabricius, *Biblio. Græca*, tom. vi. p. 566—7, lib. v. cap. v.—*R.*

[5] See note 3, p. 397.—*Mur.*

[6] See Simon's *Critique de la Biblio. Eccles. de M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 318, 324. [Euthymius was a monk highly esteemed by Alexius Comnenus for his erudition, and flourished about A.D. 1116. The *Panoplia Dogmatica Orthodoxæ Fidei adversus omnes Hæreses*, is a compilation from the Fathers made by order of the emperor and with the aid of several assistants, in defence of the doctrine of the Greek church against all its opposers. It is published (but not entire) by Gregoras at Tergovist in Wallachia, 1710, fol. His commentaries on the Psalms and on the four Gospels were published together in Gr. Verona, 1530, and the latter by Matthæi, Lips. 1792, 8vo. All his published works are extant in Latin in the *Biblio. Patr.* tom. xix. —*Mur.*

[7] See note 5, p. 396.—*Mur.*

[8] Some have placed Glycas as late as the fifteenth century. See Lami, *Diss. de Glyca*, prefixed to his *Deliciæ Virorum Eruditor.* tom. i. [See a notice of him in note 4, p. 396.—*Mur.*

[9] Constantine Harmenopulus was a learned civilian and judge at Thessalonica. Cave and others suppose he flourished A.D. 1150, but some place him two centuries later or about A.D. 1380. His best work is his Πρόχειρον νόμων or manual of civil law, edited, Gr. and Lat. with notes, Geneva, 1587, 4to. His *Epitome Divinorum Sacrorumque Canonum*, Gr. and Lat. is in Leunclavius, *Jus. Gr.* tom. i. So also his *Liber de Sectis Hæreticis* and some other tracts.—*Mur.*

[10] Andronicus Camerterus was prefect at Constantinople and filled other high offices under Manuel Comnenus A.D. 1156, and was distinguished for his erudition and eloquence. He wrote *Adversus Latinos*, or a dialogue between Manuel and the Roman cardinals then at Constantinople respecting the procession of the Holy Spirit; also a dispute of the emperor with Peter, an Armenian doctor; and a tract on the two natures of Christ, and other subjects.—*Mur.*

well-known commentator on Homer;[1] Theodorus Balsamon, who expended much labour in expounding and digesting the civil and ecclesiastical laws of the Greeks.[2]

22. The following may be considered as the principal Latin writers:—Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, from whom the Cistercian monks took the name of Bernardins. He was a man of genius and taste, and of correct views in many respects, but superstitious and deficient in judgment, one who was able to conceal a great thirst for dominion under the garb of extraordinary piety, and who did not scruple to load with false accusations all those who happened to incur his displeasure.[3] Innocent

[1] See note 2, p. 396.—*Mur.*

[2] For a fuller account of all these writers, see Fabricius, *Biblio Græca.* [Theodorus Balsamon was deacon, nomophylax, chartophylax, and librarian of the great church at Constantinople, and afterwards patriarch of Antioch, though he never took possession of his see, it being in the hands of the Latins. He flourished A.D. 1180 and lived till A.D. 1203 or longer. He was the most learned Greek of his time and a powerful adversary against the Latin church. His works are commentaries on the apostolic canons, the councils and canonical epistles of the fathers (edited Gr. and Lat. by Justell, and still better by Beveridge, Oxon. 1672, fol.); Commentaries on the Nomocanon of Photius (edited Gr. and Lat. by Justell, 1615, 4to, and in the *Biblioth. Juris Canon.* tom. ii.); a collection of ecclesiastical constitutions) in the *Biblioth. Juris Canon,* tom. ii.); and several other treatises on particular points and questions in ecclesiastical law, which were published by Leunclavius and Cotelier.

The other Greek writers of this century were the following:—

Nicetus Seidus, an antagonist of the Latins A.D. 1110, from whom Leo Allatius has made some extracts, *De Consensu,* &c. lib. i. cap. xiv. &c.

Nicetus Byzantinus, a philosopher, *i.e.* a monk, A. D. 1120, who wrote a Defence of the synod of Chalcedon against the prince of Armenia, which is quoted by Leo Allatius, *ubi supra,* and published entire, Gr. and Lat. in the *Gr. Orthod.* tom. i.

Georgius, metropolitan of Corcyra A.D. 1136, distinguished himself as a writer and negociator in the controversy with the Latins.

Antonius Melissa, a Greek monk A.D. 1140, author of *Loci Communes de Virtutibus et Vitiis,* compiled from the fathers edited Gr. and Lat. by Gesner, Zurich, 1546, fol. and Geneva, 1609, fol.

Isaac, patriarch of the greater Armenia, flourished perhaps A.D. 1150, author of two invectives against the Armenians; Gr. and Lat. in *Auctar. Nov.* tom. ii.

Lucas Chrysoberges, a monk and patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 1155 (alii 1148) to 1167, author of some Synodal decrees at Constantinople, A.D. 1166; published by Leunclavius. *Jus Gr. Rom.* lib. iii.

Basil Achridenus, metropolitan of Thessalonica A.D. 1155, author of an epistle to Pope Hadrian IV. who solicited him to renounce the Greek church and connect himself with the Latin; extant Gr. and Lat. in the *Jus Gr. Rom.* lib. v.

Michael, a rhetorician and protecdicus of the great church of Thessalonica A.D. 1160, who fell into the heresy of the Bogomils and afterwards renounced it. A short confession of his faith is published by Leo Allatius, *De Consensu,* &c. lib. ii. cap. xii.

Alexius Aristenus, nomophylax and œconomus of the great church of Constantinople A.D. 1166. A *Synopsis Canonum* with the scholia of this ecclesiastic is in Beveridge's *Pandectæ Canonum,* Oxon. 1672, fol.

Theorianus, a Greek theologian sent by the emperor Manuel Comnenus A.D. 1117, to bring the Armenians to the Greek faith. His successful discussion with Nauses, the Armenian patriarch, put into the form of a dialogue, was published Gr. and Lat. by Leunclavius, 1578, 8vo, and then in Fronto le Duc's *Auctarium,* Paris, 1624, tom. i.

Simeon, Magister and Logotheta about A.D. 1170. To him some ascribe the *Synopsis Canonum* on which Alexius Aristenus wrote *Scholia;* but the work was probably written before their day.

John Phocas, a native of Crete, first a soldier and then a monk and a married presbyter. In the year 1185 he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the holy places; and on his return wrote a concise and accurate account of what he saw, entitled *Compendiaria Descriptio Locorum ab Urbe Antiochia usque Hierosolymam, nec non Syriæ et Phœniciæ,* edited Gr. and Lat. by Leo Allatius. *Symmict.* par. i. p. 1, Colon. 1653, 8vo.

George Xiphilinus, patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 1193—1199, was author of *Decretum de Juribus Territoriorum,* extant, Gr. and Lat. in the *Jus Gr. et Rom.* lib. i. p. 283.

John Camaterus, patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 1199—1206. His *Decretum de Nuptiis Consobrinorum* was published Gr. and Lat. by Leunclavius, in the *Jus. Gr. Rom.* lib. iv. p. 285.—*Mur.*

[3] The works of St. Bernard have been splendidly edited by Mabillon, with learned prefaces to his treatises containing much valuable information, and an appendix comprising the ancient biographies of him: [printed at Paris, 1666, 2 vols, fol. and 8 vols. 8vo, and A.D. 1690, 6 vols. St. Bernard was born of honourable parentage at Fontaine near Dijon, A.D. 1091, and educuted at Chatillon, where he distinguished himself much as a scholar. At the age of twenty-two he renounced the world and became a Cistercian monk. In the year 1115 he was created abbot of the newly-erected monastery of Clairval or Clairvaux in the territory of Langres, where he spent the remainder of his life and acquired an influence almost unbounded throughout Europe. He was remarkably austere in his mode of living and wholly absorbed in practical religion. His eloquence was bold, thrilling, and irresistible; for his conceptions were vivid, his language clear and strong, and his zeal determined and unyielding. In the year 1127 he attended the council of Troyes, and did much to procure the establishment of the order of Knights Templars. From the year 1130 he espoused the cause of Innocent II. against his competitors, and for ten years supported that pontiff and at last procured him a complete triumph. In the year 1140 he assailed Abelard, and contributed much to destroy his reputation and influence, and to reduce him to a state of wretchedness. In 1146 he set himself to rouse Europe to a new crusade, and actually persuaded the king of France and the emperor of Germany to march large armies to the Holy Land. The complete failure of the crusade, con trary to his predictions, much lowered his reputation. But he defended himself by ascribing the failure to the sins of the crusaders. In 1147 he procured the condemnation of the heresy of Gilbert, bishop of Poictiers. The same year he assailed the Petrobrusians and drew off many persons from that heresy. He also attacked and routed the Apostolici. In 1151 he exposed the ar rogance and pride of the Roman pontiffs. He died A.D. 1153 in the sixty-third year of his age, was sainted, and reported to have wrought innumerable miracles both before and after his decease. A prolix life of him was written by several of his contemporaries. The best modern history of his life is that of Neander, entitled *Der heil. Bernard und sein Zeitalter,* Berlin, 1813 and 1830, 8vo. Milner's *Life of Bernard,* which makes up nearly the whole of his church history of the twelfth century, is worth reading, though written with partiality. His works are nearly all on practical religion, and consist chiefly of letters and discourses.—*Mur.* [Neander's work on Bernard has been translated into English by Miss Wrench, and published in London, 12mo, 1843, for a charitable object. See Gibbon's character of Bernard in his *Decline and Fall,* vol. ii. p. 113, &c.; and for a juster and more eloquent estimate of the character of this remarkable man, see Taylor's *Fanaticism,* p. 247—257. In the preface to her excellent translation, Miss Wrench gives some interesting particulars of the history and ultimate dissolution of the famous abbey of Clairvaux. It is now a house of industry for the reformation of criminals, two thousand prisoners being employed in the manufacture of stuffs. The only work of Bernard which has been made accessible to the English reader is his *Meditations,* translated by Warren, Lond. 1760, 8vo.—*R.*

III. the Roman pontiff, whose epistles and other productions contribute to illustrate the religion and discipline of the age.[1] Anselm of Laon,[2] a man of acuteness and a skilful dialectician. By him was educated Abelard, famous in that age for the acuteness and elegance of his genius, the extent of his erudition, his dexterity as a disputant, and the misfortunes which befel him.[3] Godfrey or Geoffry of Vendome, who has left us epistles and some dissertations;[4] Rupert of Duytz, the most famous expositor of the scriptures among the Latins of this century, a man generally of a sound judgment and not destitute of imagination and taste;[5] Hugo of St. Victor, a man of a

[1] The Epistles of Innocent III. were republished by Baluze in 2 vols. fol. Paris, 1682. [He was pontiff from A.D. 1198 to 1216, and will be noticed more particularly in the following century. Besides his Letters he wrote a number of Tracts and Discourses, chiefly of a practical and devotional character; also a commentary on the seven penitential Psalms, on the contempt of the world, and on the mysteries of the mass. But none of these is now of much value.—*Mur.*

[2] Anselm of Laon was schoolmaster and dean of the cathedral of Laon about A.D. 1103, and died A.D. 1117. Abelard his pupil represents him as neither learned nor discriminating, but a man full of words without much meaning. (See Abelard's *Hist. of his Own Sufferings*, c. iii.) He was author of the *Glossa Interlinealis*, or interlinear and marginal notes to the Old and New Testaments derived from the writings of the fathers, often published; *e. g.* Lyons, 1528, Antw. 1634, &c. The commentaries on Matthew and John, on the epistles of Paul, the Apocalypse, and the Canticles, published among the works of Anselm of Canterbury, are by some ascribed to Anselm of Laon.—*Mur.*

[3] See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Abelard*, tome i. p. 18, and tome iii. art. *Paraclet*, p. 2174; Gervais, *Vie de Pierre Abelard et de Heloise*, Paris, 1728, 2 vols. 8vo. The works of Abelard, comprised in one volume 4to, were published by Francis Amboise, Paris, 1616. But a collection twice or even thrice as large might be made; for, cui non dictus Hylas?—[Abelard was born of noble parentage at Palais, near Nantes, A.D. 1079. He first studied under Roscelinc, founder of the sect of Nominalists. Distinguished as a scholar, he removed to Paris at the age of twenty, to study dialectics under William de Champeaux. After a while he began to dispute with his teacher; and, as many of his fellow-students awarded to him the victory in several cases, his master became jealous of him and they parted. In A.D. 1099 he opened a school of his own at Melun, ten leagues from Paris; and his school being thronged, he removed it to Corbeil to be nearer Paris. The school of his former master and present rival declined fast. But soon after the health of Abelard failed, and he had to retire for two years. On resuming his school at Corbeil, he completely ran down his rival Champeaux. Abelard next removed to Laon to study theology under Anselm. Here again the pupil outshone the master and became his rival. He now came to Paris and lectured with vast applause on theology and philosophy, to a great concourse of students from different countries. But now at the age of forty, he seduced the celebrated Heloise, a fatherless girl of eighteen, who was placed under his instruction. She bore him a son, and to pacify her enraged relatives he privately married her. She however denied the marriage, lest it should destroy his prospects in the church, and retired to a monastery. Her uncle now hired ruffians, who entered his chamber by night and inflicted on his person a disgraceful and cruel mutilation. Heloise then took the veil, and Abelard became a monk at St. Denys. He now resumed lecturing, and also published his "Theology." [Introductio ad Theologiam, in his *Opera*, p. 973.—*R.*] This work brought on him the charge of heresy, and was burned by order of the council of Soissons, A.D. 1121.—Still Abelard was popular as a lecturer. But having asserted that St. Denys the founder of the church at Paris was not the Dionysius of Athens, mentioned in the book of Acts, a new persecution commenced; and he retired from St. Denys, A.D. 1122, to a forest near Nogent in Champagne, where he lived in retirement. But students gathering round him there a new monastery grew up called that of the Paraclete. He had now six hundred pupils. Next he was chosen abbot of St. Gildas de Ruys near Vannes, where he spent many years. The convent of Argenteuil where Heloise was, being dispersed, Abelard gave her the convent of the Paraclete, where she spent the rest of her life, a devout abbess. Now the famous correspondence between Abelard and Heloise took place; a correspondence which Mr. Pope has transformed and altered greatly in his poetic version. Abelard was again accused of heresy by St. Bernard and others, appealed to the pope, was condemned unheard, set out for Rome A.D. 1140, reached Cluny where Peter the Venerable received him kindly, procured from the pope his acquittal, and also effected a reconciliation between him and St. Bernard. Abelard passed two years at Cluny, with reputation for piety and learning, and delivered acceptable lectures though in declining health. He died there in 1142, aged sixty-three years. The learned and candid Du Pin, in his *Auteurs Ecclesias.* cent. xii. ch. vii. after examining the fourteen charges of erroneous doctrine imputed to him, pronounces them all false or frivolous, except the two following, namely, the eleventh, that the Jews who crucified Christ did no sin by that act; and the twelfth, that the power of binding and loosing belonged only to the inspired apostles, and extended only to the church militant. The Catholics generally, according to Bayle, have been less severe upon Abelard's character than the Protestants. His seduction of his pupil all must condemn. It appears also that he was both vain and selfish. Neither do his writings display those masterly talents which his reputation as a lecturer would lead us to expect. His printed works contain four Epistles to Heloise, seven Epistles to others, a history of his life till A.D. 1134, his apology or confession of faith, expositions of the Lord's prayer, the Apostles' creed, and the Athanasian creed; a reply to queries of Heloise, a tract against heresies, Commentaries on Romans, thirty-two sermons, directions for the nuns of the Paraclete, and his Introduction to Theology.—*Mur.* [See also Berrington's *Lives of Abelard and Heloise*, Lond. 1787, 8vo; and the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome xii. p. 86, &c. The works on which Bernard founded his charges were the *Theologia Christiana* in Martene, *Thesaurus*, tom. v. p. 1156, &c.; the *Ethica, seu Scito te Ipsum* in Pezius, *Anecd.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 627, and his *Sic et Non*, on the contradictions of the fathers, which has been printed for the first time only about ten years ago, by Victor Cousin, in the *Collection des Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France*, published by the French government. The one which M. Cousin edited is in the volume entitled *Œuvres Inédites d' Abailard*, Paris, 1836, 4to; to which he has prefixed a valuable *Introduction* tracing the early history of scholasticism as it existed in France. Besides the *Sic et Non*, this volume contains Abelard's *Dialectica* in five parts, a fragment, *De Generibus et Speciebus*, with *Glossæ* by him on Porphyry, the Categories, on a book *De Interpretatione*, and on the *Topica* of Boethius—all published for the first time.—*R.*

[4] Godfrey was abbot of Vendome from A.D. 1093, till after A.D. 1129. He was a zealous supporter of Urban II. who created him a cardinal, and held an extensive correspondence with pontiffs, cardinals, and bishops. His works, comprising epistles, eighteen tracts, and fifteen sermons, were published by Sirmond, Paris, 1610, 8vo, and then in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxi.—*Mur.*

[5] Concerning Rupert of Duytz, (Tuitiensis) besides the common historians, Mabillon treats particularly in his *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 19, 20, 42, 144, 168, 261, 282, 296; and also states the controversies into which he was brought. [Rupert was a German monk of St. Laurence near Liege, and then abbot of Duytz near Cologne. He commenced author A.D. 1111, and died 1135. He was known as a polemic in

prolific mind who has written on nearly all the branches of knowledge then cultivated, both sacred and profane, and who has said many things well;[1] Richard of St. Victor, the coryphæus of the mystics of that age, whose Arca Mystica in particular, containing the marrow of this sort of wisdom, was received with avidity;[2] Honorius of Autun, a theologian and philosopher, not without reputation;[3] Gratian, a monk to whom canon law was indebted for a new form and increased authority;[4] William of Rheims, who composed various tracts to subserve the cause of piety;[5] Peter Lombard, often called Master of the Sentences, because he collected and arranged scientifically the theological opinions and decisions of the Latin fathers;[6] Gilbert de la Porrée, a theologian and philosopher who is said to have explained some points in theology erroneously;[7] William of Auxerre, much celebrated for his Summa Theologica or system of Theology;[8] Peter of

his day, and was accused of not holding the doctrine of transubstantiation, but perhaps falsely. He is chiefly known to us as a commentator on nearly the whole Bible; but he also wrote on the rites of worship through the year, on the conflagration of Duytz, contemplations on death, tracts on the will and omnipotence of God, the lives of some saints, &c. His works have been repeatedly printed; *e.g.* Paris, 1638, 2 tom. folio.—*Mur.*

[1] See the *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 661. His works were printed together in three volumes folio, Rouen, 1648. Berlangius has written expressly of him in his *Diss. de Hugone a S. Victore*, Helmst. 1746, 4to. Add Martene's *Voyage Littér.* tome ii. p. 91, 92. [Hugo of St. Victor was born A.D. 1096, but whether at Ypres in the Netherlands or in Lower Saxony, has been contested. He was an Augustinian canon in the monastery of St. Victor at Paris, where he died A.D. 1140, aged 44. So fully did he enter into the theological views of St. Augustine, and so exactly did he express them in his writings, that he was called Augustine the Second, and also the Mouth of Augustine. He commented largely on all parts of the Bible, wrote on Dionysius the Areopagite, and composed many tracts and works on philosophical, theological, and practical subjects. But a considerable part of the works ascribed to him and published as his have been adjudged to other authors.—*Mur.* [See also Oudin, *De Scriptor. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 1138, and the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome xii. p. 7, &c. The only work of importance which is indubitably his production, is *De Sacramentis Christ. Fidei.*—*R.*

[2] *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 669. [Richard of St. Victor was a Scotchman, but spent his life at Paris, being first a regular canon and then for nine years prior of St. Victor near the walls at Paris, till his death 1173. He was the intimate friend of St. Bernard and of Hugo of St. Victor. His writings are numerous tracts and treatises on practical and experimental religion, and on biblical and theological subjects, in all of which he spiritualizes almost continually. The best edition of his works is said to be that of Rouen, 1650, in 2 vols. fol.—*Mur.* [See also Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 275.—*R.*

[3] This celebrated writer is usually called *Honorius of Autun*, but Le Beuf has shown that he was a German, in his *Diss. sur l'Hist. Française*, tome i. p. 254. [He was a presbyter and schoolmaster in the church of Autun in Burgundy, and flourished about A.D. 1130. His works are an account of the ecclesiastical writers compiled from Jerome, Gennadius, Isidore, and Beda; commentaries on the books of Solomon, a dialogue on predestination and free will, *Gemmæ Animæ* or on the mass and its ceremonies, on the visible creation, *Elucidarium*, on heresies, on the philosophy of the world, on the properties of the sun, a catalogue of the Popes, all published in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xx. besides many pieces never published.—*Mur.*

[4] See note 5, p. 398.

[5] William of Rheims was perhaps first a monk of Clairvaux under Bernard, and certainly was abbot of St. Thiery near Rheims, and then during nine years abbot of St. Nicosius at Rheims. In the year 1153 he resigned his abbacy and became a Cistercian in the monastery of Signi. His works are, *De Vitis Solitaria, Speculum Fidei, Ænigma Fidei, Meditationes, De Contemplando Deo, De Natura Corporis et Animi, Disputatio contra Petrum Abælardum, De Erroribus Guilelmi de Conchis, De Sacramento Altaris, Expositio in Cantica Canticorum, Commentarius in Epist. ad Romanos*, and *De Vita Sti. Bernardi.* All, except the last, are in the *Biblioth. Cisterciensis*, tom. iv.—*Mur.*

[6] *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 68. [Peter Lombard was born at a village near Novaria in Lombardy, whence his surname of Lombardus. He first studied at Bologna and then went to France to study theology, being recommended to the notice and kind offices of St. Bernard. At Paris he acquired high reputation as early as A.D. 1141, was made professor of divinity there, and 1150 bishop of Paris till his death A.D. 1164. Besides his notes or commentary on the Psalms and his collections from the fathers on the epistles of Paul, he composed a very celebrated system of divinity extracted from the fathers, especially from Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, entitled the *Sentences*, and divided into four books. This work was the text-book in theology for some ages; and in its general arrangements has served for a model nearly to the present day. The basis of his distribution is the maxim of Augustine, that all knowledge is either of things or of signs; and that things are divisible into such as are to be enjoyed and such as are to be used. Accordingly in the first book he treats of things which are to be enjoyed, viz. God, the supreme good of man, his nature, attributes, and subsistence in three persons. In the second book he treats of things to be used, viz. the creation, its production by the power of God, the formation of angels and men, the apostacy of angels, and the fall of man, of grace and free will, original and actual sin, &c. In the third book he treats of the incarnation and sacrifice of Christ, redemption, faith, charity, and good works, as conditions of salvation. The fourth book treats of the signs or sacraments of the church, except that in the seven last sections he treats of the day of judgment and the future state. See Du Pin's *Auteurs Ecclésias.* century xii. chap. xv.—*Mur.* [Of the numerous editions of this once celebrated work, the *Libri Quatuor Sententiarum*, the best are those published at Louvain by Aleaume in 1546, folio, and 1576, 4to. There is a question whether this work was derived from the *Sententiæ* of Bandinus, published also at Louvain by Chelidonius, 1557, 8vo, which is the opinion of Chelidonius and Cramer in his *Fortsetzung von Bossuet*, part vi. p. 846; or whether Bandinus epitomized Peter Lombard, as Schroeckh in his *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxviii. p. 48, and Pezius in *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. i. p. 45 of the introduction, are of opinion. This popular schoolman did not escape animadversion for some of his speculations respecting the human nature of Christ; and sixteen of his articles were condemned by the divines of Paris in 1300. See Gieseler, *Lehrbuch*, &c. Cunningham's transl. vol. ii. p. 319.—*R.*

[7] Gilbert de la Porrée (Porretanus) was a Frenchman of Aquitain, rector of the school at Paris, canon and A.D. 1141 bishop of Poictiers till his death, A.D. 1154. This distinguished scholar and philosopher advanced some views in theology and particularly respecting the Trinity, which were new and strange to his contemporaries, and which caused him to be charged with heresy. See the next chapter, sec. 11. His notes on the Psalms, commentaries on the epistles of Paul, and treatise on the Trinity, are said to exist in manuscript. All that has been published is his epistle to the abbot of St. Florentius appended to the works of Guibert by D'Achery.—*Mur.*

[8] Le Bœuf, *Diss. sur la Somme Théologique de Guillaume d'Auxerre*, in Malet's *Continuation des Mémoires d'Hist. et de Littérature*, tome iii. par. ii. p. 317. [He was archdeacon of Beauvais, and died at Rome A.D.

Blois, whose epistles and numerous tracts are still read with some advantage;[1] John of Salisbury, a man of genius and learning, who united eloquence with the study of philosophy and theology, as is manifest from his Metalogicus and his books De Nugis Curialium;[2] Peter Comestor, author of the Historia Scholastica, or that epitome of the history contained in the Old and New Testaments which was formerly studied by the youth in the schools.[3] The names and merits of the other Latin writers may be learned from the works devoted to this subject.[4]

1230.—*Schl.* [But Schroeckh (*Kirchengesch.* vol. xxviii. p. 157) places him near the end of the thirteenth century.—*Mur.*

[1] Peter of Blois (Blæsensis) was born at Blois, studied the liberal arts at Paris, civil and canon law at Bologna, and theology at Chartres under John of Salisbury. Perhaps he was made a canon at Chartres. In 1167 he went to Sicily and became tutor and afterwards secretary to William II. king of Sicily. Soon after on the banishment of his friend the archbishop of Palermo, he returned to France and was invited over to England, where he was made archdeacon of Bath, archdeacon of London, and chancellor to the archbishop of Canterbury. After a life of industry and virtue he died in England A.D. 1200. His works, consisting of 183 epistles, 65 sermons, and 17 tracts on various subjects then exciting interest, were published, Paris, 1667, fol. He also continued the history of Ingulphus of Croyland to the year 1118. Several other works of his are lost. See Du Pin, *Auteurs Ecclésias.* cent. xii. chap. xi.—*Mur.*

[2] John of Salisbury in Wiltshire, England, one of the brightest geniuses of the age. He was a pupil of Abelard in 1136, and afterwards an intimate friend of Thomas à Becket, whom he accompanied in his exile for seven years; but he disapproved of Becket's resistance to the king of England. He returned to England, but on the death of Becket A.D. 1172, he again went to France, and in 1179 was made bishop of Chartres where he died three years after. His works are *Polycraticus* or on the fopperies of courtiers, in which he displays much knowledge of the world, great wit, and very just views of men and things; *Metalogicum*, an acute and learned treatise on logic, philology, and philosophy; the life of St. Thomas of Canterbury, several hundreds of epistles, and a commentary on Paul's epistles. These works have been published separately, but never all together.—*Mur.*

[3] Peter Comestor was a native of Troyes and a priest and dean in that city, then chancellor of the university of Paris. Toward the close of life he retired to the monastery of St. Victor, where he died A.D. 1188. Numerous manuscript sermons of his still exist. *Historia Scholastica* is a biblical history of the world, from the creation to the end of the book of Acts.—*Mur.*

[4] The Latin writers of this century omitted by Mosheim are the following, arranged alphabetically:—

Adam, a Scot and regular canon of the order of Præmonstrants, flourished A.D. 1160, and died about A.D. 1180. He wrote a commentary on the rule of St. Augustine, a tract on the triple tabernacle of Moses, on the three kinds of meditation, and forty-seven sermons, published, Antw. 1659, fol.

Ælmoth, an English and Danish Augustinian monk of Canterbury, who spent most of his life in Denmark, and about A.D. 1105 wrote the life and passion of St. Canuta, king of Denmark.

Allred, Ealred or Ælred, either a Scot or an Englishman, a Cistercian monk and abbot of Revesby in Lincolnshire, flourished A.D. 1150 and died in 1166. He wrote the life and miracles of St. Edward, king and confessor, genealogy of the kings of England, *De Bello Standardii Tempore Stephani Regis, Historia de Sanctimoniali de Walthun*, published by Twisden, London, 1652. Also sermons on the lessons for the year, on Isaiah, *Speculum Charitatis, Tractatus de Puero Jesu Duodecenni, De Spirituali Amicitia*, published in the *Bibliotheca Cisterciens.* tom. v. and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxiii.

Alanus de Insulis, a Fleming and monk of Clairvaux, an abbot and A.D. 1151—1167 bishop of Auxerre, but he resigned his bishopric and retired to Clairvaux, where he died A.D. 1182. He wrote a life of St. Bernard, published by Mabillon in the *Opera Bernardi.*

Albert or Alberic, a canon of the church of Aix, A.D. 1120. He wrote from the account of others *Historia Hierosolymitanæ Expeditionis sub Godefrido Bullionæo et Aliis*, a very good history of the first crusade, from A.D. 1095 to 1120, published by Bongarsius, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, tom. i. p. 184.

Alger, a deacon and schoolmaster at Liege during many years, and then a monk of Cluny under Peter Maurice. He flourished A.D. 1130, and wrote *De Sacramento Corporis et Sanguinis Domini adversus Berengarium*, extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxi. besides some other things not published.

Alexander III. pope A.D. 1159—1181, has left us 337 epistles.

Amedeus, bishop of Lausanne A.D. 1141—1158. He wrote eight homilies in praise of the Virgin Mary, in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xx.

Anastasius IV. pope A.D. 1153, 1154, has left us thirteen epistles.

Anselm, bishop of Havelburg in the duchy of Brandenburg, A.D. 1149, author of three dialogues against the Greeks, published by D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. xiii.

Arnold Carnotensis, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Bonneval in the diocese of Chartres, an intimate friend of St. Bernard and still living A.D. 1162. He wrote a number of treatises on practical religion, published at the close of Cyprian's works, ed. Oxon. 1682.

Arnulph, bishop of Luxen in Normandy, A.D. 1141. He accompanied Lewis, king of France, in his crusade to Palestine, A.D. 1147, was made papal legate to England in 1160, and much employed in public business till near his death, A.D. 1182. Many of his sermons, epistles, and epigrams, were published at Paris, 1585, 8vo, and then in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxii. Some others have since been published.

Baldric, a native of Orleans and a monk and abbot of Angers A.D. 1095, and archbishop of Dol A.D. 1114—1131. He wrote *Hist. Hierosolymitana.* It is a history of the first crusade, from A.D. 1095 to 1100, and is extant among the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, and among the *Scrip. Hist. Francici* of Du Chesne, tom. iv. He wrote also the life of Hugo, archbishop of Rouen, and the life of Robert d'Arbrissell, founder of the order of Fontevraud.

Balduin, an English schoolmaster, a Cistercian monk and abbot, bishop of Worcester, A.D. 1181, and archbishop of Canterbury A.D. 1185—1191. He accompanied king Richard I. in his crusade, and died in the siege of Ptolemais. He wrote sixteen tracts on practical religion, *De Commendatione Fidei*, and *De Sacramento Altaris*; all extant in the *Biblioth. Cisterciens.* tom. v.

Berengosus, abbot of St. Maximin without the walls, Treves, flourished about A.D. 1110. He wrote *De Laude et Inventione Crucis Dominicæ*, and several monastic discourses, extant in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xii.

Bonacarsus of Milan, teacher among the Cathari A.D. 1163. His *Vita Catharorum Hæreticorum* is in D'Achery's *Spicileg.* tom. xiii.

Callistus II. pope A.D. 1119—1124, has left us thirty-five epistles, published in the *Concilia*, besides five more in Baluze, *Miscell.* tom. ii. and five sermons in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xx.

Clement III. pope A.D. 1187—1191, has left us seven epistles.

Cœlestine II. pope A.D. 1143, 1144, has left us three epistles.

Cœlestine III. pope A.D. 1191—1198, has left us seventeen epistles.

Eadmer, Edmer, Ediner, or Edmund, an English Benedictine monk of Canterbury, the pupil and friend and biographer of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury. He flourished A.D. 1121, and was for a time bishop of St. Andrews in Scotland, but resigned the see about A.D. 1124, and spent his old age at Canterbury. He wrote *Historia Novorum sive sui sæculi*, from A.D. 1066 to 1122, which has been highly extolled; the life of St. Anselm, and a few tracts on moral subjects

All these are printed with the works of Anselm. He also wrote the life of St. Wilfred, archbishop of York, extant in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. iii. par. i. Numerous other tracts, historical and religious, are said to exist in manuscript in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Earnulph, a monk of Beauvais, whom Lanfranc invited over to England, where he was successively prior of Canterbury, abbot of Peterborough, and bishop of Rochester, and died A.D. 1124, aged eighty-four. He wrote *De Incestis Conjugiis*, and *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*; in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, tom. ii.

Ecbert, a German Benedictine monk and abbot of St. Florin in Schoonhoven, flourished A.D. 1154, and wrote thirteen Discourses against the Cathari, and the life of Elizabeth, his sister, the abbess of Schönaugen. His discourses are in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxiii.

Elizabeth, a German Benedictine nun and abbess of Schönaugen in the diocese of Treves, where she died A.D. 1165 aged thirty-six years. She wrote her *Visions or Revelations* and a book of epistles, published, Cologne, 1628.

Eugene III. Pope A.D. 1145—1153, has left us eighty-nine epistles.

Florentinus, called Bravonius, an English monk of Worcester, who died A.D. 1118. That year he completed his chronicle from the creation to A.D. 1118, chiefly borrowed from Marianus Scotus; he also wrote a genealogy of the English kings, both published, Lond. 1592, 4to.

Folmar, head of the monastery of Trieffenstein in Franconia, about A.D. 1160. He opposed the received doctrine of transubstantiation for a time, but recanted. Some of his epistles were published by Gretser, subjoined to his *Scriptores Coëtanei adv. Waldenses*, Ingolst. 1613, 4to.

Franco, a schoolmaster, Benedictine monk and abbot, at Laon, about A.D. 1111. He wrote *De Gratia Dei* (in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxi.) and some other pieces, among which was a tract on the quadrature of the circle, and another on the principles of arithmetic.

Fulcherius Carnotensis, a monk or presbyter who accompanied Robert, duke of Normandy, in the first crusade; of which he wrote a history, entitled *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem Peregrinantium ab anno* 1095, *ad annum usque* 1124, composed in a coarse style. It was published imperfect in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, and complete in Du Chesne's *Scriptores Francici*, Paris, 1640, tom. iv. p. 816.

Galfrid called also Arthur, bishop of St. Asaph A.D. 1151—1175 (Geoffrey of Monmouth), author of a history of Britain from the earliest times to his own age, a work not in much repute, published, Paris, 1517, 4to, and among the *Scriptores Britannicæ Minores*, Heidelb. 1587, fol.

Galfrid, or Gaulter Vinesauf, (De Vino Salvo), a Norman English poet and historian, who flourished A.D. 1199; author of *Historia sive Itinerarium Richardi Anglorum Regis in Terram Sanctam*, and *Poemata de Glorioso Rege Richardo*; published among the *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores*, Oxford, 1687, tom. ii. also of some other works never published.—*Mur.*

Gaufrid, a French monk, prior and presbyter of Limoges, A.D. 1183, and author of a *Chronicon*, relating especially to the history of France from A.D. 996 to 1184; published by Labbé, *Biblioth. Nov. MS.* tom. ii.

Gelasius II. pope A.D. 1118, 1119. He was nobly born at Cajeta, in Naples, educated at Monte Cassino, made chancellor and cardinal deacon at Rome. He had to fight for St. Peter's chair and to abandon Rome, and died in France. He has left us six epistles, and a life of St. Erasmus.

Gilbert or Gislebert, surnamed Crispin, a monk of Bec at the commencement of the century. He travelled to Rome, and had a dispute with a Jew, which he afterwards committed to writing and entitled *De Fide Ecclesiæ Contra Judæos*. He also wrote *Contra Judæos*, and a great number of Homilies, which are still preserved in manuscript. He died A.D. 1117.

Gilbert Folloth, an Englishman, abbot of Leicester and A.D. 1149 bishop of Hereford, and A.D. 1161—1187 bishop of London. He was competitor with Thomas à Becket for the see of Canterbury, and ever after sided with the king against Becket. The king employed him much. He was twice excommunicated by the Pope, which he did not regard. His commentary on the Canticles was published by Junius, Lond. 1638, 4to, and eight of his epistles are among the epistles of Becket, ed. Brussels, 1682.

Gille or Gillebert, an Irish bishop, who died A.D. 1139. He has left us *Libellus de Statu Ecclesiæ*, and two letters in Ussher's *Epistol. Hibernic. Sylloge, p.* 77.

Godfrey Viterbiensis, an Italian of Viterbo, a presbyter and secretary to the successive emperors, Conrad III. Frederic I. and Henry VI. He travelled much during forty years, and became acquainted with Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldaic. His death was in 1186. He wrote a universal history entitled *Pantheon* or *Chronicon Universale*, dedicated to Pope Urban III. extending from the creation to A.D. 1186, a work of vast compass, published by Pistorius, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicar.* Francf. 1584.

Guaterius or Galterius, styled the chancellor, a Frenchman, A.D. 1120. He wrote a history of the capture of Antioch by the Christians, A.D. 1115, and their loss of it in 1119, when Guaterius himself was taken prisoner; extant in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, tom. i. p. 441.

Guerric, a disciple of St. Bernard, a canon and schoolmaster at Tours, and then a Cistercian abbot in the diocese of Rheims, died A.D. 1157. He wrote sermons on the lessons for the year, printed in an appendix to the works of Bernard, and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxiii.

Guibert or Gilbert, abbot of St. Mary at Nogent, in Laon, flourished A.D. 1101, and died A.D. 1124. He wrote a tract on the composition of sermons, morals on Job, *De Pignoribus Sanctorum*, several other tracts, and *Gesta Dei per Francos*, or history of the crusades from their commencement to A.D. 1100; published in Bongarsius' Collection, tom. i.

Guigo or Guido, of Dauphiny, a Carthusian monk and prior, who flourished A.D. 1120. He wrote *Scala Claustralium, seu de Modo Orandi*, several epistles, a life of St. Hugo of Grenoble, &c.

Gregory VIII. pope A.D. 1187—1187, has left us three epistles.

Hadrian IV. (Nicolas Breakspear), the only Englishman who ever filled the papal throne. Disappointed of an English monastery he went to France, studied at Paris, became an Augustinian monk, prior and abbot at St. Rufus near Valence. Going to Rome on business, Eugene III. created him a cardinal and bishop of Alba. In 1148 he was papal legate to Norway and Denmark. In 1154 he succeeded to the papal chair till his death in 1159. He has left us forty-four epistles.

Helmold, a presbyter of Lubec and a canon, died A.D. 1170. He wrote *Chronicon Sclavorum*, from the time of Charlemagne to A.D. 1168, published by Bangert, Lubec, 1659, 4to.

Henry of Huntingdon, the son of a married English priest, canon of Lincoln, and archdeacon of Huntingdon, flourished A.D. 1150. He wrote *Historia Anglorum ab Ipsis Gentis Primordiis usque ad Stephani Regis Mortem* (A.D. 1154), published by Saville, Lond. 1596, fol. and Francf. 1601.

Hermann, a converted German Jew of Cologne, who was persecuted by his unbelieving friends, became a canon, was contemporary with St. Bernard, and an intimate of Rupert of Duytz. He has left a tract respecting his own conversion, published by Carpzovius Lips. 1687.

Herveus, a Benedictine monk of Dol. A.D. 1130, wrote a commentary on the epistles of Paul attributed to St. Anselm, and printed among his works.

Hildegard, a German abbess of St. Rupert on the Rhine, born at Spanheim A.D. 1098, and died A.D. 1180. Her visions or revelations were solemnly approved and sanctioned by St. Bernard, by many leading bishops of France and Germany, by three different popes, and by a council at Troyes. She wrote *Scivias, seu Visiones sive Revelationes*, life of St. Robert a confessor, thirty-eight epistles, Miscellanies, and an exposition of the rule of St. Benedict, published, Cologne, 1566, and most of them also, *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxiii.

Honorius II. pope A.D. 1124—1130, has left us eleven epistles.

Hugo Etherianus, a Tuscan, who went to Constantinople and was patronized by the emperor Manuel. He flourished A.D. 1177, and wrote and disputed strenuously against the Greeks. His tract on the

intermediate state of the soul, and his work on the procession of the Holy Spirit against the Greeks, were published, Basil, 1543, and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxii.

Hugo, abbot of St. Flavinius in Burgundy, flourished A.D. 1101. He wrote *Chronicon Virdunense*, in two parts, the first from the birth of Christ to A.D. 1002, and the second to A.D. 1102, published by Labbé, *Biblioth. Nov. Manus.* tom. i.

Hugo, a Benedictine monk of Fleury, A.D. 1120. He wrote a *Chronicon*, from Ninus, king of Assyria, to Lewis the Meek, A.D. 840, and an Epilogue embracing the transactions of Lewis the Meek; also two Books *De Regia Potestate et Sacerdotali Dignitate.*

Innocent II. pope, A.D. 1130—1143, has left us fifty epistles.

John, archbishop of Lyons, who A.D. 1112 had a contest with his suffragans respecting lay-investitures, which he wished to suppress. His epistle to them on the subject is in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. par. ii. p. 1919.

John Brompton, an English Cistercian monk and abbot near York, A.D. 1198, the reputed author of the *Chronicon ab anno* 588 *ad annum* 1198, published by Twisden, *Scriptores Decem Anglici*, Lond. 1652.

John Burgundio, a native of Pisa, flourished A.D. 1148, died 1194. He translated many homilies of Chrysostom, John Damascenus, *De Fide Orthodoxa*, and Nemesius's eight books on philosophy.

John de Hexham, a native of Hexham in Northumberland and an Augustinian monk A.D. 1160. He continued the history of Simeon of Durham from 1130 to 1155; see next page.

John Belethus, rector of the theological school at Paris A.D. 1162 (alii A.D. 1328) author of *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, published, Antw. 1570, 8vo, Lyons, 1583, and 1592, 8vo.

Leo Marsicanus, librarian of Monte Cassino and cardinal deacon A.D. 1101. He died after A.D. 1115, having been very active and devoted to the holy see. He left a chronicle of the monastery of Cassino from the time of St. Benedict to A.D. 1055; also some sermons and lives of saints which were never published.

Lucius II. pope A.D. 1144, 1145, has left us twelve epistles.

Lucius III. pope A.D. 1181—1185, has left us two epistles.

Nicolaus, a Cistercian monk of Clairvaux and secretary to St. Bernard; but being accused of forging letters in Bernard's name, he fled into Italy and long aspersed the character of Bernard. A book of his epistles is in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxi.; also a book of his sermons in the *Biblioth. Cisterciensis*, tom. iii.

Odo of Cambray, a schoolmaster at Orleans, abbot of St. Martin of Tours, chosen bishop of Cambray A.D. 1105, but refused investiture from the emperor Henry IV. He wrote an exposition of the canon of the mass, and several other tracts, extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxi.

Ordericus Vitalis, an Englishman, born at Attingham (in Shropshire), A.D. 1075, sent to Normandy at the age of eleven, where he became a monk, deacon, and presbyter, and flourished about A.D. 1140. He wrote an Ecclesiastical History from the birth of Christ to A.D. 1142, published by Du Chesne among his *Scriptores Normanici*, Paris, 1619, fol. p. 321.

Otho or Otto of Freysingen, of royal German extraction, and uncle to the emperor Frederick Barbarossa. He studied at Paris, became a Cistercian monk and abbot, was made bishop of Frisingen A.D. 1138, engaged in the second crusade, A.D. 1147, resigned his bishopric in 1156, and died two years after. He wrote a chronological history of the world from the creation to A.D. 1146; also the life and reign of Frederick Barbarossa. Both have been often published and particularly among the German historians, A.D. 1585 and 1670, tom. i.

Petrus Alfonsus, once Moses, a distinguished Spanish Jew. After his conversion, A.D. 1106, he wrote a dialogue against the Jews, in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxi.

Peter Grossolanus or Chrysolanus, archbishop of Milan A.D. 1110—1116, which office he was obliged to abdicate. He was sent as a papal legate to Constantinople, and has left us an oration addressed to the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus, on the procession of the Holy Spirit; extant, Latin, in Baronius, *Annal.* ann. 1115, and Greek and Latin, in Leo Allatius, *Orthod. Græca*, tom. i.

Peter Maurice the Venerable, born of a noble French family, first a soldier and then a monk of Cluny, where he was abbot from A.D. 1123 to 1156. Pontius, the former abbot of Cluny, gave him trouble during the first years of his abbacy. In 1126 he commenced preaching and writing against Peter De Bruis. In 1140 he received Abelard, and reconciled both Bernard and the pope to him. He visited Italy on important business in 1145 and 1150, and was highly honoured by pope Eugene and the citizens of Rome. He wrote *Epistolarum Libri* vi. tracts against the Jews, against heresies and Islamism, against the Petrobrusians, on the transfiguration of Christ, on a translation of the Koran procured by him, and a few other pieces; all published in the *Biblioth. Cluniacensis*, Paris, 1614, and the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxii.

Peter, born at Rome A.D. 1110, a student and monk at Monte Cassino A.D. 1115—1137, then legate to the emperor Lotharius, who employed him at his court till his death. He wrote *De Viris Illustribus Monasterii Casinensis*, *Liber quartus Chronici Casinensis* (A.D. 1086—1138) *De Notis Literarum Romanarum*, besides numerous tracts never published.

Peter Cellensis, abbot of the monastery of Celles near Troyes, and then of St. Remigius at Rheims, and, A.D. 1182—1187, bishop of Chartres. He wrote *De Panibus*, *Mosaici Tabernaculi Mystica Expositio*, *De Conscientia*, *Epistolæ*, *De Disciplina Claustrali*, and sermons on the lessons for the year; all published by the Benedictine monks, Paris, 1671.

Philip, bishop of Tarentum from A.D. 1136 to 1138, when he was deposed for not adhering to Peter Leonis, the anti-pope, went to France and became a monk at Clairvaux under St. Bernard. In 1150 he was made prior, and 1156 abbot of a convent in the diocese of Chartres; which however he resigned before his death, and returned to Clairvaux. He has left us twenty-five epistles, published by Charles Du Visch, subjoined to his *Scriptores Ordinis Cisterciensis*, p. 336.

Philip Harveng, called Eleemosynarius, abbot of Good Hope in Hainault A.D. 1140; died 1180. He wrote tracts, biographies, and letters; published, Douay, 1620, fol.

Potho, a Benedictine monk of Prum in the diocese of Treves, A.D. 1152. He wrote *De Statu Domus Dei* and *De Domo Sapientæ* in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, tom. xxi.

Radulphus de Diceto, dean of St. Paul's, London. He was a traveller, flourished A.D. 1197, and wrote a brief Chronology from the creation to A.D. 1198, and *Imagines Historiarum ab anno* 1148, *ad annum* 1200; both published by Twisden, *Scriptores Decem Anglici.*

Radulphus Niger, a Benedictine monk in the diocese of Beauvais, who flourished A.D. 1157 (and not in the preceding century as some suppose). His commentary on Leviticus published in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xvii. has been much commended. The commentary on the Canticles ascribed to St. Gregory and printed with his works, was the production of Radulph.

Richard Hagulstadiensis, a monk and prior of Hauston [Hexham] in Northumberland, England; flourished A.D. 1180 and died in 1190. He wrote *Historia de Statu et Episcopis Hagulstadensis* (Hexham), *Ecclesiæ Historia*, *De Gestis Regis Stephani*, and *De Bello Standardii*, A.D. 1135; published by Twisden, *Scriptores Decem Anglici*, Lond. 1652.

Robert, a Benedictine monk of St. Remigius at Rheims. He was in the first crusade, and wrote a history of it from A.D. 1095 to 1099; extant in Bongarsius' Collection, tom. i.

Robert, surnamed Retensis, an English student and traveller, who flourished A.D. 1120. He travelled through France, Italy, Dalmatia, and Greece, into Syria, where he stayed long and acquired the Arabic language. Returning he settled in Spain, studied astronomy, and was made archdeacon of Pampeluna. He abridged the Koran and translated it into Latin. Huet pronounces the translation a wretched one.

Robert Pullen or Pullus, a distinguished English theologian and scholar. He was made archdeacon of Rochester, but to avoid the confusion of a civil war retired to Paris, and studied there some time. He returned in 1130 and read lectures at Oxford for five years, and preached every Sunday. He afterwards re-

turned to Paris, and being deprived of the revenues of his archdeaconry he appealed to the Pope A.D. 1144, who invited him to Rome and made him a cardinal. He died A.D. 1150. His only work which has reached us is *Sententiæ de Trinitate*. It is a system of theology, but unlike Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, it is not a mere compilation from the fathers but a biblical and argumentative treatise, in which he shows himself a profound and orthodox divine. It was published by Mathoud, Paris, 1655, fol.

Rodulphus Ardens, chaplain to William IV. duke of Aquitain, A.D. 1101. He left sermons on the lessons for the year, published at Cologne, 1604, 2 vols. 8vo.

Rodulph, abbot of St. Trudo near Laon, about A.D. 1120. He wrote *Chronicon Monasterii Sti Trudonis*, published by D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. vii; also a life of St. Lietbert, bishop of Cambray—*ibid.*

Roger de Hoveden, a native of York, of illustrious English descent, one of the household of king Henry II. and then chief professor of theology at Oxford; flourished A.D. 1198, author of *Annales Anglicani*, from A.D. 731 (where Beda ends) to A.D. 1202; published by Saville, *Historici Anglici*, Lond. 1595, fol. and Francf. 1601.

Saxo Grammaticus, a Dane, born of an honourable family in Zeeland, dean of the cathedral of Roschild, and much esteemed by Absalom, archbishop of Lund, who sent him to Paris on business and prompted him to write his History of Denmark. He flourished A.D. 1170, and died A.D. 1204. His *Historia Danica* from the earliest times to A.D. 1186 is written in a florid style and is highly esteemed; best edited by Stephanius, Sora, 1644, fol.

Sigebertus Gemblacensis, a monk and writer at Gemblours A.D. 1101, a partisan of the emperor Henry IV. in his contests with the pope. He wrote a Chronicle from A.D. 381, where Jerome ends, to A.D. 1112; printed among the *Scriptores Germanici*, Francf. 1585, fol. and by Miræus, Antw. 1608, also *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, Epistola pro Ecclesiis Leodiensi et Camerarensi, adv. Ep. Paschalis Papæ*, a life of Sigebert king of France, and some lives of saints. He died A.D. 1113.

Simeon, an Englishman educated at Oxford, where he taught philosophy and theology. Afterwards he became a Benedictine monk and precentor in the cathedral of Durham. Here he examined carefully the remains of the library which the Danes had much injured; and collecting materials from every quarter became an author. He flourished A.D. 1130, and wrote a history of the church of Durham from A.D. 635 to 1096, which another hand continued to A.D. 1154, a tract concerning the archbishops of York, another on the siege of Durham, and a history of the English and Danish kings from A.D. 730 to 1130, which John of Hexham continued to 1155, and from which Roger Hoveden took nearly the whole of his history. These works of Simeon were published by Twisden in his *Scriptores Decem Anglici*.

Stephen Harding, an English monk of Sherburn. He travelled in Scotland, France, and Italy; became first a Benedictine, then a Cistercian in France, where he was made abbot A.D. 1109, and died A.D. 1134. He composed regulations for the Cisterclans, and some other monastic pieces.

Stephen I. bishop of Augsburg A.D. 1113—1129, and then a monk of Cluny. He wrote a tract *De Sacramento Altaris*, &c. in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xx. p. 1872.

Stephen, a monk and abbot of Orleans and of Paris, one of the council of regents during the crusade of Philip Augustus, A.D. 1190, and bishop of Tournay, A.D. 1192—1202. He wrote between A.D. 1163 and the time of his death two hundred and seventy-eight epistles, published, Paris, 1682, 8vo; also thirty-one sermons chiefly on the festivals, and a commentary on the *Decretum* of Gratian, which are still in manuscript.

Theodoric, abbot of St. Trudo in the diocese of Laon, who died in exile at Ghent A.D. 1107. He wrote the life of St. Trudo, and of four or five other saints.

Urban II. pope A.D. 1185—1187, has left us five epistles.

William of Malmesbury was a native of Somersetshire, a Benedictine monk, and librarian and preceptor of the monastery of Malmesbury, where he flourished from 1130 to 1143. He wrote a history of the kings of England from the first arrival of the Saxons, A.D. 449, to the twentieth year of Henry I. A.D. 1127; a continuation of it to A.D. 1143, and a history of the English bishops from the arrival of Augustine to his own times. These works were collected and published by Saville, Lond. 1596, fol. and Francf. 1601. His life of St. Aldhelm, bishop of Sherburn, is in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. i. p. i. Some other works of this celebrated English historian are said to exist still in manuscript.

William of Tyre. Whether born in France, Germany, or Palestine, he is supposed to have been related to the kings of Jerusalem. He was made archdeacon of Tyre A.D. 1167; soon after was sent on business to Constantinople, in 1169 undertook a journey to Europe, on his return was tutor to Balduin the prince, and A.D. 1174, archbishop of Tyre. In the year 1178 he was at the council of the Lateran, and he spent some months at Constantinople. In 1189 Jerusalem being taken by the Saracens, he went to Europe to solicit aid from the kings of England and France. He opposed the election of Heraclius to the bishopric of Jerusalem, who compassed his death by poison, but in what year is unknown. He wrote a history of the crusades to Palestine, from A.D. 1095 to the year 1180, very highly esteemed, and published, Basil, 1549 and 1660, and by Bongarsius, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, tom. i. p. 625.

William Neubergensis or Neubrigensis, surnamed Parvus, born at Bridlington in Yorkshire, A.D. 1136, a regular Augustinian canon in the monastery of Bridlington, where he died A.D. 1208, aged 72. He wrote, in a good Latin style, *De Rebus Anglicis sui Temporis*, from A.D. 1066 to the year 1197; best edited by Picard, Paris, 1610, 8vo.

Zacharias, bishop of Chrysopolis or a Præmonstratensian monk of St. Martin of Tours, A.D. 1157. He wrote four books of commentaries on the Μονοτέσσαρον, or Harmony of the four Gospels by Ammonius of Alexandria, published, Cologne, 1535, fol. and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xix.

[For further information on those of the above writers who belong to Britain, see Wright's *Biogr. Britan. Liter. Anglo-Norman period*; and on those who wrote Chronicles, in the Introduction to the first volume of Lappenberg's *Geschichte v. England*, Thorpe's transl. —*R.*

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

1. So many causes conspired to debase religion and to tarnish and obscure its lustre, arising out of the numberless inventions of human ingenuity, that it may seem strange it was not wholly destroyed. In the first place, the Roman pontiffs would have nothing taught which militated against their arrogated supremacy; and therefore they required Christianity to be so explained and modified, as to support that form of the church which their predecessors had marked out. Those who would not obey their laws, or showed that they regarded the holy scriptures more than the authority of the Romish see, were cruelly destroyed with fire and sword. In the next place the priests and monks, finding it to be their interest that the people should be entirely ignorant and undiscerning, amused them with a species of theatric shows, and placed all religion in empty ceremonies, corporeal austerities and inflictions, and reverence for the clergy. The

scholastic doctors united the precepts of the dialecticians with the opinions of the fathers to constitute a standard of truth; and in place of explaining the principles of revealed religion, they destroyed them altogether. Their opponents, the mystics, maintained that the soul of one truly pious does not move spontaneously, but by a divine impulse; and thus they did not merely set bounds to human ability but abolished it entirely.

2. Hence instead of religion, astonishing superstition and ignorance reigned everywhere among the people. Most persons placed more reliance upon relics,—generally false or at least dubious and uncertain,—than upon Christ and his merits, or upon prayers founded on his mediation.[1] Those who were able themselves to build churches or to contribute money to their erection and repair, esteemed themselves very happy and the favourites of heaven; and they whose poverty restrained them from doing so, cheerfully submitted to work like beasts in transporting stones and drawing carts, whenever a church was to be built; and they expected eternal salvation for these voluntary hardships.[2] Departed saints had more supplicants than God and the Saviour of men; nor was there much inquiry, as there was in after times, how they knew that glorified spirits heard and understood the prayers of their suppliants. For the old notion, derived by the Christians from the pagans, that the celestials often descend to this lower world and linger about the places to which in their lifetime they were attached, prevailed universally, until the scholastic doctors gave this subject a particular discussion.[3] If any man or woman, either from a disordered state of mind or from a design to deceive, laid claim to divine revelations, the people at large unhesitatingly believed that God himself had conversed with them in order to instruct the world. This is manifest from the examples of the celebrated German prophetesses, Hildegard, abbess of Bingen, and Elizabeth, abbess of Schönaugen.[4]

3. The rulers of the church basely abused this ignorance and superstition of the people for their own emolument, or to extort money; and each order of the clergy had its own peculiar artifices for fleecing the people of their property. The bishops when they had occasion to raise money, either for good and laudable or for base and criminal objects, allowed transgressors to buy off the penalties enjoined by the canons, by advancing money for certain religious purposes, that is, they published indulgences; and what mighty enterprises and expensive works were accomplished in this century by means of indulgences, is known to all.[5] The abbots and the monks who had not this power, resorted to other means for raising money. They travelled about the villages and through provinces, carrying in solemn procession the carcases and relics of holy men, which they allowed the people to see, to handle, and to kiss, by paying for the privilege. In this way they often amassed as great gains as the bishops by their indulgences.[6]

4. The Roman pontiffs, perceiving what advantages the inferior bishops derived from their indulgences, concluded that the power of the bishops to remit ecclesiastical penalties ought to be circumscribed, and the prerogative be almost wholly transferred to the Roman see. Accordingly they began, as the necessities or convenience of the church or their own interests required, to publish not merely the common and ordinary but likewise the entire and absolute, or the plenary remission of all finite or temporal penalties; and they cancelled not only the punishments which the canons and human tribunals inflict, but also those to be endured after death, which the bishops had never attempted to set aside.[7] They

[1] See Guibert of Nogent's three books, *De Pignoribus* (thus they styled relics) *Sanctorum*, in his works, published by D'Achery, p. 327, &c. where this discerning man assails the superstition of his age.

[2] See the tract of the abbot Haymo on this very custom, annexed by Mabillon to the sixth volume of his *Annales Benedictini*; and also those *Annales*, p. 392, &c.

[3] That I may not be thought to give a false representation, I will quote a very explicit passage from the life of St Altmann, bishop of Passau, in Tengnagel's *Collectio Veter. Monument.* p. 41; "Vos licet, Sancti Domini, somno vestro requiescatis—haud tamen crediderim, spiritus vestros deesse locis, quæ viventes tanta devotione construxistis et dilexistis. Credo vos adesse cunctis illic degentibus, astare videlicet orantibus, succurrere laborantibus, et vota singulorum in conspectu divinæ majestatis promovere."

[4] See Mabillon's *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 431, 529, 554. [See the notice of these prophetesses in the note to the preceding chapter, p. 414; also Neander, *Heilige Bernard und sein Zeitalter*, p. 210, &c. 300, &c.—*Mur.*

[5] Stephanus Obazinensis; in Baluze, *Miscell mea*, tom. iv. p. 130; Mabillon, *Annales Bened.* tom. vi. p. 535, &c.

[6] Innumerable examples of this mode of extorting money may be collected from the records of this age. See the *Chronicon Centulense*, in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, tom. ii. p. 354; the life of St Romana, ibid. p. 137; Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 342, 644; *Acta Sanctor.* Mensis Mali, tom. vii. p. 533, in the acts of St. Marculus, where a long journey of such relics is described; Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* tom. iv. p. 519, 520, and tom. ii. p. 732.

[7] Morin, *De Administratione Sacramenti Pœnitentiæ*, lib. x. cap. 10, 21, 22, p. 762, &c.; Simon, *Biblioth. Critique*, tome iii. chap. xxxiii. p. 371; Mabillon, Preface to the 5th century of his *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* p. lxxi. &c. I designedly refer to none of the Protestant writers.

first resorted to this power for the sake of promoting the crusades, and were sparing in the use of it; but afterwards they exerted it for objects of far less importance and of various kinds, and very often merely for their private emolument.[1] Upon the introduction of this new policy, the ancient system of canonical and ecclesiastical penances was wholly subverted; and the books of canons and the penitentials being laid aside, transgressors were no longer under restraints. To support this proceeding of the pontiffs an unheard-of doctrine was devised in this century, and improved and polished in the following century by St. Thomas; namely, that there is an immense treasury of good works which holy men have performed over and above what duty required; and that the Roman pontiff is the keeper and the distributor of this treasure, so that he is able, out of this inexhaustible fund, to give and transfer to every one such an amount of good works as his necessities require, or as will suffice to avert the punishment of his sins. This miserable and pernicious fiction, it is to be lamented, is still retained and defended.

5. This century abounded in expositors of the holy scriptures, if one may judge from the multitude of works professedly of this character; but if we estimate them by their skill and ability there were almost none at all. For very few inquired after the literal sense of the scriptures; and even these were destitute of the requisite means of ascertaining it.[2] Both the Greeks and the Latins were governed entirely by the authority of the fathers, and compiled from their writings, without discrimination or care, whatever seemed to throw light on the inspired volumes. The reader may inspect among the Greeks, Euthymius Zigabenus' exposition of the Psalms, the Gospels, and the Epistles, though he offers some remarks of his own which are not contemptible; and among the Latins, the labours of Peter Lombard, Gilbert de la Porrée, and Abelard, on the Psalms of David and the Epistles of Paul. Nor is higher commendation due to the best Latin expositors of nearly the whole Bible in this century; such as Gislebert [or Gilbert], bishop of London, called the Universal on account of the extent of his erudition,[3] and Herveus, a very laborious Benedictine monk.[4] Somewhat superior to the rest of the Latins was Rupert of Duytz, who expounded various books of the scriptures; and with him may be coupled Anselm of Laon, who composed or rather compiled a Glossa, as it was called, on the sacred books. Those who chose not to tread in the steps of the ancients and ventured to try the powers of their own genius, disregarding simplicity, searched after mysteries of every sort in the sacred pages. And in this species of interpretation, none excelled more than the mystic doctors as they are called; for they explained the whole Bible in conformity with the visions of their own minds, and the ideal systems of their own formation. Moreover, those interpreters who made dialectics and philosophy their study, pursued the same course in their expositions of the scriptures. This mode of interpretation may be seen distinctly in Hugo of St. Victor's Allegorical Explanations of both Testaments, in Richard of St. Victor's Mystical Ark, in William of Nogent's Mystical Commentaries on Obadiah, Hosea, and Amos,[5] and in some others.

6. The most distinguished teachers of theology resided at Paris; and, of course, students in theology from all parts of Europe resorted to Paris, in order to attend the lectures of theologians who taught there. The professors of theology in France were divided into several sects. One sect was that of the ancient theologists, who supported their religious tenets simply by the declarations of holy Scripture and by the opinions of the fathers and the decisions of councils, and very rarely introduced anything of human reasoning. Such in this century were St. Bernard, Peter the Chanter, Gualter of St. Victor, and others, who strenuously contended against the philosophic theologians. Not totally distinct from this sect was that which after-

[1] Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 761, &c. Franc.; Pagi, *Breviar. Romanor. Pontif.* tom. ii. p. 60; Ruinart, *Vita Urbani* II. in his *Opp. Posthum.* tom. iii. p. 333.

[2] One considerable cause of this incompetence was, that the monks, among whom nearly all the learning of the age was to be found, held it to be unlawful to learn Hebrew from Jewish teachers. A certain monk (as we learn from the statutes of the Cistercians A.D. 1198, no. 24 in Martene's *Thesaur. Nov. Anecdot.* tom. iv. p. 1292) had learned Hebrew from a Jew; and the abbot of Clairvaux was directed to investigate the matter and to bring the monk to punishment. The French Benedictines, in their *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tome ix. can find among the vast multitude of clergymen who made pilgrimages to Palestine, only three persons who in that way acquired a knowledge of the Arabic and Greek; namely, William of Tyre, one Philip, and the Englishman Adelard. See Semler's *Hist. Eccles. Selecta Cap.* tom. iii. p. 161.— *Schl.*

[3] Concerning him, see Le Bœuf, *Mémoires concernant l' Hist. d' Auxerre*, tome ii. p. 486. [He wrote notes on the Old and New Testaments, and commentaries on certain books, none of which were ever published.— *Schl.*

[4] An ample account of him is given by Liron, *Singularités Historiq. et Littér.* tome iii. p. 29, &c. Add Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 477, 719.

[5] His Prologue on Obadiah was published by Mabillon. *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 637, &c.

wards bore the name of the Positive and the Sententiarii; for these, following the example of Anselm of Canterbury, Lanfranc, Hildebert, and others of the preceding century, supported religious doctrines principally by citations from Scripture and the writings of the fathers; but had recourse to reason and philosophy, especially for solving difficulties and refuting objections, in which some of them were more moderate and cautious, and others less so. The first in this century who thus explained the principles of religion systematically, is said to be Hugo of St. Victor, who was succeeded by many others. But the first rank in this species of labour belongs to Peter Lombard, or Peter the Italian of Lombardy and archbishop of Paris, whose four books of sentences, on their appearance in the year 1162,[1] at once acquired such authority that all the doctors began to expound them. And some tell us that all the doctors of much note, except Henry of Ghent and a few others, commented upon this Master of the Sentences, as Lombard was called, on account of this work.[2]

7. These Sententarii, as they were called, though not without faults nor entirely free from vain and futile speculations, yet resorted to dialectical subtleties with moderation, and did not force the doctrines of revelation to yield submission to human reason. But contemporary with them arose another and more daring sect of theologians, who had no hesitation to apply the terms and distinctions of the dialecticians to the truths taught by revelation, and to investigate the nature and relations of those truths by the principles of logic. The author of this mode of treating theology, which was afterwards called the scholastic because it prevailed in nearly all the schools, was Peter Abelard, a man of great acuteness, who was first a canon and a celebrated teacher as well of philosophy as of theology, and afterwards a monk and abbot of Ruys.[3] Eager for the applause which he had obtained, others without number in France, England, and Italy, pursued the same course. In this way the peaceful religion of Jesus was soon converted into the science of wrangling. For these men did not explain anything, but by multiplying divisions and distinctions, obscured and perplexed the plainest truths, wearied both themselves and others with useless and abstruse speculations, so argued on both sides of the most important questions as to leave them undecided; and as there were many things in religion which were inadequately expressed in the phrascology of dialectics, they gave occasion for idle and vainglorious disputants to invent new terms, and to perplex themselves and others with enigmatical trifles.[4]

8. From this time therefore the teachers of theology began to be divided into two classes; the biblical, who were called the ancient and also Dogmatici and Positivi; and the scholastic, who were called the Sententarii and also the new. The former interpreted the sacred volume in their schools, though for the most part miserably, and confirmed them by the testimonies of Scripture and tradition, without calling reason and philosophy to their aid. The latter did nothing but explain the Master of the Sentences or Lombard; and they brought all the doctrines of faith, as well as the principles and precepts of practical religion, under the dominion of philosophy, and involved them in endless perplexities.[5] And as these philosophical or scholastic theologians were deemed superior to the others in acumen and ingenuity, young men admired them and listened to them with the greatest attention; whereas the biblical doctors or those of the sacred page, as they were called, had very few and sometimes no pupils.[6] This state of things prevailed generally in the schools of Europe down to the time of Luther.

9. But before these dialectical and metaphysical doctors could obtain such an

[1] Lindenbrog's *Scriptores Rerum Septentrion.* p. 25.

[2] A host of these interpreters are exhibited by Possevin, *Biblioth. Selecta*, tom. i. lib. iii. cap. xiv. p. 242. [For a notice of Peter Lombard, and his *Books of the Sentences*, see note 2, p. 412.—*Mur.*

[3] This is acknowledged by Abelard himself; Epist. i. chap. ix. *Opp.* p. 20. See also Launoi, *De Scholis Caroli Magni*, cap. lix. *Opp.* tom. iv. p. 67.

[4] See Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 201, &c. p. 583, &c.; Wood, *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 58; Launoi, *De Varia Aristotelis Fortuna in Acad. Paris.* cap. iii. p. 187, &c. ed. Elswich, Witemb. 1720, 8vo.

[5] See Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 657, &c.

[6] Roger Bacon, in his larger work addressed to the Roman pontiff, Clement IV. (published from the manuscript by Sam. Jebb, Lond. 1733, fol.) par. ii. chap. iv. p. 28, says: "The Bachelor, who lectures on the text (of Scripture), gives place to the lecturer on the Sentences, who is everywhere preferred and honoured by all. For he who lectures on the sentences has the best hour for reading, according to his choice; he has also an associate and a chamber among the religious; but he who lectures on the Bible wants these, and begs for such an hour to read, as shall please the lecturer on the Sentences. Also the man who lectures on the Sentences disputes everywhere, and is accounted a Master; but the other who lectures on the text cannot dispute, as was exemplified this year at Bologna and in many other places, which is absurd. It is therefore manifest that the text is subordinate in this faculty (theology) to the one dominant *Summa*." These words clearly show what estimation was then put upon the sacred volume, and what authority philosophical theology enjoyed. More remarks follow in Bacon well worth reading. He lived in the thirteenth century.

ascendency in the schools, they had to pass through many perils, contests, and disasters. For they were opposed on the one hand by the ancient divines, and on the other by the mystics, who supposed true wisdom is to be acquired not by reasoning but by silence and contemplation, and to be drawn from the inmost recesses of the soul. The old contest therefore between faith and reason which had long been dormant among the Latins, was now revived, and produced great commotions everywhere. Of the patrons of the old theology, those who most violently assailed the scholastics were Guibert of Nogent,[1] Peter Cellensis,[2] Peter Cantor or the Precentor of Paris,[3] and others; but especially Gualter of St. Victor in his four books against the four labyrinths of France and the new heretics.[4] Of the mystics, Joachim, abbot of Flora,[5] Richard of St. Victor, and others, inveighed against them, and especially against Lombard, notwithstanding he was much more moderate than the true and proper scholastics. The contention and discord were so great that the sovereign pontiff, Alexander III. in a very numerous and solemn convention, A.D. 1164, condemned this immoderate licentiousness of disputing on sacred subjects;[6] and in the year 1179 he censured and disapproved of some things in the writings even of Lombard.[7]

10. But there was no more potent adversary of the dialectic theologians in this century than St. Bernard, whose zeal was immense, and his influence equal to his zeal. He therefore contended against them not only with words but with deeds, with ecclesiastical councils, and positive enactments. Bitter experience of this was felt by Peter Abelard, at that time the chief of the dialectic party, and certainly a man of far more learning and acuteness than St. Bernard, though much inferior to him in influence. Bernard prosecuted him before the council of Soissons in 1121, and before that of Sens in 1140, accused him of many and very great errors, and at last procured his condemnation.[8] Abelard was said to have greatly corrupted the doctrine of three persons in the Godhead, to have attacked the majesty of the Holy Spirit, to have spoken dishonourably of the offices of Christ and of the union of the two natures in him, to have denied the doctrine of divine grace, in short, to have nearly subverted all religion. On some points undoubtedly Abelard expressed himself unsuitably and improperly, and his subtlety was not always without fault; but it is also manifest that St. Bernard, wholly ignorant of philosophy and distinguished rather for genius than for intellect, did not understand some of Abelard's propositions, and others of them he designedly perverted. For this good man used no moderation either in praising or in censuring.[9]

11. Nearly the same fate attended Gilbert de la Porrée, who after teaching philosophy and theology with much reputation, at Paris and elsewhere, was made bishop of Poictiers. For his two archdeacons, Arnald and Calo, who had been trained in the schools of the ancient theologians, having heard him speak too metaphysically respecting the divine nature, accused him of blasphemy before Eugene III. the pontiff, then in France; and to be more sure of success, they engaged St. Bernard on their side. Bernard, as was usual with him, prosecuted this business before the pontiff with the greatest vehemence, first in the council of Paris A.D. 1147, and then in that of Rheims in the following year. In the latter council, Gilbert in order to end the contest, submitted his opinions to the judgment of the council and the pope. All the errors charged upon Gilbert indicate too great fondness for nice distinctions, and a disposition to

[1] *Tropologiæ in Oseam; Opp.* p. 203.

[2] *Opuscula*, p. 277, 399, ed. Benedict.

[3] In his *Verbum Abbreviatum, sive Summa;* published at Mons, 1639, 4to, by Galopin, cap. iii. p. 6, 7.

[4] By the four *Labyrinths* of France, he means Abelard, Gilbert de la Porrée, Lombard, and Peter of Poictiers, who were the principal dialectic theologians of this century. See, respecting this work which was never published, Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 619—659.

[5] Among his writings is a book against Lombard, *De Unitate seu Essentia SS. Trinitatis*, which was condemned in the fourth Lateran council, A.D. 1215. See the *Hist. de l' Abbé Joachim, surnommé le Prophète;* Paris, 1745, 2 vols. 12mo; and Fabricius, *Hist. mediæ et infim. Lat.* lib. ix. p. 107.—*Schl.*

[6] Pagi, *Critica in Baronium*, tom. iv. ad ann. 1164, no. xxi. p. 615.

[7] Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 115; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 402.

[8] See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, artic. *Abelard*, p. 18; Gervais, *Vie d'Abelard et de Heloise;* Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 63, 84, 324, 395; Martene, *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1139, and numerous others.

[9] See Gervais, *Vie d'Abelard*, tome ii. p. 162; Le Clerc, *Biblioth. Ancienne et Moderne*, tome ix. p. 352, &c.; Petavius, *Dogmata Theol.* tom. i. lib. v. c. 6, p. 217, &c. and St. Bernard himself in many parts of his works, which the index will point out. At last, after numerous vexations and sufferings, of which he himself has left a history, Abelard died a monk of Cluny, A.D. 1142. He was a great man and worthy of a better age, and of better fortune. [See note 3, p. 411. —*Mur.* [In Neander's *Der heilige Bernard u. sein Zeitalter*, p. 217 and 305, &c. the student will find a pretty full account of Abelard's theological views and of Bernard's controversy with him, marked by all the originality and profound philosophical acumen characteristic of that eminent writer. See *Life and Times of St. Bernard*, Wrench's transl. p. 124—167. —*R.*

bring the doctrines and truths of revelation under the empire of dialectics. For he maintained a new distinction between the divine essence and God, and also between the properties of the divine persons and the persons themselves, not indeed as real but only in thought (*statu rationis*) as metaphysicians say; and relying on these distinctions he denied that the divine nature became incarnate. To these he added other opinions derived from the same source, which were rather fanciful and useless than pernicious and false; but which the good Bernard, who was unaccustomed to such speculations, could not comprehend.[1]

12. The state of moral or practical theology must be apparent from what has been stated. Among the Greeks, Philip the Solitary has left us a tolerably neat tract entitled *Dioptra;* in which he makes the soul to hold a dialogue with the body, and advances various thoughts calculated to promote piety. The other Greeks are not worth naming. The Latin divines, who treated of the duties of the Christian life were of two classes, the one scholastics, the other mystics. The former treated of the virtues as they did of the articles of faith, that is, in a dry, metaphysical manner, and generally combined moral theology with dogmatic. The latter very often express themselves beautifully, and in a manner suited to move the soul, yet without method or discrimination; and not unfrequently they tarnish Christian gold with the dross of Platonism. Most of those also who expounded the holy scriptures may be classed among the moral writers. For neglecting the literal sense, they forcibly accommodated the language of the sacred writers to the inculcation of internal holiness and the regulation of the life. This is manifest from Guibert's Morals on Job, Amos, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah, as well as from others.

13. The passion for controversial philosophy or dialectics, which had seized both the Greeks and the Latins, rendered them both pugnacious. At the same time it led men far away from the true method of discussing religious subjects. For they did not argue for the sake of elucidating the truth, but to confound and silence their adversary with subtle distinctions, with words without meaning, with the authority of names, and even with sarcasms and fallacies. Among the Greeks, Euthymius Zigabenus composed a prolix work against all heresies, which he entitled Panoplia. But to say nothing of his vanity and extreme credulity, nearly all his proofs are derived, as was the common fault of that age, from the declarations of the earlier writers. Constantine Harmenopulus wrote a short book on the heretical sects. Zonaras inveighed against them in verse. Among the Latins, Honorius of Autun composed a book on the heresies, and Abelard attacked them all. The miserable and persecuted Jews were assailed by many of the Latins; by Gilbert of Castillon,[2] Odo, [of Cambray], Peter Alfonsus, Rupert of Duytz, Peter Maurice, Richard of St. Victor, and Peter of Blois; the merits of whose works can be easily estimated by those who consider the character of that age. Against the Saracens, Euthymius and some others appeared as polemics.

14. The contests between the Greeks and the Latins, the subjects of which have already been mentioned, were carried on with great spirit on both sides. On the part of the Greeks, Euthymius, Nicetas, and others; and on the part of the Latins, among others, Anselm of Havelburg, Hugo Etherianus, and others contended with zeal[3]. Negotiations for a compromise were repeatedly entered upon, both at Rome and at Constantinople, at the instance especially of the Greek emperors of the Comnenian family, who supposed the friendship of the Latins would be very serviceable to the Greeks in the almost desperate state of their public affairs. But as the Latins aimed at nothing short of absolute dominion over the Greeks, and as the Greek patriarchs could by no means be persuaded to subject themselves entirely to the Roman pontiffs and to anathematize their ancestors, these negotiations for peace had the effect rather of irritating the feelings and increasing the hostility of the parties, than of producing a reconciliation.

15. The minor contests need not detain us long. The Greeks by nature prone to contend and dispute, were almost never free from religious controversies. In this century, especially under Manuel Comne-

[1] See Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 223, 232, &c.; Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 343, &c. 415, 433; *Gallia Christiana.* tom. ii. p. 1175; Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 56; Petavius, *Dogmata Theologica*, tom. i. lib. i. cap. viii.; Longueval, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tome ix. p. 147, &c. [The acts of the councils which condemned the opinions of Gilbert, and which evince his great ingenuousness, are in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. par. ii. p. 1297.—*Schl.*

[2] Or Gilbert surnamed Crispin, a monk of Bec. See in the note, p. 414.—*Mur.*

[3] See Leo Allatius, *De Perpetua Consensione Ecclesiæ Orientalis et Occident.* lib. ii. cap. xi. &c. p. 644, &c.

nus, who was a learned and over-inquisitive emperor, some contests on religious subjects were excited by the emperor himself; and they produced more excitement among the oppressed people than was consistent with the welfare of the state. In the first place, a long dispute arose under this emperor, in what sense it might be said the incarnate God was at the same time the offerer and the sacrifice. After a protracted discussion, during which the emperor had maintained an opinion at variance with the prevalent belief, he at length yielded, and came over to the generally received opinion. The consequence was that many persons of high respectability, who had disagreed with the church, were deprived of their offices.[1] What opinion was maintained by the emperor, and what was held by the church on this subject, we are nowhere distinctly informed. But it is probable that the emperor and some other learned men, disagreed with the mass of the Greeks, in respect to the Lord's supper, and the oblation or sacrifice of Christ in that ordinance.

16. Some years afterwards a more violent dispute respecting the import of Christ's words, John xiv. 28, "My Father is greater than I," rent Greece into factions. As various explanations of this passage had long existed and some new ones were advanced about this time, the emperor who from an indifferent prince made but a poor theologian, added his explanation to the number; and summoning a council, he wished to obtrude it upon all as being the only true interpretation. He decided that these words of Christ refer to the created and passible flesh of Christ (κατὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ κτιστὴν καὶ παθητὴν σάρκα). And this decision engraved on tables of stone he set up in the great church, and made it a capital offence for any one to teach otherwise.[2] But the authority of this decree expired with the emperor, and Andronicus afterwards strictly prohibited all curious discussions on religion, and on this subject in particular.[3]

17. Near the close of his life the same emperor excited another controversy respecting the God of Mohammed. The catechetical books of the Greeks anathematized the ὁλόφυρον (spherical or globular shaped) and solid God of Mohammed. For thus the Greeks had translated the Arabic word *elsemed*, which is applied to God in the Koran, and which has indeed this signification though it also signifies eternal.[4] This execration the emperor ordered to be struck out of those books, as being very offensive to the Mohammedans converted to Christianity. The theologians resisted this order, alleging that it was not God in general, but the error of Mohammed respecting God which was anathematized; and that Mohammed affirmed God is not begotten nor doth he beget. After very tedious altercations and various attempts to settle the dispute, the bishops in a council consented that in the instruction of youth, the anathema should no longer be be levelled at the God of Mohammed but at Mohammed himself, his religion, and all his followers.[5]

18. Among the Latins different opinions were maintained, and not merely in the schools but also in books respecting the Lord's supper. For though all seemed disposed to shun connexion with Berengarius, yet many were not very far from him in sentiment, among whom may be named Rupert of Duytz and others,[6] inasmuch as the great Berengarian controversy had not yet plainly determined the mode of Christ's presence. This same Rupert was involved likewise in other controversies, and especially with Anselm of Laon and William of Champeaux, and with their disciples after their death respecting the will and omnipotence of God. The question was whether God wills and himself effects whatever takes place, or whether he only permits certain things which he would not have to be. Rupert maintained the latter, his opponents the former. He was also censured for teaching, among other erroneous things, that the angels were created from darkness, and that Christ at the last supper did not present his body to Judas.[7]

19. Besides these and other private contests, there was a public controversy, about the year 1140, respecting what is called the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary.[8]

[1] Nicetas Choniates, *Annales*, lib. vii. sec. v. p. 112, ed. Venice.

[2] Nicetas Choniates, *Annales*, lib. vii. sec. vi. p. 113.

[3] Nicetas, in *Andronico*, lib. ii. sec. v. p. 175.

[4] Reland, *De Religione Mohammedica*, lib. ii. sec. iii. p. 142. [This word *elsemed* occurs in the Koran, Sur. cxii. where all modern translators as well as the Mohammedan expositors understand it to mean eternal. The passage, as translated by Sale, is this: "Say, God is one God, the eternal God; he begetteth not, neither is he begotten; and there is not any one like unto him." It is probable that the Greek translator perverted the meaning of Mohammed, in order to render him ridiculous.—*Mur.*

[5] Nicetas Choniates, *Annales*, lib. vii. p. 113—116.

[6] Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 30, &c.

[7] See Mengoz, *Epistola*, published by Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 290; Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* [tom. v. p. 623, &c.] tom. vi. p. 20, 42, 168, 261, &c.

[8] The defenders of the immaculate conception maintained that the Virgin Mary was conceived in the womb of her mother with the same purity which is attributed to Christ's conception in her womb.—*Mack.*

At this time some French congregations began to observe the festal day consecrated to this conception; the English had observed it for some time previously, being led to it as is reported by Anselm of Canterbury. Of the more distinguished churches, that of Lyons was the first or among the first to observe this festival. St. Bernard being informed of the matter addressed a letter to the canons of Lyons on the subject, in which he severely censured their conduct and opposed the idea of such a conception. This brought on the controversy; some standing forth in defence of the Lyonnois and the festival, and others supporting the opinion of St. Bernard.[1] In this century, however, though the feelings of the parties grew warm, there was some moderation in the discussion. But after the Dominicans had fixed themselves in the university of Paris, the controversy was carried on with far more violence; the Dominicans defending the opinion of St. Bernard, and the university approving the practice of the church of Lyons.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

1. THAT both the public and private worship of God among the Greeks through the influence of superstition, was enriched with various additional minute rites, is well attested. And the same passion infected all the Christian communities of the East. Every distinguished individual among the patriarchs of the Greeks, the Nestorians, or the Jacobites, wished to immortalize himself by some change or amplification of the forms of worship. For, from various causes the spirit of true religion and piety being nearly extinct, their whole attention was directed to its external signs. One therefore ordered the prayers to be recited in a new manner, another changed the mode of singing, another ordained some new honours to be paid to the relics and images of the saints, and another endeavoured to improve the dress and manners of the priests.

2. What rites prevailed among the Latins in this century and how they were interpreted, may be learned from Rupert of Duytz, *De Divinis Officiis*. The plan of this work does not admit of a detailed account of the additions to the public ceremonials.[2] We therefore only remark that the veneration for the virgin Mary, which had before been excessive, was not a little increased after it began to be extensively inculcated that she was conceived immaculately. For although Bernard and others opposed this doctrine as has been stated, yet the judgment of the ignorant and superstitious multitude was much more effective, than the decisions of the better informed; and about the year 1138 a solemn festival was instituted in honour of this conception, though neither the author nor the place of this new solemnity is sufficiently known.[3]

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

1. THE Greeks and the other Oriental Christians of this century had sharp contests with various sorts of fanatics, who are represented as believing in a twofold Trinity, as rejecting matrimony and the eating of flesh, as despising all external worship of God, even baptism and the Lord's Supper, and as placing the life of religion exclusively in prayer, and holding that an evil demon dwells in the nature of all men which they must expel by incessant prayer. The author of this sect we are told was one Lucopetrus, whose principal disciple, Tychicus, is said to have put false interpretations upon many parts of the

[1] See Bernard's *Epistolæ*, clxxiv. tom. i. p. 170, &c.; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 135; Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 327; Colonia, *Hist. Littér. de la Ville de Lyon*, tome ii. p. 233, &c.

[2] We may add a few things to render the account more full. The adorning of churches with pictures and precious objects was carried farther and farther. Even the floors were painted and adorned with saints and angels. New churches were consecrated with sprinkling, inscriptions, anointing, lighting up candles, and with a blessing, perhaps also with singing. The decayed altars which were repaired must be consecrated anew. More than one altar was now to be found in the same church, for mention is made of the high altar. Altars were ornamented with gold, silver, precious stones, and costly pictures. Before the saints and images in the churches expensive lamps and candles were kept burning, which were to be put out only during three days preceding Easter. Baptism was no longer administered as formerly at certain seasons of the year, but as often as there were subjects presented. The holy supper was still given in both the elements. Clement III. ordained that none but unleavened bread should be used, and that the wine should be mixed with water. The bad custom of immersing the bread in the cup and then distributing it still continued. The doctrine of transubstantiation was very generally received in the Latin churches, and the adoration of the host was a natural consequence.—*Von Einem.* [We are informed by Alberic in his *Chronicon*, ad ann. 1200, that the Cistercian abbot Guido, whom the Pope had created a cardinal and despatched as his legate to Cologne, first introduced the practice at the elevation of the host in the mass, on a signal given by a bell, for the people to prostrate themselves and remain in that posture until the benediction on the cup; and that these bells attended the clergy in the administration of the sacrament to the sick, to give the signal for prostration. This new rite was also confirmed by a miracle; for a soldier prostrated himself in the mud to honour the sacrament as it passed along, and his clothes were not soiled.—*Schl.*

[3] Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 327, 412; *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 1198.

sacred volume, and especially upon the history of Christ as given us by Matthew.[1] It is certain that there had been for a very long time among the Greeks and Syrians, particularly among the monks, men of this description who were not perverse but rather beside themselves, and such still existed in this century. But credit cannot be given to all that is reported of them. And many reasons confirm the supposition that among these people there were many really pious and devoted Christians, who were offensive to the Greeks because they resisted the outrageous domination and the vices of the priesthood, and derided the monstrous mass of superstition which was sanctioned by public authority. The Greeks and the other nations of the East were accustomed to designate all persons of this description by the odious names of Messalians or Euchites, just as the Latins denominated all opposers of the Roman pontiffs Waldenses or Albigenses. But it should be noted that this name was very ambiguous among the Greeks and the Orientals, being applied promiscuously to all, honest or dishonest, wise or delirious, who disliked the public ceremonies, censured the vices of the clergy, and maintained that piety alone was essential.

2. From this class of persons it is said the Bogomiles originated, whose founder, one Basil a monk, when he could not be reclaimed was burnt alive at Constantinople under the emperor Alexius Comnenus.[2] What has been handed down to us respecting this man and his opinions, notwithstanding the Greeks have undoubtedly mixed some falsehoods with their statements, will satisfactorily show that his system was nearly allied to those of the ancient Gnostics and Manichæans. For he maintained that the world and human bodies were not created by God, but by an evil demon whom God cast out of heaven; and of course that our bodies are the prisons of our godlike spirits, and must therefore be subdued by fasting, contemplation, and other exhausting exercises, in order that the soul may regain its lost liberty; that marriage also should be avoided, and the kindred tenets which are well known and have been repeatedly stated. Hence also with the Gnostics and Manichæans, he denied that Christ the Son of God had a real body. He also rejected the law of Moses, and maintained that the human body at death reverts back to the mass of depraved matter, and has no prospect of a resuscitation. So many instances of men of this description occur both in ancient times and in the history of this age, that it is not at all strange one of them should have raised up a sect among the Greeks. The name of this sect was derived from the divine mercy which they are said to have incessantly implored. For in the language of the Mysians [Mœsians or Slavonians of Mœsia] Bogomilus is one who implores divine mercy.[3]

3. Among the Latins far more numerous sects existed. For as the defects of the public religion and the faults of the clergy were continually increasing; as the pontiffs in general neglected the most important duties of their office, and by various measures, particularly by their Indulgences, encouraged irreligion among the people; and as the bishops and the other clergy were more intent on gratifying their lusts than on promoting and diffusing real piety; honest men who had their own and others' salvation at heart could easily see, though not possessed of great discernment, that the

[1] See Euthymius, *Triumphus de Secta Messalianorum*, in Follius, *Insignia Itineris Italici*, p. 106—125. [Euthymius relates much that is fabulous in this book; that the original head of the Messalians was named Peter but that he called himself Christ; that he promised to appear again after his death, and thence obtained the nickname of Wolfpeter, Λυκόπετρος. For as his followers three days after his death were looking for his resurrection, the devil appeared to them in the form of a wolf. Tychicus also applied all the texts that speak of God the Father and the Holy Ghost to his spiritual father, Peter. As for the old Messalians, see this work, p. 171, &c.—*Schl.*

[2] The emperor devised a singular method for detecting the opinions of this man which would do honour to the Inquisition. Basil had sent out, after the example of Christ, twelve of his followers as his apostles, in order to propagate his doctrines. One of these named Diblatius was arrested, and he acknowledged that Basil was at the head of the sect. Basil was accordingly searched out and brought to the emperor, who received him very flatteringly, admitted him to his table, and called him his very dear father. Thus deceived, Basil disclosed to the emperor all the mysteries of his sect; and the emperor caused his whole disclosure to be written down by a stenographer who was concealed in the chamber for the purpose. The emperor now laid aside the character of a learner, and attempted to confute the opinions of the enthusiast, but he defended himself vigorously and was not to be terrified by menaces of death. Upon this the emperor commanded all Bogomiles who persevered in their opinions to be burned alive. Among these, Basil was one and was burned. This account is given us by Anna Comnena in the passage referred to in the following note.—*Schl.*

[3] See Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, lib. xv. p. 384, ed. Venice; Zonaras, *Annales*, lib. xviii. p. 336; Wolf, *Hist Bogomilorum*, Witteb. 1712. 4to; Andreas, *Diss. de Bogomilis*, in Volgt's *Bibliotheca Hist. Hæresiol.* tom. i. par. ii. p. 125, &c.; Heumann, *Diss. de Bogomilis*. [They were also called Phundaites, from the *phunda* or girdle which they were accustomed to wear. In the Slavonic language *Bog* signifies God, and *miloi* is equivalent to the Greek ἐλέησον, show mercy. Besides the tenets mentioned in the text they rejected image-worship, discarded all mysteries in the sacraments, also the historical books of the Old Testament, together with Solomon's writings, and likewise the conclusion of the Lord's prayer as being an interpolation, and they admitted no learned men among them. —*Schl.*

true religion of the gospel was lost, and they desired and attempted its restoration. But very few of them were competent to so great an undertaking as that of reforming the prevailing religion; for most of them were deficient both in talents and learning, and living in those times of ignorance they did not understand the Bible. Hence they were often as far from the religion of Christ, as taught in the sacred volume, as they were from the Roman religion, which they were so extravagant in censuring and reforming.

4. Among the sects of this age the first place is due to the Cathari, who have already been mentioned. Proceeding from Bulgaria they raised disturbance in nearly all the countries of Europe; and in all of them if apprehended, they were miserably put to death.[1] The religion of this sect had some affinity with that anciently professed by the Gnostics and Manichæans; and hence those who belonged to it were generally called by that name, though they differed on many points from the genuine Manichæans. They all agreed in the following opinions:—That evil originates from matter, that the creator of this world was a different being from the supreme God, that Christ had not a real body, nor was he truly born or crucified, that all human bodies are the work of an evil demon, and that they perish without a prospect of resuscitation; they denied that baptism and the holy supper are of any use; they enjoined an austere and rigorous mode of living, abstinence from flesh and all animal substances, from wine, and matrimony; they despised the books of the Old Testament and reverenced only the New Testament, especially the four Gospels; and to pass over several things, they believed that rational souls by a lamentable misfortune are enclosed in these bodies, and must be liberated from them by continence, fasting, coarse fare, and other mortifications.[2]

5. These sentiments, which they held in common, were explained and defined differently by their teachers, so that they were divided among themselves into sects; which however, as they were all subject to persecution, disputed with moderation and calmness. There were two principal sects among these Cathari. The one approached near to Manichæism and maintained two eternal first causes of all things, the God of light who was the father of Jesus Christ, and the prince of darkness by whom they supposed the visible world was created; the other party maintained but one first cause, the father of Jesus Christ and the supreme God, by whom they affirmed the first matter was produced; but they added to this that the evil demon, after his revolt from God, digested and separated this matter into the four elements, so that it could be formed into a world. The former held also that Christ, clad in celestial flesh, descended into Mary and received nothing from her substance; while the latter believed that Christ assumed in Mary, though not from Mary, a body which was not real but imaginary.[3] The sect which maintained two first causes was denominated, from the place where its principal bishop resided, the sect of Albano or the Albanensians; and it was subdivided into the adherents of Balazinansa, bishop of Verona, and the adherents of John de Lugio, bishop of Bergamo. The sect which maintained one first cause was divided into the church of Bagnolo, which is a town of Provence, and the association of Concorregio or Concorrezzo. To the church of Bagnolo or Baiolo belonged the community which resided in France, and bore the name of Albigensians.[4]

[1] See the compilations of D'Argentre, in his *Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus*, tom. i. to which however much more might be added respecting this universally persecuted and exterminated set of men. [For the history of this sect in the preceding century, see p. 385, &c.—*Mur.*

[2] Besides the writers hereafter quoted, see a *Disputatio inter Catholicum et Paterinum*, published by Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1703, &c. and Bonacursus, *Manifestatio Hæresis Catharorum*, in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, tom. i. p. 208, &c.

[3] See Moneta's *Summa adversus Catharos et Waldenses*, published by Richini, Rome, 1743, fol. with a dissertation prefixed, *De Catharis*, but which is of no great value. Moneta was a respectable writer for the age in which he lived. See lib. i. p. 2, 5, lib. ii. p. 247, &c. [Moneta is in general the best historical writer on this subject. He was of Cremona and of the earliest Dominicans, after having been long a professor at Bologna. He was still alive A.D. 1233.—*Schl.*

[4] Reinerius Saccho, *Summa de Catharis et Leonistis*, in Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdot.* tom. v. p. 1761, 1768. [Rayner himself lived seventeen years among the Cathari, and was a leader among them, which gives much weight to his history.—*Schl.*] Peregrinus Priscianus in Muratori's *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 93, where he gives a tabular view of the differences between these sects; yet he erroneously denominates those Albanenses whom he should have called Albigenses, and who were a branch of the Baiolensians: perhaps it was a mistake of the printer. The opinions of these Baiolensians or Bagnolensians may also be well learned from the *Codex Inquisitorius*, published by Limborch, with his *Historia Inquisitionis*. But what Limborch has himself written concerning the opinions of the Albigensians (*Hist. Inquis.* lib. i. cap. viii. p. 30, &c.) is inaccurate, and not free from errors. I have spent much time in examining these sects, and discriminating among them; a subject which the partialities of authors and other causes have greatly obscured. But there is not room here to enlarge. [According to a note of Fuessli, in his *Kirchen und Ketzerhistorie der mittlern Zeit*, vol. i. p. 128 (whose correctness however I cannot judge of), the Albigensians here mentioned must not be confounded with the Albigensians who appeared in Languedoc; for they lived at Alby in Montferrat.—*Schl.* [According to Rayner

6. The internal arrangements of this church had many singularities, which cannot be explained in a narrow compass. The government was administered by bishops; but each of these had two vicars attached to him, one of whom was called the elder and the other the younger son. The other teachers or priests were called (*Diaconi*) ministers.[1] All these, but especially the bishops and their sons, were held in immense veneration. And as their moral principles were peculiarly rigid and austere, and not suitable nor tolerable to all, it was necessary to divide their people, as the Manichæan congregations were anciently divided, into two classes, the comforted (*consolati*), and the associated or confederated (*fœderati*). The former exhibited a great show of piety, and led in celibacy a life of peculiar rigour and destitute of all common gratifications and conveniences. The latter, except observing a few rules, lived in the manner of other people; but they entered into a covenant which in Italian was called *covenenza*, that before they died, or at least in their last sickness, they would enter farther into the church and receive the consolation, which was their term for initiation.[2]

7. Of far better character than these was the presbyter Peter de Bruys, who about the year 1110 attempted a restoration of true religion in Languedoc and Provence, provinces of France; and having drawn many to follow him, after journeying and labouring for twenty years, was burned by the enraged populace at St. Giles, A.D. 1130. The whole system of doctrines inculcated by this Peter upon his followers, who from him were called Petrobrussians, is not known; yet there are five of his opinions which have reached us: I. That persons ought not to be baptized until they come to the use of reason. II. That it is not proper to build churches, and that such as are built should be pulled down. III. That the holy crosses ought to be destroyed. IV. That the body and blood of Christ are not distributed in the sacred supper, but only the signs of them. V. That the oblations, prayers, and good works of the living, do not profit the dead.[3]

8. He was followed by one Henry, perhaps an Italian,[4] an eremite monk, the parent of the sect of the Henricians.[5] From Lausanne, a city of Switzerland, he came to Mans; and being driven thence, he travelled through Poictiers, Bourdeaux, and the adjacent regions, and at last in the year 1147 came to Toulouse. Everywhere he boldly declaimed against the vices of the clergy and the defects of the prevailing religion, with the applause of the multitude. When ejected from Toulouse by St. Bernard, he took to flight; but was apprehended by some bishop, brought before Eugene III. the Roman pontiff, then holding a council at Rheims, and by him committed to prison, A.D. 1148, where he soon after died.[6] An accurate account of the doctrines of this man has also not come down to us. We only know that he too disapproved of infant baptism, inveighed severely against

there were sixteen communities or associations of Cathari; namely, the Albanensians or those of Donnezacho, the members of which were at Verona and in other parts of Lombardy, about 500 in all; those of Concorrezzo, spread over all Lombardy, and more than 1,500 in number; those of Basolo, at Mantua, Brescia, Bergamo, and in Milan; others at Vicenza, or in the margravate; in the territory of Florence; in the valley of Spoleto; the French at Verona and in Lombardy; at Toulouse; at Carcassone; in the region of Albi; the Slavonians; the Latins at Constantinople; the Greeks there; those at Philadelphia in Romania; the Burgalic and the Duguntic. In the whole world there were at that time not quite 4,000 Cathari. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 484.—*Mur.*

[1] See Reinerius Saccho, *Summa de Catharis*, p. 1766, &c.

[2] These statements may be substantiated from the writers who have been mentioned, especially from the *Codex Inquisit. Tolosanæ*, and others. [For a more full account of the Cathari, see Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 477, &c.; also the summary account by Neander, *Der heilige Bernard u. sein Zeitalter*, p. 235, 248.—*Mur.*

[3] See Peter the Venerable, *Contra Petrobrusianos*, in the *Bibliotheca Cluniacens.* p. 1117; Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 346, &c.; Basnage, *Hist. des Eglises Réformées*, period iv. p. 140, &c. [See also Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* tom. xxix. p. 515, &c. Almost the only source of all that is known of Peter de Bruys and his doctrine is the epistle or tract of Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, written expressly to confute the errors of Peter de Bruys, about A.D. 1141. This tract is printed in the *Biblioth. Cluniacens.* Paris, 1614, fol. p. 1117—1230; and in the *Biblioth. Max. Patrum Lugdunens.* tom. xxii. p. 1032, &c. The author states and confutes in as many chapters the five errors mentioned by Mosheim; and he says these were the chief errors disseminated by Peter de Bruys, though his disciple Henry advanced a great many others.—*Mur.* [See Neander's view of this individual in his *Der heil. Bernard u. sein Zeitalter*, Wrench's transl. p. 265, &c.—*R.*

[4] This is the conjecture of Mabillon in his Preface to the works of St. Bernard, sec. 6; but Henry may have been a Swiss, as Fuessli supposes, *ubi supra*, p. 214.—*Schl.*

[5] This name occurs often in a different application, denoting the adherents to the emperor Henry IV. in his contest with the popes respecting investitures. For, as is well known, the pope declared the principles of Henry in respect to investitures to be heresy; and his son, Henry V. had to adjure expressly the Henrician heresy. Thus, *e.g.* are his adherents denominated in the Acts of the council of Quedlinburg (Quintilmoburgense), A.D. 1085, in Harzheim's *Concil. Germ.* tom. iii. p. 200.—*Schl.*

[6] *Gesta Episcopor. Cenomanensium*, in Mabillon's *Analecta Veteris Ævi*, p. 315, &c. new ed. The epistle of Gaufrid inserted in the close of the sixth book of Mabillon's *Life of St. Bernard*, in the *Opp. Bernardi*, tom. ii. p. 1207; Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 71; Mabillon, Preface to the *Opp. Bernardi*, sec. 6; *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 346, 420, 434.

the corrupt morals of the clergy, despised the festal days and religious ceremonies, and held clandestine assemblies. Some represent him as being a disciple of Peter de Bruys, but on what authority they rely I do not know.[1]

9. While these persons were producing excitement in France, about the year 1115 one Tanquelin or Tanquelm, a man of no learning, produced very great commotions at Antwerp in Brabant, and collected a very numerous party. He was either deranged or a shameless villain, if credit is due to what his enemies say of him; for he travelled in great pomp, said he was God or the Son of God, ordered daughters to be debauched in presence of their mothers, and the like. But these statements are not merely hard to be believed, but absolutely incredible.[2] This Tanchelm seems to have imbibed the principles of the mystics, to have despised public worship, the sacred supper, and baptism, and to have held secret meetings for religious purposes. The cause of the numerous calumnies propagated against him probably was, that he, like others of this character, inveighed strongly against the priests and the whole clerical order. He was slain by one of the priests, but his sect did not die with him. It was however extinguished finally, it is said, by the celebrated St. Norbert, founder of the Premonstratensians.[3]

10. In Italy, Arnold of Brescia, a pupil of Peter Abelard, a man of learning and stern morals but of a restless temper, attempted a revolution both civil and ecclesiastical. Innocent II. compelled him, after being condemned in the Lateran council of 1139, to retire into Switzerland.[4] But he returned on the

[1] I cannot easily believe he was so; for, to mention no other argument, Peter de Bruys would not tolerate crosses; but Henry entered into a city bearing the standard of a cross in his own hand. See Mabillon, *Analecta*, p. 316, &c. [Peter, abbot of Cluny, however, expressly calls him an apostle of Peter de Bruys (in the *Biblioth. Cluniacens.* p. 1123): "qui duobus tantum homuncionibus Petro de Bruis et Henrico ejus pseudapostolo tam facile cessistis." Also, *ibid.* p. 1117, he says: "After that impious (Peter du Bruys) had been removed from one fire to another, from this transitory to an eternal, the heir to his wickedness (heres nequitiæ ejus) Henry, with I know not what others, did not reform but altered the diabolical doctrine; and as I saw written in a note-book containing his own words, he published not merely five but many errors. But as I have not yet full evidence that he thus thought or preached, I omit to confute them:" *i.e.* the additional errors.—How Henry altered or enlarged the doctrines of Peter does not appear. He seems to have been a very popular preacher against the vices of the clergy, and the formal heartless devotion of the age. And it is probable he dwelt more upon practical religion than doctrinal. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 517, &c. and Neander's *Der heil. Bernard u. sein Zeitalter*, p. 254—257.—*Mur.* [Wrench's transl. p. 269—282, a passage which is worthy of being carefully perused by the inquirer into this obscure portion of the history of the church.—*R.*

[2] The epistle of the church of Utrecht to bishop Frederick concerning Tanchelm, in Tengnagel's *Collectio Veterum Monumentor.* p. 368, &c.; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 98; Argentre, *Collectio Judicior. de Novis Erroribus*, tom. i. p. 10.

[3] Hugo, *Vie de S. Norbert*, liv. ii. p. 126; Van der Sterre, *Vita S. Norberti*, cap. 36, p. 164, and the notes of De Hertoghe upon it, p. 387, &c. [Abelard speaks of Tanchelm (*Introduct. ad Theologiam*, lib. ii. *Opp.* p. 1066), as a layman who had the folly to give himself out for the Son of God, and allow churches to be erected to his honour. He first travelled to Rome in the garb of a monk, accompanied by a priest, but returned soon after to Utrecht and there obtained many followers. As there was then no bishop at Utrecht, the clergy wrote to the archbishop of Cologne for aid against him, and in this famous letter they style him antichrist, and say he set at nought the pope, archbishops, bishops, and the whole clergy, distributed Christ with his own hands, and maintained that he and his followers were the only true church. They state that he first preached to the ignorant people on the sea-coast, gained over many women, with whom he had illicit intercourse, and by their means propagated his errors. He now preached in the fields to large assemblies, and was surrounded by a body-guard like a king, who attended him with arms and a banner. He despised the sacraments, dissuaded from attending the eucharist, and forbade paying tithes to the priests. At last he called himself God, because he had the Holy Ghost as really as Christ had. Some so revered his divinity that they used the water in which he washed as a sacrament. He betrothed an image of the Virgin Mary, and his followers contributed a splendid feast for the occasion. In short the letter says, the enormities of Tanchelm and his followers are innumerable; and they have brought the public worship into such contempt that the person who most despises it is esteemed the best saint.—From Utrecht Tanchelm went to Antwerp (according to the author of the Life of St. Norbert), and was attended by 3,000 armed men. At length, about A.D. 1124 or 1125 a priest slew him. But his followers could not be brought to renounce his errors till St. Norbert came among them. "If we give credit to these statements," says Schroeckh (*Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 653), "though they appear somewhat overcharged, Tanchelm was both a madman and a villain, who scarcely deserves to be mentioned in a history of religion. Mosheim supposed he was a mystic who despised external worship, and severely lashed the vices of the clergy. But for this position there is not sufficient testimony."—*Mur.*

[4] Arnold is not named in the canons of this council. The twenty-third reads thus: "Eos—qui religiositatis speciem simulantes, Domini corporis et sanguinis sacramentum, baptisma puerorum, sacerdotium, et ceteros ecclesiasticos ordines, et legitimarum damnant fœdera nuptiarum, tanquam hæreticos ab ecclesia Dei pellimus et damnamus, et per potestates exteras coërcere præcipimus." Thus it refers rather to Peter de Bruys. [For it recounts his errors. Besides, it excommunicates the persons referred to, and delivers them over to the secular sword; but Arnold was not excommunicated nor committed to the executioner at this time.—*Mur.*] Yet Otto of Freysingen (ad ann. 1139), expressly states that Arnold, as well as the Petrobrussians, was condemned by this council. He was also banished from Italy, and forbidden to return without permission from the pope. Gunther, in his *Ligurinus*, lib. iii. v. 275, where he states his doctrines, makes this just remark: "He gives us many just rebukes mixed with false ones; but our times would not bear faithful admonitions." After his banishment Arnold went first into France to Abelard; and from him to Guido, the papal legate, who not long after was himself pope, under the name of Cœlestine II. But St. Bernard persecuted him wherever he could find him, and compelled him to escape incarceration by fleeing to Zurich, where he became a teacher and was much listened to. Presently a letter was despatched from St. Bernard to the bishop of Constance, warning him to banish Arnold out of his diocese. After residing about five years at Zurich he returned to Rome, A.D. 1145, at a time when

death of Innocent, and gave great trouble to the new pontiff Eugene. After various fortunes he was seized, and in the year 1155 crucified by the Prefect of Rome, and his body burnt to ashes. The unhappy man does not appear to have attempted any violence or injury to religion; but perceiving the immense evils and discords which arose from the vast riches of the pontiffs, bishops, and priests, he thought the interests of the church and of the world required that the clergy should be stripped of their possessions, prerogatives, and revenues. He therefore maintained that all the wealth of the Roman pontiff, and also of the bishops and the monks, ought to be transferred to the civil authorities, and nothing be left for any of the ministers of God but their spiritual powers, and the tithes and voluntary gifts of Christians.[1] Venerable on several accounts he had numerous followers, who from him were called Arnoldists, and who in subsequent times often showed themselves as occasion permitted.[2]

11. But of all the sects which arose in this century none was more famous or obtained higher reputation for probity and innocence even with its enemies, and none could count more disciples, than that which was called from its founder the Waldensians; from the place where it originated, the Poor Men of Lyons or the Leonists; and from the wooden shoes worn by its teachers and the mark upon them, Insabbatati or Sabbatati.[3] Peter a rich merchant of Lyons in France, born at Vaux or Valdum or Validium, a town in the marquisate of Lyons, and therefore called Valdensis or Validisius, being a very pious man procured the translation of certain books of the Scripture, especially the four Gospels, and of various passages from the fathers, from Latin into French after A.D. 1160, by the hand of Stephen de Evisa, a priest of Lyons.[4] By attentively reading these books, he learned that the religion then commonly taught to the people in the Romish church differed altogether from that which Jesus Christ himself and his Apostles taught; and earnestly desiring salvation he distributed his property among the poor, and in the year 1180 with some other pious men whom he had associated with him, he took upon himself the office of a preacher. The archbishop of Lyons and the other prelates opposed this proceeding. But the simple and holy religion which these good men professed, the spotless innocence of their lives, and their contempt for all riches and honours, so touched the multitude who had some sense of religion, that they readily adhered to them.[5] Hence they set up

the citizens of Rome had been long struggling to restore the ancient consular government, and to free themselves from the civil authority of the pope. These disturbances Arnold promoted under the reigns of Eugene III. and Anastasius IV. But Hadrian IV. excommunicated him and ordered him into exile. Arnold laughed at it so long as the citizens supported him. At last the pope laid the city under an interdict [the first which was ever laid on Rome], and compelled the citizens to give up supporting Arnold. He had now to leave Rome, and went into Campania, where the margrave and the people revered him as a man of God. In the year 1155, the emperor Frederick I. was advancing towards Rome, and entered into a negociation with the pope respecting his approaching coronation. Here the pope stipulated, that Frederick should deliver Arnold of Brescia into his hands. Frederick fulfilled the stipulation, and Arnold was strangled to death; and to prevent the people from paying veneration to his corpse, it was burned, and the ashes thrown into the Tiber.—*Schl.* [See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxvi. p. 110, &c. 131, 153, &c.—*Mur.*

[1] See Otto of Freysingen, *De Gestis Friderici* I. lib. ii. cap. xx.; St. Bernard, *Epist.* 195, 196, tom. i. p. 187, &c.; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 157; Muratori, *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclésiastique*, p. 137, &c.; Bunau, *Vita Friderici* I. p. 41; Chauffepié, *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. Crit.* tome i. p. 482.

[2] For an account of Bernard's controversy with Arnold, see Neander's *Der heil. Bernard u sein Zeitalter*, Wrench's transl. p. 169, &c.; and of his political career see Milman's Gibbon's *Decl. and Fall*, &c. vol. xii. p. 263, &c. Gieseler in his *Lehrbuch*, &c. refers to several recent German writers who have treated of his history and theological views; see Cunningham's transl. vol. ii. p. 183, note 5.—*R.*

[3] They were called Leonists because they originated at Leona, so Lyons was called in that age. The more perfect among the Waldensians wore mean or wooden shoes, which in French are called sabots; and likewise the sign of the cross upon their sabots to distinguish them from others. And hence the names of Sabbatati [shod with sabots], and Insabbatati [marked on their sabots]. See Du Fresne, *Glossarium Lat. Med.* tom. vi. p. 4, art. *Sabbatati*; Eymericus, *Directorium Inquisitorum*, par. iii. No. 112, &c.

[4] See Stephen de Borbone, *De Septem Donis Spiritus Sancti*, in Echard and Quetif's *Bibliotheca Scriptor. Dominicanor.* tom. i. p. 192. An anonymous tract, *De Hæresi Pauperum de Lugduno*, in Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdot.* tom. v. p. 1777. [Stephen de Borbone calls the translator employed by Waldus, Stephen of Ansa, and others, of Emsa. And I suspect that Mosheim wrote Emsa, though by an error of the press Evisa occurs in both the old and the new edition of his Institutes. In placing the commencement of Waldus's attempt to reform religion after the year 1160, Mosheim has followed Moneta. But Stephen of Borbone says: "This sect began about the year of Christ 1170 under John, called Bolesmanis, archbishop of Lyons."—*Schl.*

[5] Those who assign a different origin to the Waldensians, and particularly those who say they were so called from the valleys in which they had lived many ages before the time of Peter Waldus, have no authorities for their opinion and are refuted by all the historians. [This opinion was first advanced by Beza, and John Leger (in his *Hist. Générale des Eglises Vaudoises*) has taken all pains to make it appear plausible. But they are well confuted by Fuessli, in his *Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie der mittlern Zeit*, vol. i. p. 295, &c.—*Schl.*] I will readily grant that long before these times there had been resident in the valleys of Piedmont, persons who rejected the prevailing opinions of the Romish church, and who agreed in many things with the Waldensians. But those inhabitants of the valleys must be distinguished from the [proper] Waldensians or followers of Peter Waldus, whom all the writers represent to have originated at Lyons and to have derived their name from this Peter Waldus. [Maclaine here boldly attacks the opinions of Mosheim, and citing some of the arguments of Leger asserts the higher antiquity of the Waldensians, from whom he says Peter

societies, first in France and then in Lombardy; and these multiplied and spread with amazing rapidity through all the countries of Europe, nor could they be exterminated entirely by any punishments, whether by death or by other forms of persecution.[1]

12. Peter Waldus and his associates did not aim so much to change the system of religion or to inculcate new articles of faith, as to restore the form of the church, the morals of the clergy, and the lives of Christians, to that primitive and apostolic simplicity which they thought they had learned, particularly from the words of Christ. They therefore taught that in the time of Constantine the Great the Romish church had degenerated from its original purity and sanctity; they denied the supremacy of the Roman pontiff; they would have the rulers and ministers of the church imitate the poverty of the apostles, and procure their own frugal and slender sustenance by manual labour; they asserted that authority to teach, to confirm, and to admonish their brethren, was to a certain extent given to all Christians; the ancient penitential discipline which was nearly subverted by the grants of indulgences—that is, the making satisfaction for sins by prayer, fasting, and liberality to the poor—

of Lyons derived the name of Waldus. It is of little consequence whether Peter Waldus gave name to the sect of the Waldensians or derived his own name from them; but the origin and antiquity of the sect are of more importance. On this subject Schroeckh (in his *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 527, &c.) makes the following remarks. As to their age and origin, the ground of their separation from the Romish church, and especially whether they were heretics or reformers, there has been the more controversy between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, because the interests of their respective churches were involved in the discussions. But these party and polemical narratives which have done so much harm to history are becoming more and more rare; and we purpose to state only what the lovers of truth of both parties may approve. It was usual formerly to trace the origin of the Waldenses to a very high antiquity; and it must be acknowledged that a writer of the thirteenth century who has been already mentioned first as a partisan and then an opposer of the Cathari, Reinerius Saccho, has given occasion for this opinion. In his *Liber adv. Waldenses*, cap. iv. (in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxv. p. 262, &c.) he writes concerning them, under one of their appellations (*Pauperes de Lugduno*), "Their sect has been the most injurious of all to the church of God, on account of their antiquity; for they, according to some, originated in the times of the Romish bishop Silvester, in the fourth century; and according to others, existed as early as the days of the Apostles." But neither Rainerius nor the records of history give the least ground for this assertion, which he seems to have borrowed solely from some Waldensians. In more modern times various arguments have been adduced to support the same position. Especially has one of the principal historians of the Waldensians, himself once a preacher among them in the 17th century, John Leger, in his French work (*Hist. Générale des Eglises Evangéliques des Vallées de Piemont, ou Vaudoises*, Leyden, 1669, 2 tome fol.) given himself much trouble to prove that they existed long before the twelfth century. He first cites some ancient and modern historians who are thought to have found traces of them, but who were either too recent to be good witnesses in the case, or have confounded the Manichæans of the eleventh century and other opposers of the church of Rome with the Waldensians. The opinion he adopted from Beza, that these people of his own religion derived their name from the valleys (Vallées, or in their own language Vaux) in which most of them resided, is a mere conjecture founded on the resemblance of the words; though it has long been admitted that for centuries there had existed in the valleys of Piedmont various sorts of people, who were not in communion with the Romish church. Equally unsupportable is the assertion of Leger that the Waldensians were descended from Claudius, the famous bishop of Turin in the 9th century. With more plausibility he argues their high antiquity from a poem written in the Provençal dialect and entitled, *The Noble Lesson* (*La Noble Leyçon*) which was supposed to be the production of a Waldensian, about A.D. 1100. The very name Waldensians (Vaudés) occurs in it. But Fuesslin, who has the most fully investigated this subject (*ubi supra*, p. 299, &c.) has shown that this poem may have been written long after the year 1100, and can hardly have been composed by an inhabitant of the valleys of Piedmont. Gieseler in his Text-book, vol. ii. sec. lxxxv. note 10, shows that the 1100 years mentioned in this poem are to be reckoned, not from the Christian era, but from the composition of the Apocalypse; so that the poem professes to have been written near the end of the 12th century. Basnage also has made Claudius (whom he misrepresents as separating from the communion of the Romish church) to be the father of the Waldensians, and has used other invalid proofs of their high antiquity (*Hist. de l'Eglise*, tome ii. p. 1434). In an essay (subjoined to the German translation of Fleury's *Hist. de l'Eglise*, vol xi. p. 486, &c.) on the community which was persecuted under the name of the Manichæans, the same opinion is maintained; and for proof of it a Waldensian confession of faith is relied on, which without any proof is assigned to the year 1120. And in the latest histories of the Waldensians by Protestants in Germany, we find this high antiquity of the sect assumed but not proved. The writers on the contrary who lived about the middle of the 13th century, several of whom were personally acquainted with the men who had been active in producing the sect of the Waldensians, unitedly tell us that it was Peter Waldus (called also Valdo, Valdensis, and in his native language probably Vaud), a rich citizen of Lyons, who gave between the years 1160 and 1180 both existence and an appellation to this sect.—*Mur.* [Mr. Maitland, formerly mentioned in connexion with the Paulicians (see the note in p. 323, above), supports the modern origin of the Waldenses and represents them as believers in most of the prevalent errors of the papal system. See his *Facts and Documents*, &c. On the other hand Mr. Faber, without noticing this work of Mr. Maitland, vindicates the antiquity of the Waldenses as a body of protesting dissidents against Romanist corruptions, in his *Inquiry into the History and Theology of the Ancient Vallenses and Albigenses* referred to in the above note. See Gieseler, *Lehrbuch*, &c. the whole of section 85, in Cunningham's translation, vol. ii. p. 376, &c. and also p. 398; Waddington's *Hist. of the Church*, vol. ii. p. 181, &c. and vol. iii p. 371.—*R.*

[1] See, in addition to the ancient writers concerning the Waldensians, *e.g.* Reinerius Saccho, *Summa contra Valdenses*; Moneta, *Summa contra Catharos et Valdenses*, published a few years since at Rome by Richini; the tract, *De Hæresi Pauperum de Lugduno*, published by Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1777, &c.; Pilichdorf, *Contra Valdenses*, in the *Biblioth. Max. Patrum*, tom. xxv. and many others; Perrin, *Hist. des Vaudois*, Geneva, 1619, 8vo [also in English, Lond. 1624, 4to.—*Mur.*] Leger, *Hist. Générale des Eglises Vaudoises*, liv. i. chap. xiv. p. 156; Usher, *De Successione Ecclesiar. Occidental.* cap. viii. p. 209, &c.; Basnage, *Hist. des Eglises Réformées*, tome i. period. iv. p. 329, &c.; Richini, *Diss. de Waldensibus*, prefixed to Moneta's *Summa*, p. 34; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 292, and many others [especially Fuessli, *ubi supra*, vol. i. p. 293, 354.—*Schl.* [Also Gieseler's *Text-book* by Cunningham, *ubi supra*, and Hallam's *Middle Ages*, chap. ix. part ii. vol. ii. p. 319.—*Mur.*

they wished to see restored; and these satisfactions on which they laid great stress they believed any devout Christian could enjoin upon those that confessed; so that it was not necessary for people to confess their sins to priests, but only to lay open their transgressions to individual brethren and look to them for advice; the power of forgiving sins and remitting their punishment they held to belong to God only, and therefore that indulgences were an invention of base avarice; they regarded prayers and other rites performed on behalf of the dead to be useless ceremonies, because departed souls are not detained and subjected to a purgation in some intermediate region, but are immediately after death either taken into heaven or sent to hell. These and such as these were the doctrines they inculcated. Their morals were very strict, for they explained our Saviour's sermon on the mount according to the literal import of the words; and therefore disapproved altogether of war, lawsuits, efforts to acquire wealth, capital punishments, taking any oath, or defending one's life or limbs against offered violence.[1]

13. The Waldensian church was governed by bishops whom they styled Majorales or elders, and presbyters and deacons; for they supposed these orders instituted by Christ. But all these officers were to be like the apostles, that is, uneducated men and absolutely poor or possessing no property, and also labourers who procured their sustenance by the work of their hands.[2] The people [or laity] were divided into the perfect and the imperfect; the former of whom voluntarily relinquished all their possessions, exhibited their absolute poverty in the manner of their dress, and emaciated their bodies by frequent fasting; while the latter lived more generously and more like other people, yet without any splendour or luxury, very much in the manner of the more strict Mennonites. There was however some disagreement among these Waldenses, and especially between those of Italy or Lombardy and the Ultramontanes, or those living in France and the other countries of Europe. The former looked upon the Romish church as a real church of Christ, though greatly corrupted; they admitted the validity of its seven sacraments, and offered to continue in its communion provided they might live in their own way. But the latter maintained that the Church of Rome had apostatized from Christ, was destitute of the Holy Spirit, and was that Babylonian harlot mentioned by St. John.[3]

14. Besides these larger sects which had numerous friends and advocates, many other smaller and more obscure ones started up, especially in Italy and France, but which seem soon to have become extinct.[4] In Italy and especially in Lombardy, which was the principal seat of heretics, a singular party spread itself among the people denominated, though I cannot say why, the Pasagini or Pasagii, and also the Circumcised, which in common with the other sects was averse from the Romish church and its regulations, but was also specially distinguished by two peculiarities of sentiment. First, they taught that the law of Moses ought to be observed under the New Testament with the exception of the sacrifices; and accordingly they practised circumcision, abstained from the meats prohibited by Moses, observed the sabbath of the Jews, and the like. Secondly, they corrupted the doctrine of three persons in the divine nature, and taught that Christ was only the first and a spotless creature of God; a sentiment the

[1] See especially the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanæ*, published by Limborch; Moneta's *Summa contra Valdenses*, and the other writers of those times on the opinions of the Waldensians. Though some of them are more accurate than others, and some ascribe more and others fewer peculiarities to the sect, yet in general they admit the piety and the blameless lives of the Waldensians; and they plainly show that the sect offered no violence to the common faith of Christians, but only urged a return to the ancient practices of Christians, and opposed the defects in the public worship and in the conduct of the clergy. [And hence Peter Waldus himself did not renounce the Romish church. On the contrary, in the year 1179 he sent two of his followers to the council of the Lateran, who presented to the pope a copy of his translations from the Old and New Testaments, with notes and expositions of his own, and requested permission to preach and instruct people in religion. Alexander III. examined them and forbade their preaching, because they were illiterate. They made a similar attempt under pope Lucius III. but without success. On the contrary, this pope excommunicated them in the year 1184. See Fuessli, *ubi supra*, p. 335. *Schl.*—[One application to the pontiff for his approbation, the abbot of Ursperg (in his *Chronicon*, ad ann. 1212), says, he himself was witness to. See Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. par. ii. p. 1692. The decree of Lucius III. excommunicating the Waldensians, A.D. 1183, is in Harduin, *ubi supra*, p. 1878.—*Mur.*

[2] A large proportion of them got their living by weaving; and hence the sect was called in some places that of the Weavers, in French *Tisserands*.

[3] Moneta, *Summa contra Catharos et Valdenses*, p. 406, 416, and elsewhere. They appear likewise not to have had the same views in regard to the possession of property, as appears from Stephen de Borbone, in Echard's *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 191. He divides the Waldenses, in other words indeed but amounting to the same thing, into the Poor Men of Lyons (these were the Ultramontanes), and the Poor Men of Lombardy. The former forbade all possession of property, the latter allowed of such possession. There are other passages in the ancient writers which confirm this distinction.

[4] On the various more obscure sects, see Stephen de Borbone, in Echard's *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 191.

less surprising considering the multitude of Arians there had been in Italy antecedently to this period.[1]

15 In France, a class of persons who were called Caputiati from the covering worn on their heads, roamed about Burgundy, the region of Auxerre, and some other parts, producing excitement among the people. These people wore upon their hats or caps a leaden image of the Virgin Mary; and they wished to restore the primeval liberty of mortals and universal equality, to the exclusion of all subordination and civil authority. This madness was suppressed by Hugo, bishop of Auxerre, not with arguments but by military force.[2] Very different from these were the Apostolici, whom St. Bernard assailed with great earnestness. They bore this name generally according to Bernard, their adversary, because they wished to exemplify in their conduct the apostolic mode of living. They were for the most part rustics and people of low condition, who earned their food and clothing by weaving; but they had numerous and great friends and supporters of every rank and order. Their religion, according to the confession of their adversary himself, was free from errors, and their life was most blameless. Yet (1.) they deemed it unlawful to take an oath. (2.) They suffered their hair and beards to grow long. (3.) Though they had separate dwelling-houses they assembled together for labour and for worship. (4.) They preferred celibacy to marriage, and called themselves the chaste brethren and sisters. But (5.) each of the men had with him some sister after the manner of the apostles, with whom he lived familiarly, sleeping in the same chamber, though not in the same bed.[3]

16. At the council of Rheims, A.D. 1148, in which Pope Eugene III. presided, a certain man named Eon of Bretagne, and who was undoubtedly deranged, was condemned. Having heard in the common formula for exorcising evil spirits, these words pronounced—"Per *Eum*, &c. by him who will come to judge the quick and the dead," he concluded from the resemblance between the word *Eum* and his own name that he was the person who was to judge the quick and the dead. This senseless man should have been given over to the physicians, and not have been classed among the heretics. He died in prison; but many of his followers, who could not be dissuaded from reverencing him, were burned at the stake.[4] This single example clearly shows how little sound sense and correct knowledge of religion then existed, even among the rulers of the church.

[1] See Bonacursus, *Manifestatio Hæresis Catharorum*, in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, tom. i. p. 211, new ed.; Gerh. Bergamensis, *Contra Catharos et Pasagios*, in Muratori's *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 151, &c. [Fuessli, in his *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie der Mittlern Zeit*, vol. i. p. 46, assigns a very probable cause of the appellation *Pasagini*, supposing it equivalent to *Passagieri* and *Passagers, i.e. Roamers*, in Greek ἄστατοι; which appellation the Greeks had given to a sort of Manichæans, according to the account of Peter of Sicily, in his *History of the Manichæans*, in the *Biblioth. Max. Patrum*, tom. xvi. p. 814. *Schl.*—[Another conjecture is, that they assumed the name of Pasagii, derived from the Greek Πᾶς ἅγιος, all holy. Their practising circumcision will account for their being called Circumcisi, the Circumcised.—*Mur.*

[2] Le Bœuf, *Mémoires sur l' Hist. d' Auxerre*, tome i. p. 317, &c. [Robert de Monte in his Appendix to Sigebertus Gemblacensis, says, the commencement of this sect was in the year 1182.—*Schl.* [See a more full account of them in Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 636, &c.—*Mur.*

[3] St. Bernard, *Sermo* lxv. *in Canticum*, *Opp.* tom. iv. p. 1495, &c. ed. Mabillon. [A similar class of people who wished to revive the apostolical mode of living, appeared in the neighbourhood of Perigord in Guienne, as we learn from the letter of a monk named Heribert, inserted in Mabillon's *Analecta*, tom. iii. p. 467. But these went still farther. They abhorred images and the mass, and had priests, monks, and nuns, in their community. Their leader was named Lucius, and among their adherents they could reckon some of the nobility.—*Schl.*

[4] William of Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 68; William Neubrigensis, *Hist. Rerum Anglicar.* lib. i. p. 50; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 241. [He was a wealthy nobleman, of pleasing address, and drew a great number after him. With these he sometimes travelled rapidly over the country with great display; then retiring to places of obscurity, lived in luxury with his attendants. The lawlessness of the party and the multitudes who were captivated with them, led to his apprehension and imprisonment, and to the execution of his obstinate adherents. See William Neubrigens. *ubi supra*, and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 653, &c.—*Mur.*

CENTURY THIRTEENTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

1. ALTHOUGH that powerful emperor of the Tartars or rather the Moguls, Genghis Khan and his successors, who had carried their victorious arms through a great part of Asia, and had conquered China, India, Persia, and many other countries, greatly disturbed and distressed the Christians resident in those countries,[1] yet it appears from the most unquestionable testimony that numerous bodies of Nestorian Christians were still scattered over all northern Asia and China. The emperors of the Tartars and Moguls were themselves not particularly averse from Christianity; and some of their [subordinate] kings and chieftains had either retained this religion, which they received from their ancestors, or were converted to it by the preaching of the Nestorians.[2] Yet gradually many of them became infected with the Mohammedan religion, which at length banished Christianity entirely from their camps and courts.

2. As these Tartars from the year 1241 invaded Europe also, and cruelly harassed and devastated Hungary, Poland, Silesia, and the neighbouring countries, the Roman pontiffs thought proper to attempt a pacification with these new and ferocious enemies. Accordingly, in the year 1245 Innocent IV. sent several Dominicans and Franciscans as his legates to the Tartars.[3] Afterwards Abaka, emperor of the Tartars, in the year 1274 sent envoys to Europe to the council of Lyons, under Gregory X.[4] Nicolaus III. also in the year 1278 sent some Franciscans as legates to Coblai, the emperor of the whole nation. And in the year 1289 Nicolaus IV. sent to the same emperor John de Monte Corvino with some others, who also carried letters to the Nestorians. Nor were these legates wholly unsuccessful; for they instructed many both of the Tartars and of the Nestorians in the principles of the Roman religion, and gathered Christian churches not only in Tartary but also in China. To facilitate this business, John de Monte Corvino translated the books of the New Testament and the Psalms of David into the language of the Tartars.[5]

[1] Gregory Abulpharajus, *Historia Dynastiar.* p. 281, &c.

[2] See Marco Paolo, the Venetian, *De Regionibus Oriental.* lib. i. cap. iv. and lib. ii. cap. vi. and in many other places; Haytho, the Armenian, *Hist. Oriental.* cap. xix. p. 35, cap. xxiii. p. 39, cap. xxiv. p. 41, &c.; Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 526, and others; especially the *Hist. Tartarorum Eccles.* composed under my superintendence, and published at Helmstadt, 1742, 4to, which I may perhaps enlarge considerably in a future edition. [This purpose was never accomplished.—*Schl.*

[3] See Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 116, 149, 175, 256.

[4] Wadding, *ubi supra*, tom iv. p. 35, tom. v. p. 128, &c. See this whole subject copiously and critically discussed in the above cited *Hist. Tartarorum Eccles.* which however might be much enlarged, and in some particulars corrected. [The subjects briefly and summarily stated in this section fill about seventy pages 4to of text, and the documents fill as many pages more of the Appendix to Mosheim's *Hist. Tartaror. Eccles.* —*Mur.*

[5] Raynald, *Annales Eccles.* tom. xiv. ad ann. 1278, sec. xvii. &c. p. 282, and ad ann. 1289, sec. 59, &c. p. 419, ed. Cologne; Peter Bergeron, *Traité des Tartares*, chap. xi. p. 61, and many others, cited in the *Hist. Tartaror. Eccl.* [Genghis-Khan conquered in battle Un-Khan, the fourth and last of the Christian kings in central Asia who bore the name of Prester John, in the year 1202. He now commenced his career of conquest, and during 25 years carried his victorious arms from the Chinese Sea to the Euphrates and the Euxine. His four sons harmoniously preserved the unity of the new empire, and extended and consolidated it. In the East, all northern China as well as Tibet and the countries bordering on Hindostan, were subdued. In the West, the countries from the Indus onward, including Persia, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Georgia, and the whole region about the Caspian, with the southern part of Russia in Europe, were permanently occupied; and Poland, Hungary, and part of Silesia, as well as Siberia and all northern Asia, were overrun and devastated, and then abandoned. This vast empire of the Moguls, while united, was subject to the great Khan or emperor, who resided first in Chinese Tartary and then at Pekin. The central and western provinces were governed by dependent sovereigns or viceroys, who were for the most part the sons and descendants of Genghis, and of course the brothers and relatives of the great Khan. After a very few generations, however, the principal of the provincial governors became nearly or altogether independent sovereigns; and three of them, the Khans of Kipzack and Russia, the Khans of Zagatai or Transoxiana, and the Khans of Iran or Persia, were lords of extensive empires. Genghis and

3. The same pontiffs made every effort in their power to sustain the interests of the Latins in Syria and Palestine, which were now nearly ruined; for as these pontiffs had learned by experience the great advantage to themselves, and the increase of their grandeur and authority, arising from these Asiatic wars waged under the pretence of religion, they were very solicitous to have them continued.[1] The first expedition was proclaimed by Innocent III.[2] Few however of the Europeans obeyed his summons. After various efforts, which were fruitless in most countries, some French nobles, having formed a league with the Venetian republic, put to sea with a very moderate force. The issue of this expedition was by no means such as the pontiff had anticipated. For these French and Venetians did not direct their course to Palestine, but to Constantinople, which they stormed in the year 1203, for the sake of restoring the emperor Isaac Angelus, who had implored their aid against the violence and usurpations of his brother Alexius. The next year a bloody sedition took place at Constantinople, in which the emperor Isaac died, and his son, Alexius junior, was strangled by Alexius Ducas, the author of the insurrection. On hearing of this parricide the generals of the crusaders again took possession of Constantinople on the 12th of April, A.D. 1204; and putting the tyrant Ducas to flight, they elected Baldwin, count of Flanders, emperor of the Greeks. In opposition to this Latin emperor, the Greeks created two years after another of their own nation, Theodorus Lascaris, who fixed his residence at Nice in Bithynia. From this period till the year 1261 there were two emperors of the Greeks, the one a Frank or Latin, and the other a Greek, of whom the latter resided at Nice, and the former made Constantinople his capital. But in the year 1261 the Greek emperor, Michael Palæologus, by means of his General, Cæsar Alexius, recovered Constantinople, and obliged the Latin emperor, Baldwin II. to flee into Italy. Thus terminated the empire of the Franks at Constantinople, after it had stood fifty-seven years.[3]

4. The next crusade was undertaken by the united forces of the Italians and Germans under the pontiff Honorius III. A.D. 1217.[4] The commander-in-chief was Andrew, king of Hungary, with whom were Leopold of Austria, Lewis of Bavaria, and other princes. Andrew after a few months returned to Europe. The other generals captured the strongly fortified city of Damietta in Egypt, A.D. 1220. But their

the succeeding emperors, as well as most of their viceroys in the West, were tolerant towards all religions; and they encouraged men of talents of every religion, warriors, statesmen, physicians, artists of various kinds, and men of letters. Hence, in their courts and camps, and in places of high trust in every part of the empire, were to be found Christians, Mohammedans, Jews, and Pagans, all enjoying the free use of their religion. Many Europeans, as Marco Paolo, the Venetian, and others, travelled freely from the Bosphorus to China; and in no age probably have the Europeans had so free access to the central parts of Asia as in this century. Genghis himself married a daughter of Prester John, and several of his descendants had Christian wives. Till near the close of the century most of the Mogul princes, though tolerant to all religions, were rather partial to that of the Christians. And this afforded to the Nestorians (the prevailing sect in those countries) a fine opportunity to propagate their religion all over the East, and particularly in China. The Roman pontiffs also sent not only ambassadors but missionaries, chiefly Franciscan and Dominican monks, quite to Pekin and China; and in that country they gathered some churches, and at length established an archbishop (John de Monte Corvino), with several suffragans. Much greater success would doubtless have now attended the efforts of Christians in China and throughout the empire, had they been united. But the Roman Catholics and the Nestorians strove to undermine each other; and the Tartar Khans were the protectors of each in turn against the other. Moreover the wars of these Tartars with the Saracens of Syria and Arabia, and with the sultans of Egypt who oppressed the Christians of Palestine and the East, led them frequently to march armies into Syria, and to solicit alliances with the Christians of Europe against those Mohammedans their common enemies; and this was the cause of frequent embassies between the Moguls and the European sovereigns. But near the close of the century the Mohammedan religion gained the ascendancy, especially in the western parts of the Mogul empire; and the Khans themselves now leaned towards it, and in some instances allowed the Christians to be persecuted. In general however this empire was favourable to the Christian cause in Asia during this century; and had the Christians who attempted the propagation of their religion possessed more of its true spirit, and made united and vigorous efforts, they might probably have now converted more than half of Asia to the Christian faith, and perhaps have established a broad zone of permanent Christian light and influence, from Asia Minor quite to the Chinese seas. See Mosheim's *Historia Tartaror. Eccles.* cap. ii. p. 29, &c. and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxv. p. 191, &c. with the civil histories of the Tartars.—*Mur.* [See this subject treated with his characteristic research and accuracy by Gieseler, in the section xc. of his *Lehrbuch*, &c. Cunningham's transl. vol. ii. p. 408. I may add that the travels of the famous Marco Paolo were translated into English so early as 1579, and that the most recent and I believe the best edition is that by Marsden, Lond. 1818, 4to, with a valuable introduction and notes.—*R.*

[1] This was stated by some writers of that age; see Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 174, 365, and elsewhere.

[2] This was the *fourth* crusade.—*R.*

[3] These events are best stated by Du Fresne, *Hist. de l'Empire de Constantinople sous les Empereurs François*, the first part of which contains Godfrey De Ville-Harduin, one of the French Generals, *Hist. de la Conquête de la Ville de Constantinople par les François.* This work forms also a part of the great *Corpus Histor. Byzantin.* Paris, 1657, fol. See also, among others, Fontenay, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tome x. p. 216, &c.; the monk Gunther's *Hist. Captæ a Latinis Constantinopolcos*, in Canisius' *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. ix. p. 1, &c. See, moreover, the Epistles of Innocent III. published by Baluze [and Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap lx. lxi.—*Mur.*

[4] This is usually accounted the *fifth* crusade; but its results were so paltry that some continental writers do not reckon it among these expeditions, and call the next crusade of 1228 the fifth. This is the numeration of Gieseler.—*R.*

successes did not continue long; for the next year the Saracen fleet completely destroyed that of the Christians after having cut off its supplies; and this loss, which was utterly irreparable, was followed by the loss of Damietta and the frustration of the high hopes which the Christians had indulged.[1]

5. The legates and missionaries of the pontiff now enrolled a new army of crusaders from almost every country of Europe, which was both more numerous and more respectable, because it was anticipated that the emperor Frederick II. would take the command of it in his own person. Frederick had made such a promise to the Roman pontiff, and it seemed unlikely he would violate his promise, seeing that he had married Jolanda, the daughter of the count of Brienne and king of Jerusalem in the year 1223, and had received with her the kingdom of Jerusalem as her dower. But under various pretences the emperor long delayed his voyage, and at length in the year 1228, after being excommunicated by Gregory IX. he set out with a small retinue to join the forces which were anxiously waiting in Palestine for his arrival. When he arrived there, instead of carrying on the war he terminated it. For without the knowledge and contrary to the wishes of those engaged with him in the enterprise, in the year 1229 he concluded a peace or rather a truce for ten years, with Melic-Camel the Mohammedan sultan; and as the principal condition was that he should receive the city and the kingdom of Jerusalem, so soon as the city was transferred to him he was crowned king of Jerusalem. Having made these arrangements he hastened back to Italy, in order to quell some commotions there which the pontiff had excited in his absence. This crusade therefore terminated more happily than the others.[2]

6. Other less noted and less fortunate expeditions to Palestine followed; as first in the year 1239, that of Theobald V.[3] count of Campania and king of Navarre, with other princes of Germany and France; and then in 1240, that of Richard, count of Cornwall, and brother of Henry III. the king of England. The result of neither corresponded with the preparations made for them. In the former, the ambassadors of the emperor Frederick in Palestine renewed the truce with the Mohammedans, and the rest of the forces were vanquished by the barbarians at Gaza, while such as survived the slaughter returned to Europe. The chief cause of the disaster was the discord between the Knights Templars and those of St. John of Jerusalem. And hence Richard could effect nothing of importance; but with the consent of most of his confederates he concluded a truce such as the state of their affairs would permit with the king of Egypt, and returned to Europe in the year 1241.[4]

[1] See De Vitriaco, *Historia Orientat.* and Marinus Sanutus, *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, in Bongarsius's *Gesta Dei per Francos*. [While the Christians were encamped before Damietta, we are told that St. Francis, the honest enthusiast who founded the Franciscan order, burning with zeal for the conversion of infidels and eager for a martyr's crown, went to Egypt and with a single attendant proceeded from the Christian camp towards that of the Saracens. When arrested at the outposts he exclaimed, "I am a Christian, carry me to your Sultan." The Mussulmans did so; and when the Sultan demanded of him who he was, how he came there, and who had sent him, he replied that he was Francis the servant of Jesus Christ, and that he was sent to him by the most high God to teach him and his people the way of salvation. Pleased with this address the Sultan entered into free conversation with him, and found so much amusement in his wild though gentlemanly flights of fancy, that he invited him to remain with him. Francis replied that he would do so, on condition that the Sultan would renounce Mohammedanism and embrace Christianity and would persuade his people to do the same; and added that if the Sultan doubted, he might order a great fire to be kindled, into which Francis would plunge himself along with some of the Mussulman priests, and if he perished it might be imputed to his sinfulness, but if not then the Sultan must be convinced. The Sultan said there were none of his priests who were willing to try the experiment. "Then," said Francis, "I will plunge in alone provided you will embrace Christ if I come out unhurt." The Sultan objected that his subjects would revolt and would kill him, if he should renounce their faith. He now offered Francis a large sum of money to distribute in charity among the Christians, but Francis spurned his money unless he would become a Christian. At length the Sultan dismissed him with a guard to conduct him safely to the Christian camp, and at parting requested his prayers, that God would vouchsafe to show him which was the true faith and the religion most pleasing in his sight. See De Vitriaco, *Hist. Occident.* cap. xxxii. and Bonaventura, *Vita S. Francisci*, cap. ix. sec. vi. vii.—*Mur.*

[2] See the historians of the crusades, and the writers of the life of Frederick II.; also Muratori, *Annales Italicæ*, and the writers of the history of the Germanic empire. [The Pope still considered the emperor as excommunicated, notwithstanding he had satisfied the demands of the pontiff by performing the crusade. By means of the clergy both in Asia and in Europe, the Pope exposed him to various dangers and difficulties; he invaded the emperor's territories in Apulia during his absence, contrary to all the rules then in force in regard to persons engaged in a crusade; he spread a report of his death and sent legates into Germany and Denmark to persuade some other person to suffer himself to be set up as emperor in opposition to Frederick. These surely were cogent reasons for the valiant emperor to hasten back to Italy, and restrain the haughty pontiff within the bounds of his duty.—*Schl.* [This is the *fifth* crusade of Gieseler and others; but Gibbon and the English historians consider it only as an ordinary expedition, and do not reckon it among the crusades.—*R.*

[3] It was Theobald VI. who engaged in this expedition. He was the posthumous son of Theobald V. who died as he was about to embark in the crusade of A.D. 1201. See Fleury, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, livr. lxxxi. sec. xxvi.—*Mur.*

[4] The history of these transactions is most accurately and faithfully detailed by Gebauer, in his *History of Richard the General*, written in German, lib. i. p. 34, &c. It appears from the epistles of Peter de Vineis, that Frederick II. created Richard his viceroy for the kingdom of Jerusalem, and this accounts for the attempts of Gregory IX. to retard his voyage.

7. As the affairs of the Christians were now declining more and more in the East, Lewis IX. king of France, who was enrolled among the saints after his death and who is still regarded with peculiar veneration, in fulfilment of a vow made in his very severe sickness A.D. 1248, collected a powerful army and a great fleet and proceeded to Egypt, anticipating that the conquest of that country would facilitate the operations of war in Palestine and Syria.[1] At first he was successful, for he captured Damietta, a celebrated city of Egypt; but the progress of the war was most disastrous. The Mohammedans intercepted their supplies in the year 1250, and famine and pestilence raged in his camp; Robert, the king's brother, indiscreetly pursuing the enemy, was slain in battle; the king himself, two of his brothers, and the greatest part of his army, were made prisoners. This magnanimous and heroic monarch, who was also very pious according to the standard of that age, was ransomed at a great price,[2] and after four years spent in Palestine returned to France with a few followers in the year 1254.[3]

8. The king, whose invincible spirit was by no means discouraged by these disasters, renewed the war in the year 1270; for he supposed he had not yet fully satisfied his solemn vow to God. Collecting therefore an immense fleet, and accompanied by numerous princes and nobles, he set sail for Africa, intending to establish there an advanced post for the future wars in Asia.[4] Immediately on his arrival he attacked and carried the fortress of Carthage; but soon after a pestilential disease swept off the greatest part of his forces in the harbour of Tunis, and on the 25th of August, A.D. 1270, the king himself became its victim.[5] After him no sovereign of Europe dared again to venture on an enterprise of so much peril, labour, and expense. Hence the kingdom of the Latins in the East gradually wasted away, in spite of the efforts of the Roman pontiffs to preserve it; and on the capture of Ptolemais by the Mohammedans in A.D. 1291 it became wholly extinct.[6] Among the causes of so great a loss, the valour of the enemy was one of the least; the principal causes were, the disunion of the Christians among themselves, the extreme profligacy of those who called themselves Christ's soldiers, and the ignorance and obstinacy of the papal legates.[7]

9. In the West, the fierce people of Prussia at the commencement of the century, were still adhering firmly to the superstition of their ancestors; nor could the priests occasionally sent among them by their arguments and exhortations induce them to embrace Christianity. Hence Conrad, duke of Masovia [in Poland], thought proper to apply coercion; and, proffering liberal rewards, in the year 1230 he invited the knights of the Teutonic order of St. Mary, who on their exclusion from Palestine had taken up their residence at Venice, to undertake the subjugation of the Prussians and their conversion to the Christian faith. They came into the country under Herman of Balcke as their leader, and after an uninterrupted and cruel war of fifty-three years with the Prussians, they with difficulty brought them to submit to the government of the knights, and to allow the Christian religion to take the place of that of their fathers.[8]

[1] This is reckoned the *sixth* crusade by all authorities.—*R.*

[2] The ransom which together with the restoration of Damietta the king was obliged to pay for his liberty was 800,000 gold bezants, and not 80,000 as Collier (*Eccles. History*, cent. xiii. vol. i. p. 456) erroneously reckons. This sum, which was equal then to 500,000 livres of French money, would in our days amount to the value of 4,000,000 of livres, that is, to about 190,000 pounds sterling.—*Mael.*

[3] Of the 2,800 knights of noble birth who accompanied the king from France, not more than 100 were alive when he embarked from Palestine on his return. Joinville's *Histoire de S. Louis*, p. 81, &c.

[4] This is the *seventh* and last crusade, for though Gregory X. endeavoured, at the general council held at Lyons in 1274, to organise another crusade, his efforts failed and these disastrous expeditions were never renewed. When Constantinople was taken by the Turks in 1453, the emperor Frederick III. and pope Nicholas V. united in proclaiming a new crusade; but the attempt again proved futile, owing to the growing weakness of the papal power, and the increasing enlightenment of the people of Europe,—*R.*

[5] Here should be consulted, before all others, *Histoire de S. Louis IX. du Nom Roy de France, écrite par Jean Sire de Joinville, Enrichie de Nouvelles Dissertations et Observations Historiques par Charles Du Freme*, Paris, 1668, fol.; and next the biographers of St. Lewis, especially De la Chaize, *Histoire de S. Louis*, Paris, 1688, two vols. 8vo, and finally, all the writers of histories of France [*e.g.* J. Gifford, *Hist. of France*, vol. i. p. 452, &c. and p. 473, &c. ed. Lond. 1791, 4to. —*Mur.*] Add Menco's *Chronicon*, in Matthai's *Analecta Veteris Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 172, 179; Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iv. p. 294, &c. et passim. Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 212, 392, &c.; Fontenay, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tome xi. p. 337, &c. 405, 575.

[6] Matthai, *Analecta Veteris Ævi*, tom. v. p. 748; Echard's *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 422. &c.; Imola on Dante, in Muratori's *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 1111, 1112.

[7] For these legates pursued exclusively the interests of the popes and of the Romish clergy; and they laboured, often by harsh means, by imprisonment, and by closing up their churches, to bring the patriarchs of Jerusalem and the entire Greek clergy in the countries held by the Latins under subjection to the Romish see; and they so irritated the Greeks that they were often more friendly to the Mohammedans than to the occidental Christians, and would rather be subject to a people who could be satisfied with an annual tribute, than live under a spiritual monarch whose avarice, as well as that of his legates, was insatiable.—*Schl.*

[8] See Matthai, *Anatecta Vet. Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 18,

From Prussia these knights made inroads upon the neighbouring nations, particularly upon the Lithuanians; nor did they cease from slaughtering, devastating, and plundering all before them, till this people also feigned a compelled submission, not so much to Christ as to these his furious and bloody warriors.[1]

10. In Spain the Christian kings of Castile, Leon, Navarre, and Aragon, waged perpetual wars with the Saracen princes who possessed Valencia, Andalusia, Granada, and Murcia; and such was their success that the territories of the Saracens were daily reduced to narrower limits, and the boundaries of the Christian church extended. The most distinguished in these contests were, Ferdinand, king of Castile and Leon, who obtained a place among the Saints, his father Alphonsus IX. king of Leon, James I. king of Aragon, and some others.[2] In particular, this James of Aragon, having conquered Valencia in the year 1236, spared no pains to convert to the Christian faith his new subjects, whom he could not expel from the country without serious injury to the state. Hence he ordered the Dominicans, whom he chiefly used for this purpose, to learn the language of the Arabians; and he established schools in the island of Majorca and at Barcelona for the education of preachers of the Christian religion. When these efforts were found to produce little effect upon the obstinate people, Clement IV. the pontiff, exhorted the king to expel the Mohammedans from Spain; and the king was not opposed to the measure, but the nobles frustrated the designs of the pontiff and king.[3]

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

1. How great injuries the Christian cause sustained in Asia will be manifest from what has been said of the Tartars and of the unhappy issue of the crusades. If the Saracens had imbibed the same principles as the Latin Christians of this century, they would not have suffered a single Christian to live in all Asia. But though they committed various enormities, and were not a little vexatious to the Christians, yet what to the Romans seemed holy and right was by the Saracens judged unrighteous and cruel, namely, to exterminate with fire and sword those who were of a different religion and would not abandon it. On the overthrow of the kingdom of Jerusalem, many of the Latins remained still in Syria, and retiring to the rugged mountains of Libanus they gradually lost their sense of religion and humanity to such a degree, that those who remain at the present day seem nearly destitute of all knowledge of God.[4]

2. The Latin writers of those times often complain of public enemies of the Christian religion, and even of mockers of the Supreme Being. Nor are these complaints entirely vain and incredible. For men of discernment who critically inspected the religion which the Roman pontiffs and their servants and friends preached and inculcated as the only true religion taught by Christ, and which they maintained by fire and sword, might easily be led to believe that Christianity was a fabrication, invented and propagated by the priests for their own advantage; and especially was such a conclusion easy, as there were none to teach them better. Besides, the Aristotelian philosophy, which reigned in all the schools of Europe and was regarded as identical with sound reason, led not a few to discard the doctrines commonly held and preached respecting divine providence, the immortality of the soul, the creation of the world, and other points, and thus to become promoters of irreligion.[5]

tom. v. 684—689; Peter of Duisburg's *Chronicon Prussiæ*, published by Hartknoch, Jena, 1679, 4to; Hartknoch's *History of the Prussian Church*, written in German, book i. c. 1, p. 33, &c. and *Antiquitates Prussiæ*, diss. xiv. p. 201, &c.; Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 427, 478, &c.; Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iv. p. 40, 63, &c.; Solignac's *Hist. de Pologne*, tome ii. p. 238, &c.

[1] Besides those just mentioned, see Ludewig's *Reliquiæ Manuscriptor. Omnis Ævi*, tom. i. p. 336, &c.

[2] See De Ferreras, *History of Spain*, the whole of vol. iv.

[3] See Geddes, *History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 96, &c.

[4] Certain tribes of the Derusi or Drusi residing on the Libanus and Antilibanus, pretend that they are descended from the Franks, and that they were once sovereigns of Palestine. These pretensions are somewhat questionable; yet it is certain that the descendants of the crusaders still exist in those regions, but so debased that they more resemble pagans than Christians. [A Jesuit missionary in Syria during the last century, describing the country and its inhabitants (in the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, tome i. p. 451, &c. ed. Lyons, 1819), says, it is the tradition of the country that the Druses are descended from the rearguard of the Franks, commanded by one Dreux, who were cut off in the retreat of the crusaders from the Holy Land, and compelled to take refuge in the fastnesses of Mount Lebanon. But according to later travellers the Druses seem to be a sect of Mohammedan rather than Christian origin. See Jowett's *Christian Researches in Syria*, p 36. If any descendants of the crusaders still exist about Mount Libanus, it is much more reasonable to look for them among some of the sects of Roman Catholics there, as the Maronites, the Greeks, or the Syrians, than to suppose they have wholly lost their Christian principles and Roman Catholic character, and are now ranked among Mohammedans and pagans.—*Mur.*

[5] Not to mention St. Thomas's *Summa contra Gentes* and others, the reader may consult Moneta's *Summa*

3. At the head of all the enemies of Christianity stood the emperor Frederick II. if credit is to be given to the sovereign pontiff Gregory IX. who in the year 1239 charged him before all the kings and princes of Europe with saying, that the whole world had been deceived by three baratators (that is, impostors), Jesus Christ, Moses, and Mohammed.[1] This heavy charge the emperor deemed it necessary to refute by a public profession of his religious faith. It rested on the testimony of some German princes and particularly of Henry Raspo, landgrave of Thuringia, who deposed that they had heard Frederick utter such language.[2] Perhaps something like this did fall from the lips of Frederick when in a violent passion; for he was not unfrequently imprudent, and there were among the many learned men who attended him, some from the Aristotelian school who might have suggested to him such impious thoughts. Hence a fabulous story was handed down to posterity respecting a detestable book *On the Three Impostors*, which was said to have been written either by the emperor himself or by Peter de Vineis, a native of Capua and a man of great credit and influence, who was the emperor's prime minister.[3]

contra Catharos et Valdenses, who strenuously combats the enemies of religion in his times. In lib. v. cap. iv. p. 416, &c. he disputes at large against those who affirmed that the souls of men perish with their bodies. In lib. v. cap. xi. p. 477, he refutes the Aristotelian philosophers who taught that the world had existed from eternity and would continue to exist eternally. In lib. v. cap. xv. p. 554, he assails those who contemning the authority of the sacred volume subverted human liberty, and maintained the fatal necessity of all things, even of crimes. Add Templer, the bishop of Paris, *Indiculum Errorum, qui a Nonnullis Magistris Lutetiæ publice privatimque docebantur*, written A.D. 1277, and extant in the *Biblioth. Patr. Maxima*, tom. xxv. p. 233, &c. See also Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 433; and Du Bois, *Hist. Eccles. Paris*, tom. ii. p. 501. These teachers, it may surprise us to learn, taught that all men have but one understanding, that all things are controlled by necessity, that there is no providence of God, that the world existed eternally, that the soul becomes extinct, and other similar doctrines which they supported by the principles of Aristotle. And to screen their lives and their safety they defended themselves against their oppressors in the very same manner as the Aristotelians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries did, namely, by distinguishing between theological truth and philosophical. They said (as we are distinctly told by Stephen)—These things are true according to philosophy, but not so according to the Catholic faith.

[1] See Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 408, 459, Peter De Vineis, *Epistolæ*, lib. i. [*Ep.* xxxi. See also Raynald ad ann. 1239, where we find the epistle of Gregory IX. addressed to the Christian kings and princes, in which he says: "Probationes in fidei victoriam sunt paratæ, quod iste rex pestilentiæ (namely Frederick), a tribus baratatoribus, ut ejus verbis utamur, scilicet Christo Jesu, Moyse, et Mahometo totum mundum fuisse deceptum, et duobus eorum in gloria mortuis, ipsum Jesum in ligno suspensum manifeste proposuerit." The emperor's defence in answer to the Pope is in Harzheim's *Concilia German.* tom. iii. p. 562, &c. —*Schl.* [It should be remembered that Frederick had a long and violent quarrel with the Popes, and was at length excommunicated by them. This letter of Gregory was written after the emperor's excommunication and in justification of it. It is couched in very angry terms, and is a laboured attempt to blacken his character to the utmost; and this charge of blasphemy is only one among the many accusations heaped together by the enraged pontiff.—*Mur.*

[2] Gigas, *Flores Temporum*, p. 126; Ayrmann, *Sylloge Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 639, &c. [See also Harenberg's *Dissert. de Secta non Timentium Deum Seculo* xiii. *vel enata vel efficta*, &c. Brunswick, 1755, 8vo, p. 62, &c. In general the testimony of Raspo is that of an enemy, and of an enemy who was devoted soul and body to the Pope. Such testimony is little regarded in a court. Excommunication had now become a little too common; and the Pope must find out something new, something which had never before been heard of. He therefore represented the emperor, who had made himself suspected by his intimacy with Averroes and by his rejection of the prevailing superstition, as being a blasphemer and an atheist; and this in order to alienate from him those with whom the word excommunication had lost somewhat of its efficacy.—*Schl.*

[3] See Oudin, *Comment. de Scriptor. Eccles.* tom. iii. p. 66; De Sallengre, *Mémoires de Hist. et de Littér.* tome i. par. i. p. 386, &c. [The book entitled *De Tribus Impostoribus, sive Tractatus de Vanitate Religionum*, is really a book which had no existence at the time that the most noise was made about it, and was spoken of by multitudes before it had been seen by any one person. Its supposed existence was probably owing to an impious saying of Simeon of Tournay, doctor of divinity in the university of Paris in the thirteenth century, which amounts to this: "That the Jews were seduced out of their senses by Moses, the Christians by Jesus, and the Gentiles by Mahomet." This or some expressions of a similar kind were imputed to the emperor Frederick and other persons, and that perhaps without any real foundation; and the imaginary book to which they have given rise has been attributed by different authors to Frederick, to his chancellor Peter de Vineis, to Alphonso king of Castile, to Boccacio, Poggio, the Aretius, Pomponace, Machiavelli, Erasmus, Ochino, Servetus, Rabelais, Giordano Bruno, Campanella, and many others. In a word, the book was long spoken of before any such work existed; but the rumour which was spread abroad encouraged some profligate traders in licentiousness to compose or rather compile a bundle of miserable rhapsodies under the famous title of *The Three Impostors*, in order to impose upon such as are fond of these pretended rarities. Accordingly, the *Spaccio della Bestia Triomphante* of Giordano Bruno and a wretched piece of impiety, called the *Spirit of Spinoza*, were the ground-work or materials from which these hireling compilers, by modifying some passages and adding others, drew up the book that now passes under the name of *The Three Impostors*, of which I have seen two copies in manuscript but no printed edition. See La Monnoye's *Dissertation sur le Livre de Trois Imposteurs*, published at Amsterdam in 1715, at the end of the fourth volume of the *Menagiana*. See also an Answer to this Dissertation which was imprudently exposed to the public eye in 1716, from the press of Scheurleer in the Hague, and which contains a fabulous story of the origin of the book in question. Whoever is desirous of a more ample and a very curious account of this matter will find it in the late Prosper Marchand's *Dictionnaire Historique*, tome ii. at the article *Impostoribus*.—*Macl.*

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

1. THE severe adversities to which the Greeks were exposed left them but little leisure or resolution for the diligent prosecution of learning. Yet a thirst for knowledge was not wholly extinguished among them, as is manifest from the writers they produced in this age. Among their historians the most distinguished were, Nicetas Choniates,[1] George Acropolita,[2] Gregory Pachymeres,[3] and Joel whose Chronology is still extant.[4] From some tracts of Nicephorus Blemmida[5] and Gregory Pachymeres, it appears that the Peripatetic philosophy still had its friends among them. Yet others preferred Plato, while the majority assiduously studied the younger Platonists, and supposed their system would advantageously coalesce with that of Aristotle. The writers of sermons and lives of the saints, the combatants against the Latins, and the expounders of their canon law, need not be enumerated. Among the Syrian Christians the most distinguished writer was, Gregory Abulpharajus, Maphrian [eastern primate] of the Jacobites, a man of superior genius and extensive learning, and truly respectable as a theologian, a historian, and a philosopher.[6] With him may be joined George Elmacin, the author of a History of the Saracens.[7]

[1] Nicetas Choniates was a native of Chona (the ancient Colosse), in Phrygia, was educated by his older brother Michael Choniates at Constantinople, where he became distinguished as a civilian and public officer under Alexius Comnenus and Isaac Angelus. On the capture of Constantinople by the Latins, A.D. 1204, he retired with his family to Nice in Bithynia, where he was living in the year 1206. He wrote a history of the Greek empire from the death of Alexius Comnenus, A.D. 1180, to the decease of the Latin emperor Henry, A.D. 1206, published Gr. and Lat. Basil, 1557, Paris, 1647, fol. in the *Corpus Hist. Byzant.* He also wrote *Thesaurus Orthodoxæ Fidei*, which is still extant in MS. and the first five books of which, in a Latin translation by Morell, were published Paris, 1580, and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. XXV.—A funeral oration on his death by his older brother, Michael Choniates, archbishop of Athens, in a Latin translation, is printed with his history and also in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. XXV.—*Mur.*

[2] George Acropolita was born at Constantinople and received a learned education. He was sent to the court of Nice when young, A.D. 1228, and continued there most of his life. He rose to the highest civil offices in the gift of the emperors, and was much employed on embassies, and as a special judge or commissioner. He died A.D. 1282. His history of the Greek empire, from the invasion of the Latins in 1203 to the end of their reign at Constantinople, A.D. 1261, was published imperfect. Gr. and Lat. Leyden, 1614, 8vo, and entire with notes by Leo Allatius, Paris, 1651, fol. subjoined to his prolix essay, *De Georgiis et Eorum Scriptis.*—*Mur.*

[3] Gregory Pachymeres was born at Nice A.D. 1242. After a good education he became an ecclesiastic at Constantinople, where he was in high reputation and rose to the highest offices under the patriarch. He was certainly alive in the year 1308. He wrote the history of the Greek empire from A.D. 1258 to 1308, published, Gr. and Lat. Rome, 1666, and 1669, 2 vols. fol. Also a paraphrase on Dionysius Areopagita, published with the works of Dionysius; likewise a tract on the procession of the Holy Spirit, and an epitome of Aristotle's Logic, both of which are extant.—*Mur.*

[4] Of this Joel little is known except that he must have been witness of the desolations of Constantinople in the year 1204. He wrote a brief chronology of the world from the creation to A.D. 1204, published by Leo Allatius, Gr. and Lat. with the works of George Acropolita, Paris, 1651.—*Mur.*

[5] Nicephorus Blemmida was a presbyter and a very austere monk of Mount Athos, who refused the patriarchate of Constantinople in the year 1255. He is said to have leaned to the side of the Latin church in their disputes with the Greeks. His two tracts, *De Processione Spiritus Sancti*, are extant in Latin, annexed to the first volume of Raynald's *Annales Eccles.* and Gr. and Lat. in Leo Allatius' *Græ. Scriptores Orthodox.* tom. i. Besides these, an epistle, and an epitome of logic and physics, have been published, and several other small works of his are preserved in manuscript.—*Mur.*

[6] Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome i. p. 37; Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. ii. cap. xlii. p. 244. [Gregory Abulpharajus or Abul-Farai Ibn Hakima, was the son of a physician, who was a Christian Jew named Aaron, and by the Arabs, Ibn Koph. He was born A.D. 1226, at Malatia in Armenia near the sources of the Euphrates, and became celebrated as a physician and a learned man. When the Moguls overran his country, A.D. 1243, he fled to Antioch with his parents, became a monk, and successively bishop of Guba, Lacabena, Aleppo, and A.D. 1264, Jacobite Maphrian, or Primate of the East, till his death in 1289. The first work of his which was published was an abridgment of universal history from the creation to the year A.D. 1284, written in Arabic and divided into ten Dynasties. The six first relate to the old patriarchs, the judges and kings of the Hebrews, and the Chaldean, the Persian, and Grecian monarchs. The seventh relates to the Romans, the eighth to the Greeks of Constantinople, the ninth to the Arabians, and the tenth to the Moguls. The last two Dynasties make full half of the work and are altogether the most important; for in Greek and Roman history he was not well informed, while in that of the Arabs and Tartars he is perhaps a good authority. The whole was published, Arab. and Lat. by Pocock, Oxford, 1663, 4to, and the most valuable parts of the ninth Dynasty, which is by far the best, Dr. Pocock published in 1650, under the title of *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*, &c. This Arabic work is an abridgment of a much larger work in Syriac which was published, Syriac and Latin, under the title of *Bar Hebræi Chronicon Syriacum*, Lips. 1789, 2 tom. 4to. He also wrote many theological and other works, from which Asseman has given us extracts. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. xxiv. p. 468, &c.—*Mur.*

[7] George Elmacin was descended from a respectable family of Syrian Christians which had resided for five generations in Egypt, where they had held the offices of notary and privy councillor. His father, Abuljasirus, was a notary or clerk to the council of war for forty-five years, and died A.D. 1230. Four of his grandfather's brothers were bishops. That he was a Christian there can be no doubt. Yet living among Mohammedans, and his family if not himself also holding

2. Far happier was the state of learning of every kind among the Latins. For the kings and princes of Europe, having learned by experience what advantages a nation may derive from the cultivation of learning and the useful arts, invited learned men to their territories, stimulated and encouraged a thirst for knowledge, and rewarded it with honours and emoluments. Those who acquired most glory and fame by such patronage were, the emperor Frederick II. who was himself a man of letters, as well as a distinguished patron of all sorts of learning, and Alphonso X. the king of Castile and Leon. The former founded the academy of Naples, caused the books of Aristotle to be translated into Latin, assembled all the learned men he could in his court, and gave many other proofs of his very great attachment to learning.[1] Alphonso perpetuated his fame by composing the *Astronomic Tables* and some other works.[2] Accordingly in this century schools of the higher order were erected almost everywhere; various privileges and immunities were conferred on the youth who resorted to them; and to the learned societies, which started up everywhere, the form of bodies politic was granted, and they were privileged with a jurisdiction peculiar to themselves.

3. But in those public schools or academies which were founded at Padua, Modena, Naples, Capua, Toulouse, Salamanca, Lyons, Cologne, and in other places, the whole circle of the sciences then known was not taught, but only certain parts of it or some particular sciences. That at Paris which excelled all others in several respects, as well as in the number both of teachers and students, was the first to embrace all the arts and sciences; and therefore first became a university, or as it was then expressed, *studium universale*. Afterwards some others were gradually formed upon the same plan. In this mother, therefore, of all the European universities, the doctors were first distributed into four colleges, according to the sciences of which they were professors; and these colleges afterwards received the name of faculties. Over each college, one of the doctors designated by the suffrages of the rest presided for a given time, and was called the Dean.[3] The head of the whole university at first was the chancellor, namely the bishop of Paris; but as he seemed not adequate to all the duties, a rector was afterwards associated with him.[4] The college of theology was principally founded and endowed in the year 1250 by Robert de Sorbonne, an opulent and pious man and a favourite of Lewis IX. or St. Lewis; and from him it derived the name of (Sorbonna) the Sorbonne, which it has retained to the present time.[5]

4. Those who wished to be enrolled among the teachers in any faculty, before they could obtain their object had to go through a long and very difficult process, called the [academic] course, and to undergo various examinations during many years. The design of these regulations was, to prevent the excessive multiplication of teachers, and to exclude persons deficient in knowledge and experience from entering upon duties which required the most solid acquisitions. Those who satisfactorily performed all that was required by the rules, were formally admitted to the rank of professors, and with certain public ceremonies similar to those used in the associations of the unlearned artists and mechanics, were hailed as Masters. This custom first introduced in the preceding century by the Jurists of Bologna, was in the present century at Paris first extended to the Theologians, and afterwards to the professors of physic and of the liberal arts. And this was the origin of what are called academical degrees, which like all human institutions have deviated far from their original design, and are continually varying more and more.[6]

offices under the government, he is careful to avoid all terms of reproach when speaking of Mohammed, his religion, and his followers. His history of the Saracens is in the form of Annals, and extends from the death of Mohammed to A.D. 1118. The countries he embraces are, Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia. The work was published with the Latin translation of Erpenius, Arabic and Latin, by Golius, Lugd. 1625, fol. Elmacin prefixed to it a chronology from the creation to the time the history begins, but which has never been published. See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, article *Elmacin.—Mur.*

[1] Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 115; Giannone's *Histoire de Naples* [livr. xvi. chap. iii.] tome ii. p. 497. See also the observations of Fabricius, *Biblioth. Latin. Medii Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 618.

[2] Antonius, *Biblioth. Vetus Hispanica*, lib. viii. c. v. p. 217, and De Ferreras, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tome iv. p. 347, &c.

[3] This took place about A.D. 1200. See Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 557, 564.

[4] On this whole subject in addition to Conringius, *De Antiquitatibus Academicis*, which is an incomplete work, see De Boulay,[better known by his Latin name Bulæus,] *Historia Academiæ Parisiensis*, a copious and excellent work in six volumes; and Hemeræus, *De Academia Parisiensi qualis primo fuit in Insula et Episcoporum Scholis*, Paris, 1637, 4to. The writers quoted by Conringius are not here enumerated.

[5] See Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 223; Du Fresne, notes to Joinville's *Life of St. Lewis*, p. 36, &c. [The Revolution put an end to this famous theological faculty, and the buildings of the Sorbonne are now occupied by the university of Paris.—*R.*

[6] Besides the writers already referred to, see Itterus, *De Gradibus Academicis*, and Böhmer, *Præf. ad Jus Canonicum*, p. 14; Wood, *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 24; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 256, 682, 684, &c.

5. The belles lettres did not derive from these institutions and efforts so much advantage as the other branches of learning did. For most of the young men devoted themselves to either canon or civil law, which opened the way to preferment and wealth; or they attended only to philosophy, which promised them fame as men of acuteness and genius. The pontiffs therefore and the other bishops complained bitterly of the neglect of literature and polite learning, and endeavoured though in vain to divert the youth from the study of law and philosophy, to that of sacred literature and the liberal arts.[1] Still there are some among the writers of this age whom no man of candour can regard with contempt. Among the poets, William the Briton,[2] Walter Mapes,[3] Matthew of Vendome,[4] Alain de l'Isle, Gunther Ligurinus,[5] James of Vitré, and some others, merit the praise of being sprightly and agreeable writers. Among the historians, Matthew Paris, distinguished for intelligence and good sense,[6] Roderic Ximenius,[7] Rigord,[8] Vincent of Beauvais,[9] Robert of St. Marino,[10] Martin of Poland,[11] Gervais of Tilbury,[12] Conrad of Lichtenau,[12] William of

[1] See Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 265, where is an energetic epistle of Innocent III. Also Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 124; Imola on Dante, in Muratori's *Antiquit. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 1262.

[2] See *Hist. de l' Acad. des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tome xvi. p. 255, &c. [William Brito or the Briton, because born in Bretagne, and hence also called Armoricus. He composed two histories of the French king Philip Augustus, in whose court he lived, the one in prose, the other in verse. The first terminates A.D. 1219; the latter extends farther, and is entitled *Philippis*. In both he copies from Rigord. Both are extant in Du Chesne's *Scriptores Hist. Francicæ*, tom. v. p. 68 and 93, &c.—*Schl.*

[3] Wolfius, *Lectiones Memorabil.* tom. i. p. 430. [Walter Mapes was an English ecclesiastic, chaplain to king Henry II. and afterwards archdeacon of Oxford. He flourished about A.D. 1210; and having spent some time at Rome he was well acquainted with the corruptions of that court, as well as of the clergy at large. His short and satirical poems lash the vices of the times, and particularly of the clergy. Wolfius, *ubi supra*, has published six of his pieces, viz. *Apocalypsis Goliæ Pontificis, Ad Impios Prælatos, Ad Malos Pastores, Ad Christi Sacerdotes, Sermo ad Eosdem Prælatos Impios*, and *De Malis Romanæ Curiæ.*—*Mur.* [For a list of the works of this facetious and satirical rhymer, see Bale, *De Illust. Brit. Script.* and Tanner's *Bibliotheca*, &c. The pieces bearing the name of Golias are usually ascribed to Walter; but Wharton (*Hist. of Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 185) and others are of opinion that there was such a writer as Golias. Walter's poems are in Latin rhyming verse, of which he was a very successful cultivator. The reader will see some specimens of his style in Croke's *Essay on Latin Rhyming Verse*, Oxf. 1828, p. 95 and 100.—*R.*

[4] Matthew of Vendome (Vindocinensis) is placed by some at the beginning of the century, by others in the middle, and by others near its end. He wrote in elegiac verse the *History of Tobias*, father and son, which he entitled *Tobiade*; published, Lyons, 1505, and Bremen, 1642.—*Mur.*

[5] Gunther was a schoolmaster at Paris, and then a Cistercian monk in the diocese of Basle, and flourished about A.D. 1210. His poetic history of the capture of Constantinople by the Latins was published by Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. v.; and his celebrated poetic *Life of Frederick Barbarossa* has been often published separately, and also in Justin Reuber's *Scriptores Germanici*, p. 407—734.—*Mur.*

[6] Matthew Paris was an English Benedictine monk, initiated at St. Albans A.D. 1217. He was a very exemplary man, in high favour with Henry II. and employed by the pope to reform some foreign monasteries. He is accounted the best historian of the middle ages, learned, independent, honest, and judicious. His great work is his *Historia Major*, or *History of England* from the arrival of William the Conqueror in 1066 to the 43rd year of Henry III. or A.D. 1259, which was the year of his death. His *Historia Minor* is an epitome of the preceding. He also composed the lives of the two Offas, kings of Mercia, the lives of the twenty-three abbots of St. Albans up to his time, likewise *Additions* to his *Historia Major*, and a chronicle from the creation to William the Conqueror. His works were best published by Wm. Watts, D.D. London, 1640, 41, 2 vols. fol.—*Mur.*

[7] Roderic Ximenes or Simonis was a Spaniard of Navarre, educated at Paris, and archbishop of Toledo from A.D. 1208 till his death, A.D. 1247. He wrote the history of Spain from the arrival of Hercules there to the year A.D. 1243, which he called the *Historia Gothica*. As amplications of this he wrote a history of the Ostrogoths from A.D. 453 to 555; a history of the Huns and Vandals from their origin to A.D. 555; a history of the Arabians from A.D. 570 to A.D. 1150; and a Roman history from king Janus to the emperor Augustus. The whole was published by Andreas Schott, *Hispania Illustrata*, tom. ii. p. 26, &c. Francf. 1603.—*Mur.*

[8] *Hist. de l' Acad. des Inscript. et des Belles Lettres*, tome xvi. p. 243, &c. where also William of Nangis is treated of. [Rigord was probably born in the south of France, of Gothic extract, a physician, historian, and a clerk of St. Denys. He wrote the life of Philip Augustus, king of France, in prose, which William Brito follows in his poetic history. It is in Du Chesne's *Scriptores Hist. Francicæ*, tom. v. p. 1, &c.—*Mur.*

[9] Vincent of Beauvais was sub-prior of a Dominican cloister at Beauvais, and tutor to the sons of St. Lewis. He probably died about A.D. 1264. By direction of the king he wrote a huge work of vast reading and little judgment, a kind of encyclopedia, entitled *Speculum Naturale, Doctrinale, et Historiale*. The first part treats of natural history, geography, and chronology; the second of theology, philosophy, and all the other sciences; the third is a general history of the world. A fourth part, probably by a later author, entitled *Speculum Morale*, treats of practical religion. The whole was printed at Douay, 1624, in 4 vols. fol. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxiv. p 445, &c.—*Mur.*

[10] See Le Bœuf, *Mémoires pour l' Hist. d' Auxerre*, tome ii. p. 499, where he also treats learnedly of Vincent of Beauvais, p. 494.

[11] Martin Polanus, or of Poland, was a native of Troppau, in Silesia, then a part of Poland, and a Dominican monk there till he went to Rome, and was there made chief penitentiary under the pope for many years. At last he was appointed archbishop of Gnesen, in Poland, and of course primate of that kingdom, but died on his way thither, A.D. 1278. He wrote a chronicle of the pontiffs and emperors from the Christian era to A.D. 1287, which was continued by another hand to A.D. 1285, often published but of little value. He also wrote an index to the *Decretum* of Gratian and the *Decretals*, and several sermons. See Schroeckh, *ubi supra*, p. 521.—*Mur.*

[12] Gervais of Tilbury was nephew to Henry II. king of England, and born at Tilbury in Essex. He flourished A.D. 1210. Henry II. made him marshal of Arles in France, and Otho IV. emperor of Germany, made much of him. To amuse the emperor he wrote his *Otia Imperialia*, published by Leibnitz in his *Scriptores Rerum Brunsuic.* tom. i. Several others of his historical works still exist in manuscript.—*Mur.*

[12] Conrad of Lichtenau or Conrad Urspergensis, served first in the court of the emperor Henry VI. but became a priest A.D. 1202, a Præmonstratensian monk in 1205, and abbot of a monastery at Urspero or Averberg in Swabia, A.D. 1215. He resided some time at Rome in early life, and died A.D. 1240. His Chronicle

Nangis,[1] and some others, deserve to be mentioned. Those who composed lives of the saints detail rather the superstitions and misfortunes of the times than the achievements of the eminently pious. Among these writers, James of Vitré [de Vitriaco] stands prominent, who was likewise author of a History of the Lombards, full of insipid stories.[2]

6. To Greek literature some attention was paid by Roger Bacon, a man of extraordinary genius, by John Balbus,[3] Robert Capito, and a limited number of others. The Hebrew language and theology had still fewer cultivators. Yet we learn that Raymund Martini, the intelligent author of the Pugio Fidei, Bacon, Capito, and a few others, were no inconsiderable proficients in such learning. The Arabic language and literature were studied by many of the Spaniards, but especially by the Dominican monks, to whom the Christian kings of Spain committed the instruction of the Jews and Arabians resident in Spain.[4] The Latin grammarians, even the best of them, are all jejune and barbarous. This is manifest from the one who had the highest reputation, and whose work was taught in all the schools from this century on to the sixteenth, Alexander de Villa Dei, a Franciscan monk. His *Doctrinale*, composed in the year 1240 in what are called Leonine verses, involves the rules of grammar in more nonsense and darkness than can well be supposed by one not acquainted with the book.

7. The Latins who had before followed various philosophers, gradually submitted themselves in this century exclusively to the authority and the principles of Aristotle. Certain books of Aristotle, especially his Metaphysics, were read in Latin and publicly explained to the students at Paris, near the commencement of this century.[5] But as it appeared that from these books Almeric had derived his errors respecting God and some other subjects, the council of Sens in the year 1209 publicly decreed that these books should be disused.[6] Yet a few years afterwards, A.D. 1215, the logic of Aristotle was again introduced into the university of Paris, while his physical and metaphysical books were still excluded.[7] Subsequently the emperor Frederick II. who was a great friend to learning, ordered the books of Aristotle and of other ancient philosophers to be translated, some from Arabic and others from Greek into Latin, by selected persons (as he expresses it[8]) well skilled in each language. And as this translation was recommended by the emperor himself to the university of Bologna, and doubtless to others also, the influence of Aristotle was increased immensely in all the schools of Europe. And this influence was much extended by the many subsequent Latin

from Belus, king of Assyria, to A.D. 1229, is useless for ancient history, but valuable for the times within his personal knowledge. He was no flatterer of the popes. The work was published at Strasburg, 1548 and 1609, fol. with those of Regino and Lambert of Aschaffenburg.—*Mur.*

[1] William of Nangis, a Benedictine monk of St. Denys, Paris, flourished A.D. 1301, and wrote a Chronicle from the creation to A.D. 1301; also the life of Lewis IX. and that of Philip III. kings of France. The Chronicle was published by D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. xi. p. 405, and the two biographies by Du Chesne, *Scriptores Hist. Franc.* tom. v.—*Mur.*

[2] See Schelhorn, *Amœnitates Liter.* tom. xi. p. 324, &c. [It was not James de Vitriaco but James de Voragine, who composed the *Historia Lombardica*, as is correctly stated in chap. ii. sec. 45. James de Voragine was born in Liguria in Italy, became a Dominican monk, provincial of his order for Lombardy, general of the order, archbishop of Genoa. He flourished A.D. 1290, is said to have favoured the emperor against the pontiffs, and died about A.D. 1298. He was a pious and charitable man, but credulous and a great collector of fables. His *History of the Lombards* is a mere collection of legends of the saints, often published in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but always disliked by intelligent Catholics. He also wrote a Chronicle of Genoa, published by Muratori, *Scriptores Rerum Ital.* tom. ix. and many sermons which have been printed. See Cave's *Hist. Liter.* ad ann. 1290.—*Mur.* [He was called De Voragine or Varagine from his birth-place, Varraggio, a sea-port town near Genoa. So popular was his worthless *History* that it was called the *Legenda Aurea*, and above fifty different editions of it appeared prior to the year 1600. It was early translated into English, and one of the greatest rarities of Caxton's press (Lond. 1483, fol.) is this *Golden Legend*. For further particulars respecting this James of Varraggio, see Echard and Quetif, *Biblio. Ordin. Prædic.* vol. i. p. 454; and Touron, *Hist. de l'Ordre de S. Dominic*, vol. i. p. 583, &c.—*R.*

[3] This John, who is sometimes called John de Balbis or De Janua, that is, Genoa, cannot well be placed in this list. For he says of himself, near the beginning of the famous *Catholicon* [a general Latin dictionary] which he composed: "Hoc difficile est scire, et maxime mihi, non bene scienti linguam Græcam." And that this is not to be attributed to his excessive modesty appears from the contents of the book.—*Schl.*

[4] See Simon's *Lettres Choisies*, tome iii. p. 112; Antonius, *Biblioth. Vet. Hispanica*, passim; and the *Historians of Spain.*

[5] Patricius, *Discussiones Peripatetici*, tom. i. lib. xi. p. 145; Launoi, *De Varia Aristotelis Fortuna in Acad. Paris.* cap. i. p. 127, ed. Elswich. It is commonly said that those books of Aristotle were translated into Latin from the Arabic. But Rigord (*De Gestis Philippi Regis Francor.* ad ann. 1209, in Du Chesne's *Scriptores Hist. Franc.* p. 119) expressly says: They were brought from Constantinople, and translated out of Greek into Latin. [See note I, p. 400, above.—*R.*

[6] Launoi, *ubi supra*, cap. iv. p. 195, and his *Syllabus Rationum quibus Durandi Causa Defenditur*, *Opp.* tom. i. par. i. p. 8, &c.

[7] Natalis Alexander, *Selecta Hist. Eccles. Capita*, tom. viii. cap. iii. sec. 7, p. 76.

[8] Peter de Vineis, *Epistolæ*, lib. iii. *Ep.* lxvii. p. 503, &c. This epistle is directed *Ad Magistros et Scholares Bononienses*. But it is probable the emperor sent similar epistles to the other schools in Europe. It is commonly said that Frederick caused Latin translations to be made of all the works of Aristotle which are extant, and that this was in the year 1220. But neither position can be proved from this epistle, nor as I suppose from any other testimonies.

translators of some of the works of Aristotle, such as Michael Scot, Philip of Tripoli, William Fleming, and others, though all of them were deficient in knowledge and in acquaintance with the languages.[1]

8. Aristotle reached the summit of esteem and reputation when the mendicant orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans, embraced his philosophy, taught it universally in the schools, and illustrated it by their writings. For these monks from this time onward stood foremost in learning both sacred and profane in Europe, and were followed by nearly all who would rise above the vulgar in knowledge. The first persons who published expositions of Aristotle were Alexander Hales, an Englishman and a Franciscan doctor at Paris, who acquired the title of the Irrefragable Doctor;[2] and Albert the Great, a German Dominican and bishop of Ratisbon, a man of superior genius and the guide of the age in which he lived.[3] After these a pupil of Albert,[4] Thomas Aquinas, a Dominican, who was the great luminary of the schools and was called the Angelic Doctor, exalted the glory of Aristotle more than all others. For he expounded his books both orally and in writing, and also caused a new Latin translation of his works to be made by one of his associates, more correct and more perspicuous than the former.[5] Through the influence of these men therefore and a few others, notwithstanding the opposition of many divines and the disapprobation of the pontiffs, Aristotle became the dictator in philosophy among the Latins.

9. There were however some persons in Europe of superior genius and penetration, who, while they valued Aristotle highly, wished to extend the boundaries of human knowledge, and were disgusted with the meagre and jejune method of philosophising derived from the books of Aristotle.[6] Among them the following obtained very deservedly the highest reputation, namely, Roger Bacon, an Englishman and Franciscan monk called the Admirable Doctor; an extraordinary man, skilled far beyond the standard of his age in philosophy, mathematics, chemistry, the mechanic arts, and in various languages, and also much renowned for his important discoveries;[7] Arnold of Villa Nova, a Frenchman as many believe, though some make him a Spaniard, greatly distinguished for his knowledge of the medical art, philosophy, chemistry, poetry, languages, and of many other things;[8] and Peter de Abano or de Apono, an Italian and a physician of Padua, surnamed the Reconciler on account of the book he wrote entitled, the Reconciler of the Differences among Philosophers and Physicians; a man of acuteness and profoundly read in philosophy, astronomy, the

[1] Concerning these translators of Aristotle, see Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 119; and Jebb's *Præf. ad Opus Majus Rogeri Baconi*, Lond. 1733, fol. I will subjoin the opinion of Bacon, a very competent judge, concerning these translations of Aristotle, as taken by Jebb from a manuscript, *If I had control over these books of Aristotle* (the Latin translations), *I would cause them all to be burned; for it is a loss of time to study in them, and a cause of error and a furtherance of ignorance beyond what can well be expressed.*

[2] See Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 233, &c.; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 200, 673, &c.

[3] Fabricius, *Bib. Lat. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 113, &c.

[4] This is according to the opinion of the Dominicans which appears most probable. See Anton. Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas*, p. 90. But the Franciscans eagerly maintained that Thomas was a pupil of Alexander Hales. See Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 133, &c.

[5] Most persons suppose that the author of this new Latin version of the works of Aristotle, which Thomas Aquinas caused to be made, was William de Moerbeka, a Dominican of Flanders, well acquainted with both Latin and Greek and archbishop of Corinth. See Echard's *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 388, &c.; Oudin, *Comment. de Scriptor. Eccles.* tom. iii. p. 468; Foppens, *Biblioth. Belgica*, tom. i. p. 416. But others, though supported by fewer authorities, attribute the work to Henry Kosbein who was also a Dominican. See Echard's *Scriptores Dominic.* tom. i. p. 469, &c.

[6] Roger Bacon, quoted by Jebb in the preface to Bacon's larger work, says: "Never were there so great an appearance of wisdom and so great ardour in study, in so many faculties and so many countries, as during the last forty years; for doctors are scattered everywhere—in every city, in every castle, in every borough, students, principally under the two orders (*i.e.* the Dominicans and the Franciscans who were almost the only people that pursued literature), which was never the case till within about forty years; and yet never were there so great ignorance and so great misapprehension. The mass of students doze and yawn like asses over the bad translations (he alludes to the books of Aristotle, the translations of which he would censure as being ridiculous and exceedingly faulty), and waste altogether the time, labour, and expense, they lay out upon them. Appearances are all which engross their attention; and they care not what it is they know, but only to appear very learned before the senseless multitude."

[7] That such was his character strikingly appears from his *Great Work* (*Opus Majus*) as it is called addressed to the Roman pontiff, Clement IV. and published by Stephen Jebb, M.D. from a Dublin manuscript with a learned preface and notes, London, 1733, fol.; a work well worth perusing. The other works of Bacon which were numerous still remain for the most part in manuscript. See concerning him Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 136, &c.; Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iv. p. 264, &c. tom. v. p. 51; Gale, *Ad Jamblichum de Mysteriis Ægyptior.* p. 235; *Nouveau Diction. Histor. et Crit.* tome i. art. *Baco*, p. 3, &c. [Rees' *Cyclopædia*, art. *Roger Bacon.—Mur.*

[8] See Antonius, *Biblioth. Vetus Hispanica*, tom ii. lib. x. cap. i. p. 74; Joseph, *Vie d'Arnaud de Villeneuve*, Aix, 1719, 12mo; Niceron, *Mémoires des Hommes Illustres*, tome xxxiv. p. 82; Eymeric, *Directorium Inquisitorum*, p. 282, where there is an account of his errors. [Arnold or Arnaud de Villeneuve was born about the middle of this century, studied at Paris and Montpelier, visited the schools in Italy and in Spain, where he studied physic under Arabian masters and learned their language. His reputation was very high as a physician and a scholar. At Paris he uttered so freely his opinions of the monks and the mass as to bring himself into danger, and he retired to the court of Frederick of Aragon. He died about A.D. 1312. His works which were numerous were collected and published at Lyons, 1520, fol. and at Basle, 1585. See Rees' *Cyclopædia*, art. *Arnaud.—Mur.*

medical art, and mathematics.[1] But all these received this as the reward of their talents and industry, that they were ranked by the ignorant multitude among magicians and heretics, and hardly escaped being burned at the stake. Bacon was confined many years in a prison; and both the others after their death were, by the Inquisition, judged worthy of the flames.

10. In what manner theology was taught will be stated in a subsequent chapter. The science of law, now divided into sacred or canon law and civil, was prosecuted by vast numbers; but each was disfigured and obscured rather than elucidated by numerous silly expositions. Several persons undertook to collect what are called the decretal epistles of the pontiffs, which constitute no small part of the canon law.[2] The most distinguished in this labour was Raymund of Pennafort, a Catalonian and general of the Dominican order. He compiled his work under the direction of Gregory IX. and divided it into five books. Gregory directed this to be annexed to the *Decretum* of Gratian, and to be expounded in all the schools.[3] Near the end of the century Boniface VIII. caused a new collection to be made, which being subjoined to the five previous books is called the sixth book of the Decretals.[4]

[1] Of him no one has written with more industry than Mazzuchelli, *Notizie Storiche e Critiche intorno alla Vita di Pietro d'Abano*, in Calogera's *Opuscoli Scientifici e Filologici*, tom. xxiii. p. 1—54. [He was born at Apono or Abano, a village near Padua, about the year 1250, studied Greek at Constantinople and medicine and mathematics at Paris, and taught medicine at Padua. He was prosecuted by the Inquisition as being a magician at the time of his death, A.D. 1315. His book entitled *Conciliator*, &c. discusses more than 200 questions and problems, chiefly medical, but others philosophical, astrological, &c. It was first published, Venice, 1471, fol. and frequently afterwards. Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, art. *Apone*, and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxiv. p. 539, &c.—*Mur.*

[2] Concerning them see Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 98, &c.

[3] Gerh. von Mastricht, *Hist. Juris Eccles.* sec. ccclIII. p. 384; Chiflet, *De Juris Utriusque Architectis*, cap. vi. p. 60, &c.; Echard and Quetif's *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 106, &c.; *Acta Sanctor. Antwerp.* tom. i. Januarii, ad diem vii. p. 404, &c.

[4] The five books of the decretals are digested under a series of Tituli, and divided into books according to the order of subjects. The *Liber Sextus Decretalium* pursues the same arrangement, and therefore is divided into five books. Subsequently another collection was made by order of Clement V. called *Clementina*, which is divided also into five books. Several smaller collections afterwards made, first by John XXII. and then by various pontiffs, are not so digested, but are thrown together promiscuously and are therefore called *E travagantes*. The *Decretum* of Gratian, the five books of Decretals by Gregory, and the others mentioned in this note, constitute the *Corpus Juris Canonici*. The voluminous expositors of the Canon Law do not comment upon all the books now enumerated in their order, but they follow the five books of the Decretals regularly through, and introduce what occurs in Gratian, the *Liber Sextus*, &c. at the proper places; thus their commentaries are always divided into five parts and are generally in five vols. fol.—*Mur.*

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

1. BOTH the Greek and Latin writers censure and condemn without reserve the iniquities and vices of their bishops and religious teachers; nor will any one acquainted with the events of this period pronounce their complaints excessive.[5] Some men of high rank attempted to heal this malady which from the head diffused itself throughout the body; but their power was inadequate to so arduous a task. The Greek emperors were impeded by the calamities of the times, and the Latins, on account of the power of the Roman pontiffs and the superstition of the age, could effect nothing of importance.

2. A vivid picture of this is presented to us by the history of the Latin pontiffs. For all who had any share in the government of the church were like sovereign lords, at least in their feelings and disposition. They stoutly maintained with violence and menaces, with both wiles and weapons, those fundamental principles of the papal canon law, that the Roman pontiff is the sovereign lord of the whole world, and that all other rulers in church and state have so much power and authority as he sees fit to permit them to have. Resting on this eternal principle as they conceived it to be, the pontiffs arrogated to themselves the absolute power not only of conferring sacred offices or benefices as they are called, but also of giving away empires and divesting kings and princes of their crowns and authority. The more intelligent indeed for the most part considered [general] councils as superior to the pontiffs; and those kings and princes who were not blinded by superstition restrained the pontiffs from intermeddling with worldly or civil affairs, required them to be contented with the regulation of things sacred while they maintained their own power to the utmost of their ability, and even claimed for themselves supremacy over the church in their respective territories.[6] But they

[5] See the expressive letter of the pontiff Gregory IX. to the archbishop of Bourges A.D. 1227, for correcting the vices of all orders of the clergy, published by Sammarthanus, *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. Appendix, p. 21, &c. See also Du Fresne's notes to the life of St. Lewis, p. 99, where he treats especially of the disorders of the court of Rome.

[6] As specimens the reader may peruse the letters of Innocent III. and the emperor Otho IV. published by Gebauer, in his German *History of the Emperor Richard*, p. 611, 614. And the French and English kings, as well as some others, were equally active with Otho in defending their rights against the pontiffs.

had to do these things cautiously, if they would not learn by experience that the pontiffs had long arms.

3. In order to lord it more absolutely and more securely over both church and state, the pontiffs claimed in particular the right of appointing all presiding officers in the church of every rank and description, bishops, abbots, canons, &c. at their discretion. Thus they who had formerly contended with so much zeal for the free election of presiding officers in the church against the encroachments of emperors and kings, now themselves prostrated all right of free elections; and either reserved to themselves the richer benefices, or provided for the vacant churches by assigning to them their dependants and friends; and they even set aside prelates who were duly elected in order to substitute others in their places.[1] The pretence was, care for the safety of the church and fear lest heretics should creep into the fold of Christ.[2] Innocent III. first assumed this power, and after him Honorius III. Gregory IX. and others. But the progress of this usurpation was resisted in some measure by the bishops who had before been accustomed to confer the smaller benefices, but most of all by the kings of France and England, who issued their complaints, their edicts, and their laws on the subject.[3] In particular Lewis IX. or St. Lewis, king of France, in the year 1268, before he embarked in his crusade, published the famous ordinance called by the French the Pragmatic Sanction, by which he carefully secured the rights of the Gallican church against the machinations of the pontiffs.[4] This vigilance rendered the pontiffs more cautious and slow in their proceeding, but it did not divert them from their purpose. And Boniface VIII. declared boldly and distinctly that the whole church is under the control of the pontiffs; and that kings and patrons and religious bodies have only the powers which the vicars of Christ choose to give them.

4. The legates sent into the different provinces by the pontiffs eagerly imitated their masters; for they unhesitatingly invaded the rights of religious bodies, and conferred the lesser benefices and sometimes the larger also at their pleasure, on those whom they favoured on account of their money or for other reasons;[5] they extorted money in various ways and often in such as were most iniquitous; they deceived the unguarded by forged [papal] briefs and by other artifices; they not unfrequently disturbed the public tranquillity and put themselves at the head of factions; they carried on a most scandalous and wicked traffic in relics and indulgences, and did other things even worse than these. And hence all the writers of those times are full of complaints of the crimes and villanies of the papal legates.[6] Alexander IV. was accordingly compelled in the year 1256 to issue a severe edict against the fraud and avarice of legates;[7] but men who had influence in the court of Rome and were supported by powerful friends could easily evade its force.

5. From the ninth century onward no additions of any consequence had been made to the wealth and patrimony of the church of Rome; but in this century under Innocent III. and afterwards under Nicolaus III. very large accessions of property were obtained, partly by force of arms and partly by the munificence of emperors and kings. As soon as he was consecrated, Innocent brought under subjection to himself the prefect[8] of the city of Rome, who hitherto had sworn fealty to the emperor, and also the senator. He next recovered the marquisate of Ancona, the duchy of Spoleto, the county of Assisi, Montebello, and many other cities and fortresses, which as he asserted had been rent from the patrimony of St. Peter.[9] Frederick II. also to secure the favour of the pontiff in his contest with Otho IV. was very liberal to the Romish church, not only giving very

[1] A great many examples of such Provisions and Reservations can be collected in this century. See Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 443, 466, 470, 488, 491, 493, &c.; *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 69, Appendix; Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, in the *Diplomata* pertaining to this century, passim; Wood's *Ant'q. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 148, 201, 202 [and Hallam's *View of the Middle Ages*, chap. vii. par. ii. vol. ii. p. 10, 8th ed.; Giannone, *Istoria Civile di Napoli*, lib. xiv. cap. iii. sec. ii. and lib. xix. cap. v. sec. ii.—*Mur.*

[2] See an epistle of Innocent IV. in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 468.

[3] See Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 659, &c. and especially tom. iv. p. 911, &c.

[4] In addition to the other writers on the ecclesiastical law of France, see Bulæus, *ubi supra*, tom. iii. p. 389. [The ordinance called the Pragmatic Sanction may be seen in Raynald's *Annales Eccles.* tom. ii. App. ad ann. 1268, no. 37, p. 618. See also Gifford's *History of France*, vol. i. p. 477.—*Mur.*

[5] Examples may be seen in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. 437, 475, 480, &c.

[6] In place of all other writers, the single and excellent historian Matthew Paris may be consulted, *Historia Major*, p. 313, 316, 549, and p. 637, where he says: "The legates, whoever they may be, and all papal nuncios, are wont to impoverish all the countries they enter, or in some way to throw them into disorder." See also Bulæus, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 659, &c.

[7] It was published by Lami, *Deliciæ Eruditor.* tom. iii. p. 300.

[8] At that period one man possessed all the powers of the Roman senate, and acting in their place bore the title of the Senator.—*Mur.*

[9] See Pagi, *Breviarium Romanor. Pontif.* tom. iii. p. 161, &c.: Muratori, *Antiq. Italicæ*, tom. i. p. 328, &c.

valuable lands to Richard, the pontiff's brother,[1] but permitting Richard count of Fondi in the year 1212 to bequeath all his property to the church of Rome.[2] He likewise confirmed the donation of Matilda. Afterwards Nicolaus III. would not crown Rudolph I. until he had in the year 1278 confirmed and acknowledged all the claims of the church, including many which were quite dubious; and the princes of the German Roman empire were required to do the same. Having obtained this [general] acknowledgment, Nicolaus reduced to subjection many cities, villages, and towns of Italy which had hitherto been subject to the emperors, and particularly the whole of Romandiola and Bologna. Thus it appears from a full view of the subject, that it was under these two pontiffs the Romish church attained by force, cunning, and management, to that extensive temporal dominion which it possesses at the present day.[3]

6. Innocent III. who governed the Latin church [from A.D. 1198] till the year 1216, was learned according to the conception of that age, and also laborious, but rough, cruel, avaricious, and arrogant.[4] He adopted the principles of Gregory IX. and claimed absolute dominion, not only over the church but also over religion and the whole world. He therefore created kings both in Europe and Asia according to his pleasure. In Asia he gave a king to the Armenians. In Europe he conferred the honours of royalty A.D. 1204 on Primislaus the Duke of Bohemia; in the same year by his legate he placed a royal crown on Johannicius, duke of the Bulgarians and Walachians; and in person crowned at Rome and saluted as king, Peter II. of Aragon, who had rendered his dominions tributary to the church.[5] Many other proofs of his claiming such absolute power over all the world while Europe remained silent and amazed, may be easily gathered out of his Epistles.

7. Not content with these acts of sovereignty he compelled emperors and the greatest monarchs of Europe to fear and respect the power of the Romish church. Near the commencement of the century when Philip duke of Swabia and Otho IV. the third son of Henry the Lion, contended for the empire of Germany, he at first favoured the side of Otho and terrified Philip with his denunciations; and on the death of Philip A.D. 1209 he placed the imperial diadem upon Otho at Rome. But as Otho would not comply in all things with his wishes, he changed his mind and pronounced him unworthy of the throne; and in the year 1212 substituted in his place Frederic II. his own pupil, son of Henry VI. and king of the two Sicilies.[6] Philip Augustus, king of France, he excommunicated for having dismissed his wife, Isemburgis, daughter of the king of Denmark, and marrying another woman; nor did he cease to harass the king with anathemas till he received back his former wife.[7]

8. But no one suffered more disgracefully and severely from the arrogance of Innocent, than John, surnamed Lackland, the king of England and [lord of] Ireland. He resolutely withstood the pontiff, who had designated Stephen Langton to be archbishop of Canterbury. The pontiff therefore first excommunicated him in the year 1208; and afterwards, in the year 1211, absolved the English and Irish from their oath of allegiance to the king; and finally, in the year 1212, divested him of his authority, and gave the kingdoms of England and Ireland to Philip Augustus, the king of France. Terrified by these decrees and dreading a war, John made his kingdoms tributary to the pontiff in the year 1212.[8] This imprudence brought

[1] Muratori, *Antiq. Italicæ*, tom. v. p. 652.

[2] Raynald's *Continuation of Baronius' Annals*, ad ann. 1212, sec. ii.

[3] See Raynald, *ubi supra*, ad ann. 1278, sec. 47, &c.

[4] See Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 206, 230.

[5] Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. vi. p. 116; De Ferreras, *Histoire d'Espagne*, tome iv p 8.

[6] This history is drawn out at large in the *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. iii. lib. vii. p. 247, &c.

[7] Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 8, &c.; Daniel's *Hist. de la France*, tome iii. p. 475, &c.; Du Bois, *Hist. Eccles. Paris.* tom ii. p. 204, &c. p. 257 &c.

[8] These events are stated at large by Matthew Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 189, &c. 192, 195, &c. See also Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 67; Rapin's *Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 304, &c. [and Hume's *Hist. of Eng.* vol. i. chap. xi. also Maclaine's translation and enlargement of this section as subjoined.—*Mur.* [This prince opposed vigorously the measures of Innocent, who had ordered the monks of Canterbury to choose Stephen Langton, a Roman cardinal of English descent, archbishop of that see, notwithstanding the election of John de Gray to that high dignity, which had been regularly made by the convent, and had been confirmed by royal authority. The pope, after having consecrated Langton at Viterbo, wrote a soothing letter in his favour to the king, accompanied with four rings, and a mystical comment upon the precious stones with which they were enriched. But this present was not sufficient to avert the just indignation of the offended monarch, who sent a body of troops to drive out of the kingdom the monks of Canterbury, who had been engaged by the pope's menaces to receive Langton as their archbishop. The king also declared to the pontiff that if he persisted in imposing a prelate upon the see of Canterbury, in opposition to an election already made, the consequences of such presumptuous obstinacy would in the issue prove fatal to the papal authority in England. Innocent was so far from being terrified by this menacing remonstrance, that in the year 1200 he sent orders to the bishops of London, Worcester, and Ely, to lay the kingdom under an interdict, in case the monarch refused to yield and receive Langton. John, alarmed at this terrible menace and unwilling to break entirely with the pope, declared his readiness to confirm the election made at Rome; but in the act drawn up for that purpose, he wisely threw in a clause

extreme disgrace and immense evils upon the king. Of the Lateran council under Innocent, in the year 1215, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

9. Honorius III. previously called Centius Savelli, who succeeded Innocent, A.D. 1216, and governed the Roman church more than ten years, did not perform so many deeds worthy of being recorded; yet he was very careful that the Romish power should receive no diminution. Pursuing this course, he had a grievous dispute with the emperor Frederick II. a magnanimous prince, whom he himself had crowned at Rome in the year 1220. Frederick imitating his grandfather, laboured to establish and enlarge the authority of the emperors in Italy, to depress the minor states and republics of Lombardy, and to diminish the immense wealth and power of the pontiffs and the bishops; and to accomplish these objects he continually deferred the crusade, which he had promised with an oath. Honorius on the other hand continually urged Frederick to enter on his expedition to Palestine; and at the same time he encouraged, animated, and supported the cities and republics which resisted the emperor, and raised various impediments to his increasing power. Yet this hostility did not at present break out in open war.

10. But under Gregory IX. whose former name was Hugolinus, and who was elevated from the bishopric of Ostia to the pontificate, A.D. 1227, an old man but still bold and resolute, the fire which had been long burning in secret burst into a flame. In the year 1227 the pontiff excommunicated the emperor, who still deferred his expedition to Palestine; but without proceeding in due form of ecclesiastical law, and without regarding the emperor's excuse of ill health. In the year 1228 the emperor sailed with his fleet to Palestine; but instead of waging war, as he was bound to do, on recovering Jerusalem he made a truce with Saladin. While he was absent the pontiff raised war against him in Apulia, and endeavoured to excite all Europe to oppose him. Therefore Frederick hastened back in the year 1229, and after vanquishing his enemies made his peace with the pontiff in the year 1230. But this peace could not be durable, as Frederick would not submit to the control of the pontiff. Therefore as the emperor continued to press heavily on the republics of Lombardy, which were the pontiff's friends, and transferred Sardinia, which the pontiff claimed as part of the patrimony of the church, to his son Entius, and wished to withdraw Rome itself from the power of the pontiff, and did other things very offensive to Gregory; the pontiff in the year 1239 again laid him under anathemas, and accused him to all the sovereigns

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to prevent any interpretation of this compliance which might be prejudicial to his rights, dignity, and prerogative. This exception was rejected, and the interdict was proclaimed. A stop was immediately put to divine service; the churches were shut; the administration of all the sacraments was suspended except that of baptism; [and the eucharist, with confession, under the last necessity]; the dead were buried in the highways without the usual rites or any funeral solemnity. But notwithstanding this interdict, the Cistertian order continued to perform divine service, and several learned and respectable divines, among whom were the bishops of Winchester and Norwich, protested against the injustice of the pope's proceedings.

The interdict not producing the effects expected from it, the pontiff proceeded to a still farther degree of severity and presumption, and denounced a sentence of excommunication against the person of the English monarch. This sentence, which was issued out in the year 1208, was followed about three years after by a bull, absolving all his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and ordering all persons to avoid him on pain of excommunication. But it was in the year 1212 that Innocent carried his impious tyranny to the most enormous length, when assembling a council of cardinals and prelates he deposed John, declared the throne of England vacant, and wrote to Philip Augustus, king of France, to execute this sentence, to undertake the conquest of England, and to unite that kingdom to his dominions for ever. He at the same time published another bull, exhorting all Christian princes to contribute whatever was in their power to the success of this expedition, promising to those who seconded Philip in this grand enterprise the same indulgences which were thus granted to those who carried arms against the infidels in Palestine. The French monarch entered into the views of the Roman pontiff, and made immense preparations for the invasion of England. The king of England on the other hand assembled his forces, and was putting himself in a posture of defence, when Pandulf, the pope's legate, arrived at Dover, and proposed a conference in order to prevent the approaching rupture and to conjure the storm. This artful legate terrified the king who met him at that place, with an exaggerated account of the armament of Philip on the one hand, and of the disaffection of the English on the other; and persuaded him that there was no possible way left of saving his dominions from the formidable arms of the French king, but of putting them under the protection of the Roman see. John, finding himself in such a perplexing situation, and full of distrust both in the nobles of his court and in the officers of his army, complied with this dishonourable proposal, did homage to Innocent, resigned his crown to the legate, and received it again as a present from the see of Rome, to which he rendered his kingdoms tributary and swore fealty as a vassal and feudatory. In the act by which he resigned thus scandalously his kingdoms to the papal jurisdiction, he declared that he had been compelled to this measure neither by fear nor by force; but that it was all his own voluntary deed, performed by the advice and with the consent of the barons of his kingdom. He obliged himself and his heirs to pay the sum of seven hundred marks for England, and three hundred for Ireland, in acknowledgment of the pope's supremacy and jurisdiction; and consented that he, or such of his successors as should refuse to pay the submission now stipulated to the see of Rome, should forfeit all their right to the British [English] crown.—*Mael.* [See the Romanist view of these transactions in Lingard's *Hist. of Eng.* 4to, vol. iii. p. 15. They are also treated of at length by Hurter in his *Geschichte des Papst Innocenz des Dritten u. sein Zeitgen.* Hamb. 1834. 2 vols. 8vo, translated into French by MM. Jager and Vial, 2 vols. 8vo. The original documents are in Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. vol. x.—*R.*

of Europe, of many crimes and enormities, and particularly of speaking contemptuously of the Christian religion. The emperor, on the other hand, avenged the injuries he received, both by written publications and by his military operations in Italy, in which he was for the most part successful; and thus he defended his reputation and brought the pontiff into perplexity and difficulty. To rescue himself in some measure, in the year 1240 Gregory summoned a general council to meet at Rome, intending to hurl the emperor from his throne by the votes of the holy fathers. But Frederick in the year 1241 captured the Genoese fleet, which was carrying the greater part of the prelates to the council at Rome, and seizing the persons and the treasures of the prelates he cast them into prison. Broken down by these calamities and by others of no less magnitude, Gregory sank into the grave a few days after.[1]

11. The successor of Gregory, Geoffry of Milan who assumed the name of Cœlestine IV. died before his consecration; and after a long interregnum in the year 1243, Sinibald, of the Genoese family of Fiesque who were counts, succeeded under the pontifical name of Innocent IV. a man inferior to none of his predecessors in arrogance and insolence of temper.[2] Between him and Frederick there were at first negociations for peace, but the terms insisted on by the pontiff were deemed too hard by the emperor. Hence Innocent, feeling himself unsafe in any part of Italy, A.D. 1244 removed from Genoa to Lyons in France; and the next year assembled a council at Lyons, in the presence of which but without its approbation (whatever the Roman writers may affirm to the contrary[3]) he declared Frederick unworthy of the imperial throne. This most unrighteous decision of the pontiff had such influence upon the German princes who were infected with the superstition of the times, that they elected first Henry, landgrave of Thuringia, and on his death William, count of Holland, to the imperial throne. Frederick continued the war vigorously and courageously in Italy and with various success, until a dysentery terminated his life in Apulia on the 13th of December, A.D. 1250. On the death of his foe, Innocent returned to Italy in the year 1251.[4] From this time especially (though their origin was much earlier), the two noted factions of Guelphs and Gibellines, of which the former sided with the pontiffs and the latter with the emperors, most unhappily rent asunder and devastated all Italy.[5]

12. Alexander IV. whose name as count of Segni and bishop of Ostia was Raynald, became pontiff on the death of Innocent, A.D. 1257, and reigned six years and six months. Excepting some efforts to put down a grandson of Frederick II. called Conradin, and to quiet the perpetual commotions of Italy, he busied himself more in regulating the internal affairs of the church than in national concerns. The Mendicant Friars or the Dominicans and Franciscans, especially owed much to his benevolence.[6] Urban IV. before his election to the pontificate in 1261 was James, patriarch of Jerusalem, a man born of obscure parentage at Troyes. He distinguished himself more by instituting the festival of the body of Christ than by any other achievement. He indeed formed many projects but he executed few of them, being prevented by death in the year 1264, after a short reign of three years.[7] Not much longer was the reign of Clement IV. a Frenchman and bishop of Sabina, under the name of Guido Fulcodi, who was created pontiff in the year 1265. Yet he is better known on several accounts, but especially for his conferring the kingdom of Naples on Charles of Anjou, brother to Lewis IX. the king of France, who is well known to have beheaded Conradin, the only surviving grandson of Frederick II. after conquering him in battle; and this if not by the counsel, at least with the consent of the pontiff.[8]

[1] Besides the original writers who are all collected by Muratori, *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.* and the authors of German and Italian history, of whom however few or none are impartial, the reader should consult especially Peter de Vineis, *Epistolæ*, liber i. and Matthew Paris, *Historia Major.* Add also Raynald's *Annales*; Muratori's *Annales Italiæ*, tom. vii. and *Antiq. Italicæ*, tom. ix. p. 325, 517, &c. and others. But this whole history needs a fuller investigation.

[2] See Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*, especially on A.D. 1254, p. 771.

[3] This council is classed among the general councils, yet the French do not so regard it. [See Bossuet's *Defensio Declarationis Cleri Gallici*, tom. i. p. 311; Natalis Alexander, *Hist Eccles. Selecta Cap.* sæcul. xiii. diss. v. art. iii. sec. viii.; Du Pin's *Auteurs Ecclés.* centur. xiii. cap. i.; and Walch's *Hist. der Kirchenversamml.* p. 739, &c. There were about 140 prelates in the council. Frederick's advocate appealed to a more general council. The pontiff maintained it to be general enough. Walch allows that the council assented to the excommunication of the emperor but not to his deposition, which was the mere sovereign act of the pontiff, and at which all present were astonished. —*Mur.*

[4] See in addition to the writers already mentioned Nicol. de Curbio, *Vita Innocentii IV.* in Baluze's *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 353, &c.

[5] Muratori's *Diss. de Guelfis et Gibellinis*, in his *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. iv. p. 606.

[6] Two biographies of him are found in Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.* tom. iii. par i. p. 592, &c. —*Schl.*

[7] His biography also may be seen in Muratori, *ubi supra*, tom. iii. par. i. p. 593, and par. ii. p. 405.—*Schl.*

[8] Two lives of him likewise are in Muratori, *ubi supra*, tom. iii. par. i. p. 594. —*Schl.*

13. On the death of Clement IV. there were vehement contests among the cardinals respecting the election of a new pontiff, which continued till the third year; when at last A.D. 1271 Thibald of Placentia, and archdeacon of Liege, was chosen and assumed the name of Gregory X.[1] He had been called from Palestine where he had resided; and having witnessed the depressed state of the Christians in the Holy Land, nothing more engaged his thoughts than sending them succour. Accordingly, as soon as he was consecrated he appointed a council to be held at Lyons in France, and attended it in person in the month of May, A.D. 1274. The principal subjects discussed were the re-establishment of the Christian dominion in the East, and the reunion of the Greek and Latin churches. This has commonly been reckoned the fourteenth general council; and it is remarkable for the new regulations it established for the election of Roman pontiffs and the celebrated provision which is still in force requiring the cardinal electors to be shut up in conclave.[2] Neither did this pontiff, though of a milder disposition than many others, hesitate to repeat and inculcate that odious maxim of Gregory VII. that the pontiff is supreme lord of the world and especially of the Roman empire. For in the year 1271 he sent a menacing letter to the princes of Germany, admonishing them to elect an emperor forthwith, and without regarding the wishes or the claims of Alphonso, king of Castile, otherwise he would appoint a head of the empire himself. Accordingly the princes assembled and elected Rudolph I. of the house of Hapsburg.

14. Gregory X. died in the year 1276, and his three immediate successors were all chosen and died in the same year. Innocent V. previously Peter of Tarantaise, was a Dominican monk and bishop of Ostia. Hadrian V. was a Genoese, named Ottobonus and cardinal of St. Hadrian. John XXI. previously Peter, bishop of Tusculum, was a native of Portugal. The next pontiff who came to the chair in 1277 reigned longer. He was John Cajetan of the family of Ursini, a Roman and cardinal of St. Nicolaus, and assumed the title of Nicolaus III. As has been already observed, he greatly enlarged what is called the patrimony of St. Peter; and as his actions show, had formed other great projects which he would undoubtedly have accomplished, being a man of energy and enterprise, had he not prematurely died in the year 1280.

15. His successor Martin IV. elected by the cardinals in 1281, was a French nobleman named Simon de Brie, a man of equal boldness and energy of character with Nicolaus. For he excommunicated Michael Palæologus the Greek emperor, because he had violated the compact of union with the Latins, which was settled at the council of Lyons under Gregory X.; and Peter of Aragon he divested of his kingdoms and of all his property, because he had seized upon Sicily; and he bestowed them gratuitously on Charles son to the king of France; but he was projecting many other things in conformity with the views of the pontiffs, when he was suddenly overtaken by death, A.D. 1285. His plans were prosecuted by his successor, James Savelli, who was elected in 1285 and took the name of Honorius IV. But his distressing disease in his joints [both in his hands and his feet], of which he died in 1287, prevented his attempting anything further. Nicolaus IV. previously Jerome d'Ascoli, bishop of Palæstrina, who attained to the pontifical chair in 1288 and died in 1292, was able to attend to the affairs both of the church and of the nations with more diligence and care. Hence he is represented in history sometimes as the arbiter in the disputes of sovereign princes, sometimes as the strenuous assertor of the rights and prerogatives of the church, and sometimes as the assiduous promoter of missionary labours among the Tartars and other nations of the East. But nothing lay nearer his heart than the restoration of the dominion of the Christians in Palestine, where their cause was nearly ruined. In this he laboured strenuously indeed but in vain, and death intercepted all his projects.[3]

16. After his death the church was without a head till the third year, the cardinals disagreeing exceedingly among themselves. At length on the 5th of July, 1295, they unanimously chose an aged man greatly venerated for his sanctity, Peter surnamed De Murrone, from a mountain in which he led a solitary and very austere mode of life, who assumed the pontifical name of Cœlestine V. But as the austerity of his life tacitly censured the corrupt morals of the Romish court, and especially of the cardinals, and as he showed very plainly that he was more solicitous to advance the holiness of the church than its

[1] The records of this election were published by Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, tom. iv. p. 330, &c.

[2] The acts of this council are in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vii. p. 666, &c.—*Mur.*

[3] A biography of this pope may be seen in Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.* tom. iii. par. i. p. 612.—*Schl.*

worldly grandeur, he was soon considered as unworthy of the office which he had reluctantly assumed. Hence some of the cardinals, and especially Benedict Cajetan, easily persuaded him to abdicate the chair in the fourth month of his pontificate. He died A.D. 1296 in the castle of Fumone, where his successor detained him a captive lest he should raise disturbance. But afterwards Clement V. enrolled him in the calendar of the saints. To him that sect of Benedictine monks who were called after him Cœlestines owed its origin; a sect still existing in Italy and France, though now nearly extinct and differing from the other Benedictines by their more rigid rules of life.[1]

17. He was succeeded A.D. 1294 by Benedict, cardinal Cajetan, the man by whom especially he had been induced to resign the pontificate and who now assumed the name of Boniface VIII. This was a man formed to produce disturbance both in church and state, and eager to the highest degree of indiscretion for confirming and enlarging the power of the pontiffs. From his first entrance on the office he arrogated sovereign power over all things sacred and secular, overawed kings and nations with the terror of his bulls, decided the controversies of sovereigns as their arbiter, enlarged the code of canon law by new accessions, namely, by the sixth book of Decretals, made war among others particularly on the noble family of Colonna which had opposed his election; in a word, he seemed to be another Gregory VII. at the head of the church.[2] At the close of the century [A.D. 1300] he established the year of jubilee which is still solemnized at Rome.[3] The rest of his acts and his miserable exit belong to the next century.[4]

18. Although Innocent III. in the Lateran council of 1215 had forbidden the introduction of any new religions, that is, new orders of monks,[5] yet by Innocent himself and by the subsequent pontiffs many religious orders before unknown were not only tolerated, but approved and endowed with various privileges and honours. And considering the state of the church in this age, it is not strange that this law of Innocent was tacitly abrogated. For passing by other reasons, the opposers of the church, particularly the heretics, were everywhere multiplying; the secular clergy, as they were called, were more attentive to their private interests than to those of the church, and lived luxuriously upon the revenues provided by their predecessors; the old orders of monks had nearly all abandoned their original strictness, and disgusted the people by their shameful vices, their sloth, and their licentiousness; and they all advanced rather than retarded the progress of the heretics. The church therefore had occasion for new orders of servants, who should possess both the power and the disposition to conciliate the good-will of the people, and diminish the odium resting on the Romish church by the sanctity of their deportment, and to search out and harass the heretics by their sermons, their arguments, and their arms.

19. Some of the orders of monks which originated in this century are now extinct, while others are in a very flourishing state. Among those now extinct were the Humiliati, who originated anterior to the thirteenth century, but were first approved and subjected to the rule of St. Benedict by Innocent III. These were suppressed by Pius V. on account of their extremely corrupt morals, A.D. 1571.[6] The Jacobites, mendicants who were established by Innocent III. but ceased to exist in this very century, subsequently I think to the

[1] See Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tome vi. p. 180. [This Pope wrote a history of his own life which, with his other works, is in the *Biblioth. Max. Patrum. Lugd.* tom. xxv. p. 765. Other biographies of him are to be found in Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.* tom. iii. par. i. p. 653, &c. His life is also written by Papebroch, *Acta Sanctor.* tom. iv. mens. Maii, p. 483.—*Schl.*

[2] A formal biography of him written by Rubeus, a Benedictine monk, was published at Rome, 1651, 4to, under the title of *Bonifacius VIII. e Familia Cajetanorum principum Romanus Pontifex.* [Another biography of him by Guido is extant in Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Ital.* tom. iii. par. i. p. 641. The history of his contests with the king of France was written by De Puy, entitled *Hist. du Différend de Philippe le Bel et de Boniface VIII.* Paris, 1655, fol.; also by Baillet, *Histoire des Démêlez du Pape Boniface VIII. avec Philippe le Bel*, Paris, 1718, 12mo.—*Schl.* [For a summary account of this quarrel see Gifford's *History of France*, vol. i. p. 507, &c.—*Mur.*

[3] In this account of the pontiffs I have chiefly followed Papebroch, Pagi, and Muratori in his *Annales Italiæ*, yet always consulting the original writers whom Muratori has collected in his *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.*

[4] On the history of the Popes contained in the preceding sections (from section 6 to sec. 17) the student should refer to Gieseler, who has given a very carefully digested summary of their several reigns, particularly of the first and the last of them, Innocent III. and Boniface VIII. and, as usual, has furnished the reader with many valuable quotations and references to authorities in the notes. See Cunningham's transl. vol. ii. p. 200—250. Waddington has devoted chapter xx. of his *Hist. of the Church* (vol. ii. p. 278—320) to the same period, commencing however from the death of Innocent.—*R.*

[5] *Acta Concilii Lateran. IV.* canon xiii.:—"Ne nimia religionum diversitas gravem in ecclesia Dei confusionem inducat, firmiter prohibemus ne quis de cætero novam religionem inveniat; sed quicunque voluerit ad religionem converti, unam de approbatis assumat. Similiter qui voluerit religiosam domum fundare de novo, regulam et institutionem accipiat de religionibus approbatis." See Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vii. p. 31.—*Mur.*

[6] Helyot's *Hist. des Ordres*, tome vi. p. 161.

council of Lyons.[1] The Vallischolares who were collected not long after the commencement of the century by the Scholares, that is, by the four professors of theology at Paris, and hence were first called Scholars; but afterwards from a certain valley in Campania to which they retired in the year 1234, their name was changed to Vallischolares [Scholars of the Valley].[2] This society was first governed by the rule of St. Augustine, but it is now united with the canons regular of St. Geneviève. The fraternity of the Blessed Virgin mother of Christ, which began to exist A.D. 1266 and was extinguished in the year 1274.[3] The Knights of Faith and Charity, established in France to suppress public robberies, and approved by Gregory IX.[4] The Eremite brethren of St. William, duke of Aquitaine.[5] I pass over the Brethren of the Sack, the Bethlehemites, and several others. For scarcely any century was more fruitful than this in new sects of monks, living under various rules and regulations.[6]

20. Among the new monastic sects which still exist were the Servants of the Ever-blessed Virgin, a fraternity founded in the year 1233 in Tuscany, by seven pious Florentines at the head of whom was Philip Benizi. This sect adopted indeed the rule of St. Augustine, but it was consecrated to the memory of the holy widowhood of the blessed Virgin, and therefore wore a black habit[7] and had other peculiarities. The holy wars of the Christians in Palestine, in which many Christians became captives among the Mohammedans, produced near the close of the preceding century the order of Brethren of the Holy Trinity, which first acquired stability and permanence in this century. Its originators were John de Matha and Felix de Valois, two pious Frenchmen who led a solitary life at Cerfroy in the diocese of Meaux, where the principal house of the sect still exists. These monks were called Brethren of the Holy Trinity, because all their churches are dedicated to the Holy Trinity; also Mathurini, because their church in Paris has for its tutelar saint St. Mathurinus, and likewise Brethren of the Redemption of Captives, because they are required to make the redemption of Christian captives from the Mohammedans a primary object, and to devote one-third part of their revenues to this purpose. Their rule of life formerly was austere, but by the indulgence of the pontiffs it is now rendered easy to be kept.[8]

21. But the sects now mentioned, and indeed all others, were far inferior in reputation, in privileges, in the number of members, and in other respects, to the Mendicant Orders (those which had no permanent revenues or possessions) which were first established in Europe during this century. This sort of monks had then become exceedingly necessary in the church. For the wealthy orders, withdrawn by their opulence from solicitude about religion and from obsequiousness to the pontiffs, and indulging themselves in idleness, voluptuousness, and all kinds of vice, could no longer be employed in any arduous enterprise; and the heretics were of course allowed to roam about securely and to gather congregations of followers. Besides, all the parties opposed to the church looked upon voluntary poverty as the primary virtue of a servant of Jesus Christ; they required their own teachers to live in poverty like the apostles; they reproached the church for its riches, and for the vices and profligacy of the clergy growing out of those riches; and by their commendation of poverty and contempt of riches, they chiefly gained the attention and good-will of the people. A class of people therefore was very much wanted, who by the austerity of their manners, their contempt of riches, and the external sanctity of their rules of life, might resemble such teachers as the heretics both commended and exhibited, and whom neither their worldly interests and pleasures nor the fear of princes and nobles could induce to neglect their duties to the church and to the pontiff. The first to discern this was Innocent III. whose partiality for the orders professing poverty

[1] Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 161.

[2] Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 15; *Acta Sanctor.* mens. Februar. tom ii. p. 482.

[3] Sammarthanus, *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 653. &c.

[4] *Gallix Christiana*, tom. i. Append. p. 165; Martene's *Voyage Littér. de deux Bénédictins*, tome ii. p. 23, &c.

[5] Bolland, *De Ordine Eremitar. S. Guilelmi*, in the *Acta Sanctor.* Febr. tom ii. p. 472, &c.

[6] Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 815, ed. Watts. "Tot jam apparuerunt ordines in Anglia, ut ordinum confusio videretur inordinata." The same thing occurred in other countries of Europe in this age.

[7] Besides the common historians of the monastic orders who are not always accurate, see Paul the Florentine's *Dialogus de Origine Ordinis Servorum*, in Lami's *Deliciæ Erudit.* tom. i. p. 1—48.

[8] Besides Helyot and the others, see Toussaint du Plessis, *Hist. de l'Eglise de Meaux*, tome i. p. 172 and 566, &c.; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 523, &c.; Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 133, &c. In ancient writers this sect is called the *Order of Asses*, because their rule requires the brethren to ride on asses and forbids their using horses. See Du Fresne's Notes on Joinville's *Life of St. Lewis*, p. 81, &c. But by the allowance of the pontiffs they may at the present day use horses if they have occasion, and they do use them. A similar order was instituted in Spain A.D. 1228, by Paul Nolasco, and called the Order of St. Mary for the Ransoming of Captives. See the *Acta Sanctor.* Januarii, tom. ii. p. 980, &c.

was most manifest;[1] and the subsequent pontiffs, learning by experience the great utility of these orders, continued to cherish and encourage them. This partiality of the pontiffs becoming manifest, so great was the increase of numbers in these orders, that they became a heavy burden not only upon the people but upon the church.

22. This serious evil Gregory X. endeavoured to obviate in the general council of Lyons A.D. 1272. For he prohibited all the orders which had originated since the council of Innocent III. held at Rome in 1215; and in particular he reduced the unbridled throng (as he denominates them) of the Mendicants to four orders; namely, Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustinian Eremites.[2] The Carmelites, who were first established in Palestine in the preceding century, were in this removed to Europe; and by Honorius III. A.D. 1226, placed among the approved orders in the western church. The order of Augustinians or Eremites was formed by Alexander IV. in the year 1256; for he required various societies of Eremites, of which some followed the regulations of William the Eremite, and others wished to be considered as following Augustine, and others called themselves by other names, all to unite in one fraternity and live under the same rules, namely, those said to be prescribed by Augustine.[3]

23. As these orders had liberty from the pontiffs to spread themselves everywhere, and to instruct the people and to teach the youth, and as they exhibited a far greater show of piety and sanctity than the older orders of monks, all Europe suddenly burst forth in admiration and reverence for them. Very many cities, as appears from the most credible documents, were divided for their sakes into four sections, of which the first was assigned to the Dominicans, the second to the Franciscans, the third to the Carmelites, and the fourth to the Augustinians. The people frequented almost exclusively the churches of the Mendicants, and but seldom asked for the sacraments, as they are called, or for burial, except among them, which naturally called forth grievous complaints from the ordinary priests who had the charge of parishes. Indeed the history of this and the following centuries shows, that so great was the reputation and influence of these mendicant Friars that they were employed in transactions of the highest magnitude, in negotiations for peace, in the ratification of treaties, in controlling the policy of courts, in arranging financial concerns, and in various other functions totally at variance with the monastic profession.

24. But the Dominicans and Franciscans acquired much greater glory and power than the other two orders of mendicants. During three centuries they had the direction of nearly everything in church and state, held the highest offices both ecclesiastical and civil, taught with almost absolute authority in all the schools and churches, and defended the authority and majesty of the Roman pontiffs against kings, bishops, and heretics, with amazing zeal and success. What the Jesuits were after Luther began the Reformation, the same were the Dominicans and Franciscans from the thirteenth century to the time of Luther,—the soul of the whole church and state, and the projectors and executors of all the enterprises of any moment. Dominic, a Spaniard of Calahorra and of the illustrious family of Guzman, a regular canon of Osma, a man of very ardent temperament, burning with hatred against the heretics who then greatly disquieted the church, went with a few companions into France to engage in combat with them; and with sermons, writings, military force, and the tremendous tribunal of the Inquisition which owed its origin to him, he attacked most vigorously and not without success the Albigenses and the other opposers of the church. Then going into Italy after such achievements, he readily acquired great favour with the pontiffs, Innocent III. and Honorius III. and obtained leave to establish a new fraternity to be especially opposed to heretics. At first he and his associates adopted the rule of the canons commonly called St. Augustine's, with the addition of a few precepts which were more rigid; but he afterwards went over to the class of monks, and in a convention of the fraternity at Bologna in the year 1220, he enjoined upon them poverty and contempt for all permanent revenues and possessions. Soon after the transaction at Bologna, he

[1] Innocent III. sent these Mendicant friars into all parts of the world, as heralds of the papal power; and to increase their respectability and influence, he exempted them from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and declared them to be responsible immediately and solely to the see of Rome.—*Schl.*

[2] *Concilium Lugdun. II.* A.D. 1274, Can. xxiii. (in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vii. p. 715) "Importuna petentium inhiatio religionum (thus the monastic orders are described) multiplicationem extorsit, verum etiam aliquorum præsumptuosa temeritas diversorum ordinum præcipue Mendicantium—effrenatam quasi multitudinem adinvenit.—Hinc ordines mendicantes post dictum concilium (Lateranense A.D. 1215) adinventos—perpetuæ prohibitioni subjicimus."

[3] This ordinance is found in the *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. i. p. 110, of the new edition. Besides the writers on all the monastic orders and the historians of the Augustinian order in particular, see the *Acta Sanctorum*, mensis Februarii, tom ii. p. 472.

died in the year 1221.[1] The members of the order were at first called Preaching Friars (*Fratres Prædicatores*), because their attention was principally devoted to instructing mankind by preaching; but afterwards they were named from their founder Dominicans.[2]

25. Francis the son of a merchant of Assisi in Umbria, a dissolute and reckless youth, upon recovering from a very threatening sickness which he had brought upon himself by his licentious, vicious conduct, exhibited in his life and behaviour a kind of religious idiocy; and subsequently in the year 1208, having accidentally heard in a church the words of the Saviour, Matt. x. 10, he conceived that the essence of the gospel, as taught by Jesus Christ, consisted in absolute penury of all things; and therefore he prescribed this for himself and some others who followed him. He was unquestionably an honest and pious man, but grossly ignorant, and weakened in his intellect by the force of his disease. His new fraternity was viewed by Innocent III. as well suited to the exigencies of the church at that time, and was formally approved by Honorius III. A.D. 1223; and it had become very numerous when its founder died in the year 1226. To manifest his humility, Francis would not allow the members of his order to be called Brethren (*Fratres*), but only Little Brothers (*Fraterculi*); in Italian, *Fraticelli;* in Latin, *Fratres Minores* [Minorites], which is the name they still retain.

[1] See Echard and Quetif's *Scriptores Ordinis Domin.* Paris, 1719, fol. tom. i. p. 84, &c.; *Acta Sanctor.* April, tom. iii. p. 872, &c.; Jansenius, *Vita S. Dominici*, Antw. 1672, 8vo, and the long list of writers mentioned by Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Medii Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 137, &c.; to which may be added several others, and especially Bremond's *Bullarium Ordinis Dominici*, published at Rome, but which has not fallen in my way. [Also the *Annales Ord. Prædicatorum*, Rome, 1756, fol. tom. i. which volume is wholly devoted to the life of St. Dominic.—*Schl.* [That St. Dominic was of the noble family of Guzman has been disputed, but it is agreed that he was born at Calahorra, A.D. 1170, and that he was early sent to the high school at Valencia, where he studied theology four years and led an austere and studious life. In the year 1199, the bishop of Osma made him a presbyter and a canon of his cathedral. He soon after became sub-prior of that body. He was now very devotional, studious, zealous for the faith, and a great preacher. In 1206 the bishop took Dominic with him into the south of France, where they met the papal legate and others then labouring with little effect to convert the Albigenses. The bishop of Osma told them they did not take the right course, that they ought to go forth unadorned and without purse or scrip, like the apostles. He and Dominic set them a pattern, which they followed with better success. After visiting Rome, the bishop had leave form the pope to preach in France during two years. He did so with Dominic to assist him. Many others also laboured with him. After the return of the bishop to Spain, Dominic continued to preach to the heretics, sometimes with assistants and sometimes almost alone. In 1208 a papal legate was murdered and a crusade commenced. Dominic persevered with great zeal and fortitude, preaching and begging his bread from door to door. He gradually drew around him several persons of like spirit. In the year 1215, he attended the general council of the Lateran, and obtained leave to establish a new order of monks, yet adopting some one of the already approved rules. He adopted that of St. Augustine, founded monasteries of Preaching Friars in diverse places, and was constituted general of the whole. He was very active and efficient till his death in 1221. His sixty monasteries divided into eight provinces now fell under the care of his successor and biographer, Jordan, a noted preacher of the Order, educated at Paris. He presided over the Dominicans till A.D. 1237, and was succeeded by Raymund de Pennafort till 1275; when John of Wildeshausen became the general. In the year 1277 the Order had thirty-five cloisters for men in Spain, fifty-two in France, thirty-two in Tuscany, fifty-three in Germany, forty-six in Lombardy, thirty in Hungary, thirty-six in Poland, twenty-eight in Denmark, forty in England, besides some in other countries, and a large number of nunneries. The next year it counted four hundred and seventeen cloisters. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxvii. p. 382, &c. —*Mur.*

[2] In ancient writers they are sometimes called also Major Friars (*Fratres Majores*). See Matthæus, *Analecta Veteris Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 172. But this was rather a nickname by which they were distinguished from the Franciscans, who called themselves Minor Friars (*Fratres Minores*). In France and the neighbouring countries they were called Jacobins or Jacobites, because the first domicile granted to them at Paris was and is still sacred to St. James [Rue de St. Jacques.— In England they were called Black Friars from the colour of their habit; and the part of London where they first dwelt is still called by this name.—*Mur.*

[3] The life of St. Francis was written by Bonaventura, and has been often published. But of all the writers who give account of him, the most full is Lucas Wadding [an Irish Franciscan monk who died at Rome A.D. 1657], in the first volume of his *Annales Minorum*, a work containing a very ample history of the Franciscan order, confirmed by innumerable documents and published with considerable enlargement by Joseph Maria Fonseca ab Ebora, Rome, 1731 and onwards, in eighteen volumes, folio. The same Wadding published the *Opuscula Sti. Francisci*, Antw. 1623, 4to, and the *Biblioth. Ordinis Minorum*, Rome, 1650, 4to. The other writers on this celebrated order are mentioned by Fabricius, *Biblio. Lat. Medii Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 573, &c. [St. Francis was born at Assisi, A.D. 1182, and at his baptism was named John. But his father, being a merchant, who did much business in the south of France, brought him into such familiar intercourse with Frenchmen that he learned to speak their language fluently, and was thence called Franciscus. His father educated him for his own business and early employed him in traffic. But he was negligent in business, profligate, and debauched, yet generous to the poor and brave. He always acted from the impulse of feeling, and his imagination overpowered his judgment. After his sickness he resolved to be religious, and became as extravagant in this course as he was before in his worldly pleasures. Meeting one day a leper he dismounted from his horse, kissed the sores of the sick man, and gave him alms in order to overcome the revolting feelings of his nature. He fancied that Christ appeared to him, and that he had visions and prophetic dreams. In a pilgrimage to Rome he saw a multitude of beggars about the church of St. Peter, and exchanged clothes with one of the most shabby, and herded some days with the rest. Praying one day near the walls of a decayed church at Assisi, he heard a voice saying, "Go, Francis, and repair my house which you see is decayed." He immediately went and sold a large amount of cloth belonging to his father, and brought the amount to the priest of that church, who hesitated to receive it. His father was offended and attempted to arrest him as a deranged person; in which light he was now generally viewed by his fellow-townsmen. In the year 1206 his father took all property out of his hands, lest he should

26. These two orders wonderfully supported the tottering fabric of the Romish church in various ways; such as by searching out and extirpating heretics, by performing embassies for the advantage of the church, and by confirming the people in their loyalty to the pontiffs. Sensible of their good services and fidelity, the pontiffs employed them in all the more important offices and transactions, and conferred on them the highest and most invidious privileges and advantages.[1] Among these prerogatives it was not the least, that in all places and without license from the bishops they might preach publicly, be confessors to all who wished to employ them, and grant absolutions. They were also furnished with ample power to grant indulgences, by which the pontiffs aimed to furnish the Franciscans especially with the means of support.[2] But these favours conferred in such profusion upon the Dominicans and Franciscans, while they weakened the ancient discipline, and infringed upon the rights of the first and second orders of the clergy, produced deadly hatred between the mendicant orders on the one hand, and the bishops and priests on the other, and caused violent struggles and commotions in every country of Europe and even in the city of Rome itself.[3] And although the pontiffs of this and the following centuries used various means to compose and terminate these commotions, yet they were never able to extinguish them; because the interests of the church required that its most faithful servants and satellites, the Mendicant monks, should continue to be honoured and secure.[4]

27. Among these contests of the Mendi-

squander it; and he now clothed himself in skins and lived like a beggar, travelling up and down the country and exhorting all to be religious. Some regarded him as insane and others as a saint. By begging he raised money to repair not only the old church before mentioned, but likewise two others; one of which, near Assisi was called the church of Portiuncula, where he fixed his head-quarters, and at length established his new order of monks about the year 1208. Absolute poverty, entire obedience, much fasting and prayer, with constant efforts to convert sinners, were the requisites for admission to his order. In the year 1210 he had but eleven followers, when he obtained leave of the pope to continue his monastery. In 1211 he sent his monks all over Italy to preach and beg their bread. The order now increased rapidly and was in high repute. Francis himself travelled, and preached, and had revelations, and wrought miracles. Once while preaching he could not be heard for the chattering of numerous swallows. He turned to them and said: "My sisters, you have talked long enough, it is time now for me to speak; do you keep silence while the word of God is preached." They instantly obeyed. In 1212 he attempted to sail to the East in order to preach to the Mohammedans, but the winds drove him back. In the year 1214 he went to Morocco, and preached a while without effect among the believers in Mohammed. In 1215 he attended the Lateran council, when Innocent III. publicly declared his approbation of the Franciscan society. In 1216 he held at Assisi the first general chapter of his order; the next year cardinal Ugolino, afterwards pope Gregory IX. became patron of the order; the year following, 1219, no less than five thousand are said to have attended the general chapter. He now sent his preachers abroad all over Europe. He himself this year went to Egypt and preached to the sultan of that country. On his return he found that his deputy-general, Elias, had relaxed somewhat the strictness of his rules; but he restored things to their former state. He would not allow splendour in his churches nor the formation of libraries, and individuals must not own even a psalter or hymn-book. In 1220 five Franciscan missionaries were put to death in Morocco, which contributed much to raise the fame of the order, and to enlarge it. In 1222 the pope gave the Franciscans a right to preach everywhere, and to hear confessions and grant absolutions in all places. In 1224 St. Francis, after praying for greater conformity with Christ, had scars or fungus flesh, it is said, formed on his hands and feet and side, to represent the five wounds of Christ. During the two following years he lived an invalid at Assisi, and at last died on the 14th of October, 1226. See Bonaventura, *ubi supra*, and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxvii. p. 405, &c.—*Mur.*

[1] Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 634, says: Our lord the pope now made the Franciscans and Dominicans, contrary to their wishes I suppose and to the injury and scandal of their order, his publicans and his bedels.—*Ibid*, p. 639. Our lord the pope has not ceased to amass treasures, making the Dominican and Franciscan monks, even against their inclinations, not fishers of men but of money. See also p. 662, 664, and many other places. At the year 1236, p. 354, he says: The Franciscans and Dominicans were counsellors and envoys of princes and even secretaries to our lord the pope; thus securing to themselves too much secular favour. At the year 1239, p. 465, he says: At that time the Dominicans and Franciscans were the counsellors and special envoys of kings; and as formerly those clothed in soft raiment were in kings' houses, so at this time those clothed in vile raiment were in the houses, the halls, and the palaces of princes.

[2] See Baluze, *Miscell.* tom. iv. p. 490, tom. vii. p. 392. It is notorious that no sect of monks had more or ampler indulgences for distribution than the Franciscans. Without them these good friars, who were required to have no possessions and revenues, could not have lived and multiplied. As a substitute for fixed revenues therefore this extensive sale of indulgences was granted them.

[3] See Baluze. *Miscell.* tom. vii. p. 441.

[4] See Launoi, *Explicata Ecclesiæ Traditio circa Canonem; Omnis Utriusque Sexus; Opp.* tom. i. par. i. p. 247, &c.; Simon, *Critique de la Biblioth. des Aut. Ecclés. par M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 326; Lenfant, *Hist. du Concile de Pise*, tome i. p. 310, tome ii. p. 8; Echard's *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 404, &c. The writers of this and the following centuries are full of these contests. [Ecclesiastical discipline was injured by the privileges granted to the Mendicant monks, especially because these monks, being dependant on the kindness of the people for their daily support (as in after times the Jesuits were), endeavoured to secure the good-will of the people by the indulgent manner of treating them in their confessions; and thus the parish churches became almost empty, while those of the Mendicants were full of worshippers. They also received pay for saying masses, and allowed to the rich a burial in their inclosures; for which they were very generously rewarded. This however was only the beginning of the disquietude. As the proceedings of the mendicants were supported by the ambitious pontiff, Gregory IX. they kept no terms with the bishops nor with the civil authorities. They depreciated in their writings and in the schools the power of the bishops, and exalted that of the pope. They spoke of the former as mere clergymen, who were bound to obey implicitly the commands of Christ's vicegerent; while the latter they represented as a visible deity. Such good services must be appreciated and rewarded, and such useful men must be esteemed and valued.—*Schl.*

cants with the bishops, the priests, the schools, and the other monastic orders, the most noted is that of the Dominicans with the university of Paris; which commenced in the year 1228, and was protracted with various success till A.D. 1259. The Dominicans claimed the privilege of having two theological chairs in that university. One of these the university took from them, and also passed a statute that no order of monks should be allowed two theological chairs in the university. The Dominicans pertinaciously insisted on having a second chair; and as they would not be quiet, the university severed them from its connexion. Violent commotion ensued on both sides. The controversy was carried before the court of Rome, and Alexander IV. in the year 1255 ordered the university not only to restore the Dominicans to their former standing in that literary body, but also to allow them as many [professorial] chairs as they chose to occupy. The university boldly resisted and a perplexing contest ensued. But Alexander IV. terrified and overwhelmed the Parisian doctors with so many severe edicts, mandates, and epistles (to the number it is said of forty), that in the year 1259 they yielded, and according to the will of the pontiff, conceded both to the Dominicans and to the Franciscans all they wished for.[1] Hence arose that inveterate dislike and alienation, not yet entirely extinct, between the university of Paris and the Mendicant orders, especially that of the Dominicans.

28. In this famous dispute, no one pleaded the cause of the university more strenuously and spiritedly than William of St. Amour, a doctor of the Sorbonne, a man of genius and worthy of a better age. For in his other writings and sermons, but more especially in his book on *The Perils of the Latter Times*, he attacked with great severity all the Mendicants collectively, maintaining that their mode of life was contrary to the precepts of Christ, and that it had been inconsiderately and through mistake, as he expresses it, confirmed by the pontiffs and the church. This very celebrated book derived its title from the position of its author—that the prediction of Paul, 2 Tim. iii. 1, &c. concerning the perils of the latter times was fulfilled in the Mendicant Friars, which he endeavours to evince from their *Everlasting Gospel*, a book of which more will be said hereafter. Against this formidable adversary the ire of the Dominicans especially was kindled; and they did not cease to persecute him till Alexander IV. in the year 1256 ordered his book to be publicly burned and the author to quit France, that he might no more excite the Sorbonne to hostility against the Mendicants. William obeyed the mandate of the pontiff and retired to his native country in Burgundia. But under Clement IV. he returned to Paris, explained his book in a larger work, and at last died there in the highest estimation.[2]

29. This general odium against the Mendicant orders, arising from the high privileges conferred on them by the pontiffs, was not a little increased by the immense pride and arrogance which they displayed on all occasions. For they pretended to be divinely commissioned to explain and defend the religion of Christ; the priests of all other classes and orders they treated with contempt, declaring that they themselves alone understood the true way of salvation; they extolled the efficacy of their indulgences, and they boasted immoderately of their familiar intercourse with God, with the Virgin Mary, and with all the glorified saints. By such means they so deluded and captivated the uninformed and simple multitude, that they employed them alone as their spiritual guides.[3] A prominent place among the instances of their crafty arrogance is due to the fable, circulated by the Carmelites, respecting Simon Stock, a general of their order who died near the beginning of the century. They said that the Virgin Mary appeared to him, and promised him that no person should be eternally lost who should expire

[1] See Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 138, &c. 240, 244, 248, 266, &c.; Cordesius (whose assumed name is Alitophilus), *Præfatio Histor. et Apolog. ad Opera Guil. de S. Amore*; Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas*, p. 134; Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 247, 366, &c. tom. iv. p. 14, 52, 106, 263. Among the ancients, Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, A.D. 1228, and Nangis, *Chronicon.* in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 38, &c.

[2] The Parisian theologians to this time hold William and his book in high estimation, and warmly contend that he was not enrolled among the heretics, while the Dominicans regard him as a heretic of the first rank. His works, so far as they could be found, were published by John Cordesius at Constance (as the title-page expresses, but in fact at Paris), 1632, 4to, with a long and learned preface, in which the reputation and the orthodoxy of the author are vindicated and maintained. To elude the resentment and enmity of the Mendicant orders, the editor assumed the fictitious name of John Alitophilus. But the fraternity obtained a decree from Lewis XIII. in the year 1633 suppressing the book. The edict is given us by the Dominican Touron, in his *Vie de S. Thomas*, p. 164. Respecting the life and fortunes of William, see also Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 366; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 266, &c.; Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles.* sæc. xiii. cap. iii. art. vii. p. 95; Simon, *Critique de la Biblioth. Eccléx. de M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 345, &c. and others.

[3] See among others, Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*, in various places, and particularly on A.D. 1246, p. 607, 630, &c.

clothed in the short mantle worn on their shoulders by the Carmelites, and called the scapular.[1] And this fiction equally ridiculous and impious has found advocates even among the pontiffs.[2]

30. But these very orders, which seemed to be the principal supports of the Romish power, gave the pontiffs immense trouble not long after the decease of Dominic and Francis; and the difficulties, though often dispelled for a time, continually recurred and brought the church into great jeopardy. In the first place, these two most powerful orders contended with each other for precedence, and reviled and combatted each other in their publications with invectives and criminations. Attempts were frequently made to stop these contentions, but the firebrand which kindled them could never be extinguished.[3] In the next place, the Franciscan fraternity was early split into factions which time only strengthened and rendered inveterate; and these factions not only disturbed the peace of the church, but shook even the sovereign powers and majesty of the pontiffs themselves. Nor will it appear doubtful to one who attentively considers the course of events in the Latin church from this period onward, that these mendicant orders, in part undesignedly and in part knowingly and intentionally, gave mortal wounds to the authority of the Romish church, and caused the people to wish for its reformation.

31. St. Francis prescribed absolute poverty to his friars. While all the previous monastic orders adopted the policy of denying to their members severally the right of private property, but allowed the collective bodies or fraternities to possess estates and revenues from which all the individuals received support, Francis would not allow his friars, either individually or collectively, to be owners of any property.[4] But immediately after the death of their founder many of the Friars-Minors departed from this rigorous law; and their inclinations were gratified by Gregory IX. who in the year 1231 published a more mild interpretation of this severe rule.[5] But others among them were greatly dissatisfied with this relaxation of their primitive austerity. These being persons of a morose disposition and prone to go to extremes, were by some called the Zealous (Zelatores) or the Spiritual, and by others the Cæsarians from one of their number named Cæsarius who was their leader.[6] A perplexing controversy having thus arisen, Innocent IV. in the year 1245 decided according to the views of those who wished their rule to be relaxed, declaring that they might hold lands, houses, furniture, books, &c. and might use them freely; but that the right of property, the legal possession or ownership of the whole, should belong to St. Peter and to the church of Rome, without whose consent nothing should be sold, exchanged, or in any way transferred to others. But this exposition of their rule the Spirituals declared to be an unrighteous perversion of it; and some of them retired into the woods and deserts, and others were sent into exile by Crescentius, general of the order.[7]

32. John of Parma, who was elected general of the order, A.D. 1247, changed the whole face of things among them. Being himself of the same mind with the Spirituals he recalled the exiles, and required the brethren to conform to the letter of the law as prescribed by St. Francis.[8] But the recompense he received for restoring the Franciscan community to its pristine state was, that in the year 1249 he was accused before the pontiff, Alexander IV. and was compelled to resign his office. His companions who refused to abandon their opinions were thrown into prison, and he himself with difficulty escaped the same fate.[9] His successor, the celebrated Bonaventura who ranked high among the scholastic theologians, wished to be thought neutral, and made it his grand object to prevent an open rupture and separation between the two parties. Yet he could not prevent the laxer party from obtaining in the year 1257 a solemn ratification from Alexander IV. of the interpretation put upon their rule by Innocent IV.[10] On the other hand, those who favoured the views

[1] See the tract of Launoi, *De Viso Simonis Stockii*, in his *Opp.* tom. ii. par. ii. p. 379, &c.; *Acta Sanctor.* tom. iii. ad diem xvi. mensis Maii; Raynaud. *Scapulare Marianum*, in his *Opp.* tom. vii. p. 614, and others.

[2] Even the modern pontiff, Benediet XIV. [who died A.D. 1758] did not hesitate to give countenance to this fable, yet in his usual prudent and cautious manner; *De Festis B. Mariæ Virginis*, lib. ii. cap. vi. *Opp.* tom. x. p. 472, ed. Rome.

[3] See the *Alcoran des Cordeliers*, tome i. p. 256, 266, 278, &c.; Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 380, and the whole history of these times.

[4] The rule of St. Francis, cap. vi. is this: "Fratres sibi nihil approprient, nec domum, nec locum, nec aliquam rem; sed sicut peregrini et advenæ in hoc sæculo, in paupertate et humilitate famulantes Domino, vadant pro eleemosyna (*i.e.* must beg) confidenter. Hæc est illa celsitudo altissimæ paupertatis, quæ vos carissimos meos fratres hæredes et reges regni cœlorum instituit."

[5] His Bull is extant in Roderic's *Collectio Privilegiorum regularium Mendicantium et non Mendicantium*, tom. i. p. 8.

[6] Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 99, &c.

[7] Wadding, *ubi supra*, tom. iv. p. 128, and tom. iii. p. 171, &c.

[8] Wadding, tom. iii. p. 171.

[9] Wadding, tom. iv. p. 4, &c

[10] The decree is exhibited by Wadding among other documents, *Annales Minorum*, tom. iv. p. 446.

of the Spirituals were so successful, that in an assembly of the order A.D. 1260, they procured the abrogation of the interpretation of Innocent, and particularly so far as it differed from the previous interpretation of Gregory IX.[1]

33. To this first contest respecting the meaning of their rule, another was added of no less magnitude. From the beginning of the century there were circulated in Italy and other countries various prophecies of the famous Joachim, abbot of Flora in Calabria, who was considered by the vulgar as a man divinely inspired and equal to the ancient prophets. Most of these prophecies were included in a book which was commonly called, *The Everlasting Gospel*, and by the vulgar, *The Book of Joachim*.[2] This true or fictitious Joachim among many other things foretold in particular the destruction of the Romish Church, the defects and corruptions of which he severely censures; and also the promulgation of a new and more perfect Gospel by poor persons divinely commissioned in the age of the Holy Spirit. For he taught that two imperfect ages [or dispensations], that is, modes of worshipping God had already passed, namely, those of the Father and of the Son; and that a third more perfect was at hand, namely, that of the Holy Spirit. These predictions and whatever affirmations were attributed to Joachim, were eagerly swallowed by the Spirituals, who were for the most part well-meaning but delirious and fanatical persons, and who applied them to themselves and to the rules of life prescribed by St. Francis;[3] for they maintained that he had taught men the true Gospel, and that he was that angel whom John in the Revelation saw flying through the heavens.[4]

34. At the time when these contentions were at their height, about the year 1250, Gerhard, one of the Spirituals, wrote an avowed exposition of this *Everlasting Gospel* ascribed to Joachim, and entitled his work *An Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel*.[5] This treatise, among many other

[1] Wadding, tom. iv. p. 128. The miserable and distracted state of the order is lucidly depicted in an epistle of Bonaventura, which may be seen in Wadding, *ubi supra*, p. 58.

[2] What Merlin is to the English, Malachy to the Irish, and Nostrodamus to the French, the same is the Abbot Joachim to the Italians; a man who foretels what is to come, who is divinely aided and foresees the fate of empires and the revolutions in the church. Great numbers of his predictions were formerly in circulation and are so still; nay, have had not a few who attempted to explain them. That Joachim predicted some things and also spoke of a future reformation in the church, which he saw to be very necessary, I have no doubt. But most of the predictions once believed to be his undoubtedly originated from other authors. And among these I place *The Everlasting Gospel*, which was the production of an obscure and insipid writer, who published his dreams under the attractive name of Joachim in order to give them currency. The title of this foolish book was borrowed from the Revelation, ch. xiv. 6. It consisted of three parts [or *libri*]; of which, the first was entitled *Liber Concordiarum vel Concordiæ Veritatis*, the second, *Apocalypsis Nova*, and the third, *Psalterium Decem Chordarum*. This is remarked by Echard, *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 202, from a MS. copy in the Sorbonne.

[3] Wadding himself does not deny this, though he is a staunch friend to the Spirituals, *Annales Minorum*, tom. i. p. 3—6. He also speaks favourably of the abbot Joachim

[4] See Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. i. p. 221, 228, 235, 246; Echard, *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 202; *Codex Inquis. Tholosanæ*, published by Limborch, p. 301, 302, 305, &c.

[5] As both the ancients and the moderns have given inaccurate accounts of this infamous book, I will here subjoin some remarks which may serve to correct their mistakes.

I. They nearly all confound *The Everlasting Gospel* (or *The Gospel of the Holy Spirit*, which was another title of the book according to William of St. Amour, *De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum*, p. 38) with *The Introduction* to the Everlasting Gospel or to the books of the abbot Joachim. Yet these two books were totally different. *The Everlasting Gospel* was attributed to the abbot Joachim, and consisted (as before observed) of three books. But the *Introduction* to this Gospel was the work of some Franciscan monk, and it explained the obscure predictions of this Gospel and applied them to the Franciscans. Neither the university of Paris nor Alexander IV. complained of *The Everlasting Gospel* itself, but the *Introduction* to it was complained of, and condemned, and burned, as is manifest from the epistles of Alexander on the subject published by Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 292. The book of the abbot Joachim or *The Everlasting Gospel* was undoubtedly, as such worthless books usually are, made up of enigmas and ambiguous assertions, and it was therefore treated with contempt. But the interpretation of it or the *Introduction* to it was a very dangerous book.

II. As to the author of the *Introduction*, the ancient writers are not agreed. All make it the production of some one who belonged to an order of Mendicants. But those who favour the Franciscans say he must have been a Dominican; while those who defend the Dominican cause throw back the accusation on the Franciscans. The majority however assert that John of Parma, general of the Franciscans, who belonged to the party of the *Spirituals* and is known to have too much favoured the opinions of the abbot Joachim, was the author of the disgraceful production. See Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, tom. iv. p. 9, who endeavours, though very unsatisfactorily, to exonerate him from the charge. See also the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. iii. Martii, p. 157, &c.; for John of Parma obtained a place among the glorified saints who reign with Christ, notwithstanding he is represented as preferring the Gospel of St. Francis to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Echard however in his *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 202, 203, has shown, from the MS. records of the legal process against *The Everlasting Gospel* which are still preserved in the Sorbonne, that the author of the infamous book was a Franciscan friar named Gerhard. This Gerhard was the intimate friend of John of Parma; and he not only maintained fiercely the cause of the *Spirituals*, but he so heartily imbibed all the opinions ascribed to the abbot Joachim, that he chose to lie in prison 18 years rather than abandon them. See Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iv. p. 4, 7. And yet those Franciscans who are called *Observantines*, that is, such as pretend to follow the rules of their founder more strictly than the others, place this Gerhard among the saints of the highest order; and they tell us that he possessed both the gift of prophecy and the power of working miracles. See Wadding's *Annales*, tom. iii. p. 213, 214.

III. Nearly all tax with the crime of producing this detestable book the whole body of Mendicant monks, or at least the two orders of Dominicans and Fran

absurd and impious things, contained this most detestable asseveration—that the true and eternal Gospel of God was exhibited to mankind by St. Francis, who was the angel mentioned in the Revelation, chap. xiv. ver. 6; that the Gospel of Christ would be abrogated in the year 1260, and this new and eternal Gospel take its place; and that the ministers by whom this great change would be brought about were to be itinerant barefooted friars.[1] When this book was published at Paris, A. D. 1254, the theologians there and all good men burst out in the highest indignation against the Mendicant monks, who were before sufficiently odious on other accounts. For this reason Alexander IV. though reluctantly, in the year 1255 forbade the circulation of the book, yet in a manner so guarded and cautious as to injure the reputation of the Mendicant orders as little as possible. But the university of Paris did not desist from complaints and accusations till the book was publicly burned.[2]

35. The dissensions of the Franciscans, which had been quieted by the prudence of Bonaventura, broke out again after his death. For that portion of the order who desired greater liberty wished to have the rule of the founder wholly abrogated, as being morally wrong and requiring what is beyond the powers of human nature; but at the solicitation of those attached to the primitive strictness, Nicolaus III. resisted the measures of these innovators, and published in 1279 the famous constitution, by which he not only confirmed the rule of St. Francis but interpreted it in the most particular manner.[3] In this constitution he enjoined upon the friars, as their rule demanded, a renunciation [*expropriatio*] of all right of property or ownership, but allowed them the simple use of things necessary, the retention not the property; and ordained that the dominion of these necessaries, houses, books, and other furniture should belong, as Innocent IV. had decided, to the church of Rome. In the conclusion he severely prohibited all private expositions of his statute, lest it should afford new grounds of contention, reserving the right of interpreting it exclusively to the Roman pontiffs.[4]

36. This constitution of Nicolaus did not satisfy the Zealous or the Spirituals, who were considerably numerous particularly in Italy and France, and especially in the province of Narbonne. Those in Italy made no disturbance; but those in France and particularly in Narbonne, being of a warmer and more excitable temperament and led on by Peter John Oliva, openly testified their dissatisfaction and again produced violent contentions.[5] This Peter, famed for his writings, opinions, and sufferings, was in high estimation for sanctity and learning, and therefore had numerous followers; and he really inculcated many things wisely and well. In particular he censured with great freedom the corruptions and defects of the Romish religion. This he did in his writings and particularly in his *Postilla* or commentary on the Revelation, in which he did not hesitate to affirm that the church of Rome was that whore of Babylon that John saw in vision. Yet he was at the same time most profoundly superstitious, and was contaminated with a large share of those opinions which the Spirituals pretended to have learned from the abbot Joachim; and he had an

ciscans; and they think both these orders were willing to advance their fame for piety and their influence among mankind by means of this work. But the fact was far otherwise. The crime is chargeable only on the Franciscans, as is evident from the remains of the book itself; yet not on all the Franciscans, as justice requires us to state, but only on that class of them who are called the *Spirituals;* indeed, it is perhaps not chargeable on all of these, but only on that portion of them who believed in the prophecies of the abbot Joachim. After these remarks it will be more easy to understand correctly what the following writers tell us concerning *The Everlasting Gospel;* namely, Schmid, in his Diss. on this subject, Helmst. 1700, 4to; Ussher, *De Successione Ecclesiarum Occidentalium* cap. ix. sec. 20, p. 337; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 292, &c.; Natalis Alexander, *Historia Eccles.* sæcul. xiii. artic. iv. p. 9, and many others. This book is not a monument of the pride and insolence of all the Mendicant orders, as most writers have supposed, but of the impious folly of a part, and a very small part, of the Franciscan family.

[1] See Gulielmus de S. Amore, *De Periculis Novissimor. Temporum*, p. 38, 39, who tells us that this book was first published in the year 1254, but that the opinions contained in it had originated 50 years before, *i.e.* A.D. 1200. Copious extracts from the book are given by several of the ancient writers. See Cörnerus, *Chronicon*, in Eccard's *Corpus Histor. Medii Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 850; the *Chronicon Egmondanum*, in Matthæus, *Analecta Vet. Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 517; Ricobaldus, in Eccard's *Corpus*, &c. tom. i. p. 1215, and others. Yet among these extracts there is much discrepancy, which originated, I suppose, from some writers quoting from *The Everlasting Gospel of Joachim*, while others quoted from friar Gerhard's *Introduction* to it, without discriminating between the two works.

[2] See Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 229, &c.; Jordanus, *Chronicon*, in Muratori's *Antiquit. Ital.* tom. iv. p. 998. [See also Giesler's *Text-book of Eccl. Hist.* by Cunningham, vol ii. p. 300, &c. and the notes there.—*Mur.*

[3] Some contend that this constitution was promulgated by Nicolaus IV. but they are confuted by Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, tom. v. p. 73.

[4] This celebrated constitution is inserted in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, lib. vi. Decretal. [lib. v.] tit xii. cap. 3, p. 1028, ed. Boehmer, and is commonly designated by its first word, *Exiit.*

[5] He is also called in ancient writers Peter of Beziers (Biterrensis), because he lived long and was a teacher in the monastery of Beziers. Sometimes also he is called from his native place Peter of Serignam; for he was born in the castle of St. Mary at Serignam in France. I note these circumstances, because some have made three persons out of this individual.

impious veneration for St. Francis, who he maintained was wholly conformed to Christ.[1] In the great dispute respecting the rule of St. Francis he seemed to be of neither party; for he conceded to the brethren the beggarly use of things necessary *(pauperem rerum necessariarum usum)*, and when several times summoned before his superiors he would not express dissatisfaction with the interpretation of Nicolaus III. Yet he inclined much to the side of the more strict or the Spirituals, who would not allow even the order collectively to possess any property; and he contended that those who held these views were to be esteemed and loved rather than persecuted.[2] He is therefore regarded as the leader and head of all those among the Franciscans, who maintained these contests with the pontiffs respecting the renunciation of property required by St. Francis.[3]

37. Relying on the influence of this man, whom the multitude accounted a prophet of God and a most holy man, the Spirituals resolutely assailed the opposite party; but the prudence of the generals of the order for a time so held their passions in check, that neither party could overcome the other. Such prudence however was not in Matthew Aquaspartanus, who was made general of the order in the year 1287. For he suffered the ancient discipline to become prostrate, and even the appearance of poverty to become extinct. Hence there arose, first in the marquisate of Ancona in Italy and afterwards in France and in other countries, great commotions among the Spirituals both the more moderate and the more rigid; and Matthew, after labouring in vain to quell these commotions by imprisonments and penalties, at length in the year 1289 resigned his office.[4] His successor Raymund Gaufridi endeavoured to restore peace by recalling the exiles, liberating the imprisoned, and banishing a few of the more untractable into Armenia. But the evil had now become too inveterate to be easily cured. For the more lax censured the tenderness and kindness of the general towards the Spirituals; nor did they cease to persecute him till under Boniface VIII. they got him deposed. At the same time the Spirituals, especially in France, seceded from the rest and openly condemned the interpretation of their rule by Nicolaus III. Hence from the year 1290 onward, the prospect was open sedition and schism.[5]

38. Some of the Italian Spirituals in the year 1294 asked permission of the pontiff, Cœlestine V. to form themselves into a distinct community, which might live in that real poverty absolutely void of all possessions and all property, which St. Francis had prescribed to his followers; and the indulgent pontiff, who was a great admirer of poverty, readily granted their request, and placed at the head of this new fraternity friar Liberatus, a man of a most austere life.[6] But as Cœlestine soon after resigned the pontificate, his successor Boniface VIII. who rescinded all the acts of Cœlestine, suppressed this new order which had assumed the name of Cœlestine Eremites of St. Francis.[7] The more lax Franciscans therefore now persecuted this class with great severity, and accused them among other things of Manichæism. Hence many of them emigrated first to Achaia, and afterwards from thence to a small island, in order there to lead that miserable kind of life which they regarded as the most holy. But the fury of their brethren still pursued them in their exile. Those who remained in Italy in spite of Boniface VIII. continued to live according to their favourite rules; and they gathered associations of their order, first in the kingdom of Naples and then in the marquisate of Ancona and in the Milanese territory. From Italy they at length spread themselves over the greatest part of Europe; and down even to the Reformation by Luther, they were involved in the hottest warfare with the church of Rome, in which vast numbers of them perished miserably in the flames through the efforts of the Inquisition.[8]

[1] See the *Litera Magistrorum de Postilla Fratris P. Joh. Olivi*, in Baluze's *Miscellanea*, tom. i. p. 213, and Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. v. p. 51.

[2] His sentiments may be learned best of all from his last discourse, in Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 535, and Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. p. 378.

[3] See concerning this celebrated man, who died A.D. 1297, in addition to the common writers (Raynald, Nat. Alexander, Oudin, and others), Baluze's *Miscellanea*, tom. i. p. 213, and his *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 752, &c.; D'Argentre's *Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus*, tom. i. p. 226, &c.; Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. v. p. 108, 121, 140, 236, and especially p. 378, where he labours with all his might, though with little success, to excuse and justify the man; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 535, &c.; Schelhorn's *Amœnitates Liter.* tom. ix. p. 678, &c.; *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, by the Benedictines, tom. iv. p. 91, 179, 182. His bones together with his books were burned by order of the pontiff in the year 1325. See Raynald's *Annales*, ad ann. 1325, sec. xx.

[4] See Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. v. p. 210, 211, 235.

[5] Wadding, *Annales Minor.* tom. v. p. 108, 121, 140, and especially p. 235, 236.

[6] Wadding, *Annales*, tom. v. p. 324. 338, &c.

[7] Wadding, *Annales*, tom. vi. p. 1, &c.; *Bullarium Magnum Continuat.* tom. iii. iv. [ed. Luxemb. 1741, tom. ix.] p. 108, 109.

[8] In what I here state and also in what I am about to state on this subject, I cannot name any writers whom I have followed. For this part of the church history of the middle ages has not been accurately and faithfully delineated, although it is well worthy of

39. At this time therefore or near the close of this century, originated in Italy the Fratricelli and Bizochi, parties who in Germany and France were denominated Beguards, and which Boniface VIII.[1] first and afterwards other pontiffs condemned, and wished to see persecuted by the Inquisition and exterminated in every possible way. The Fratricelli, who also called themselves in Latin *Fratres Parvi*, (Little Brethren), or *Fraterculi de Paupere Vita* (Little Brothers of the Poor Life), were Franciscan monks, but detached from the great family of Franciscans, who wished to observe the regulations prescribed by their founder, St. Francis, more perfectly than the others, and therefore possessed no property, either individually or collectively, but obtained their necessary food from day to day by begging.[2] For they said that Jesus Christ and his apostles had neither individual nor common property, and that the Franciscans were ordered by their founder to imitate them. They likewise, after the example of St. Francis, wore tattered, shabby, and sordid garments; they declaimed against the corruptions of the Romish church, and the vices of the pontiffs and bishops; they predicted a reformation and purification of the church, and the restoration of the true gospel of Jesus Christ by the genuine disciples of St. Francis: in short, they assented to nearly all the opinions which were circulated as coming from the abbot Joachim. They extolled Cœlestine V. as the legal founder of their sect; but Boniface and the succeeding pontiffs who opposed the Fratricelli, they denied to be true pontiffs.[3]

being placed in a clearer light, for it exhibits great examples; and these rebellious Franciscans, though superstitious, hold a distinguished rank among those who prepared the way for the Reformation in Europe and instilled into the people a hatred of the church of Rome. Raynald, Bzovius, and Spondanus, in their *Annales*, and Eymericus in his *Directorium Inquisitorum*, Natalis Alexander, and others, all treat of these subjects, which are of greater importance than most persons are aware; but they do not treat them properly, fully, and distinctly. And as the Protestant historians all borrow from these, it is not strange that they also are defective. Wadding, though an indefatigable writer, yet while handling these subjects proceeds like one treading upon coals of fire concealed under ashes; he obscures, suppresses, dissembles, excuses, concedes, and doubts. For he was favourably disposed towards the more rigid Franciscans, yet he dared not openly say that they were injuriously treated by the pontiffs. He saw that the Romish church was shaken by these his friends, and that the majesty of the pontiffs was seriously injured and depressed by them; but he is extremely cautious not to let this appear too clearly to his readers. I could not therefore follow any writer throughout as my guide. But I have access to various testimonies of the ancient writers, and I also have in my hands not a few documents which were never published, namely, diplomas of the pontiffs and temporal sovereigns, acts of the Inquisition, and others, from which everything I shall say may be fully substantiated. And if God shall spare my life, these documents may perhaps come before the public. [This has not taken place; and it is desirable that those who have these documents in their possession should not withhold them from the world.—*Schl.* [There was accordingly published from his manuscripts a volume entitled *De Beghardis et Beguinabus Commentarius*, accompanied with various documents, notes, and suitable indices by G. H. Martini, Leip. 1790, 8vo. See Mosheim's more full account of this work in a subsequent note on section 40 of this chapter, p. 461.—*Mur.*

[1] See Trithemius, *Annales Hirsaugienses*, tom. ii. p. 74. Yet this writer is faulty in many particulars, and deserves no credit in what he says of the origin and the opinions of the Fratricelli. He everywhere confounds indiscriminately the sects of this period. Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. p. 541, where may be seen the decree of Boniface VIII. against the Bizochi and Beguards, passed A.D. 1297; Jordanus, *Chronicon*, in Muratori's *Antiq. Italiæ*, tom. iv. p. 1020. Add also the common writers, though none of them is free from errors.

[2] The Fratricelli held many common principles with the Spirituals, yet they were diverse from them. The Spirituals did not renounce communion with the other Franciscans from whom they differed, and they were not disposed to form a new sect; but the Fratricelli would have nothing to do with the great family deriving its name from St. Francis, and they appointed for themselves a distinct head or leader. The Spirituals did not wholly prohibit the Franciscan family from holding property in common, provided they were not its legal owners; but the Fratricelli would not allow their members, either separately or collectively, to hold any property, and they observed that absolute poverty which Francis had required both in his Rule and in his last Testament. Some other particulars are omitted.

[3] The accounts given of the Fratricelli by both the ancients and the moderns, and even by those who exhibit most accuracy and research, are more confused and contradictory than can well be imagined. Trithemius (*Annales Hirsaugiens.* tom. ii. p. 74) makes them to be the progeny of Tanchelinus; and he most unsuitably confounds them with the Cathari and other sects of those times. And most of the others who treat of the Fratricelli are no better informed than he. The Franciscans leave no stone unturned in order to evince, that the pestilent sect of the Fratricelli did not originate from their order. Of course they resolutely deny that the Fratricelli professed to follow the Franciscan rule; and they maintain that this name designated a confused rabble of various sorts of persons of different religious views, whom Hermann Pongilupus, of Ferrara in Italy first collected together near the close of the century. In place of all others may be consulted on this subject, Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, tom. vi. p. 279, &c who is most copious in wiping this disgrace from his order. But the indefatigable man has accomplished nothing by all his efforts. For he himself concedes and also proves by unquestionable authorities, that the Fratricelli did profess and did in practice follow, the Rule of St. Francis. And yet he denies that they were Franciscans, meaning however only this, that they were not such Franciscans as those were who lived in subordination to the general prefect of the order, and who admitted the exposition of the rule of St. Francis given by the pontiffs. He therefore proves only that the Fratricelli were Franciscans who had withdrawn from the great family of the order, and who rejected the decrees of the pontiffs and the authority of the general prefect which no one calls in question. This Hermann (or Armann as he is constantly named in the records of the trials) Pongilupus, whom Wadding, with many others, represents as being the parent of the Fratricelli, lived at Ferrara in this century, and was highly esteemed for his sanctity; and after his death in 1269, he was magnificently entombed in the principal church of Ferrara, and was long held by all for a distinguished saint, whose sanctity God had demonstrated by numerous miracles. But as the Inquisitors of heretical pravity had long been suspicious of him, because he led that austere course of life pursued by the class of the Cathari denominated the Comforted, after his death they made such critical

40. As the great Franciscan family had its associates and dependants, who observed the third rule prescribed by St. Francis and who were usually called Tertiarii,[1] so also the sect of the Fratricelli, who wished to be thought the genuine fraternity of St. Francis, had numerous Tertiarii of its own. These were called in Italy, Bizochi and Bocasoti; in France, Beguini; and in Germany, Beghardi, by which name all the Tertiarii were commonly designated.[2] These differed from the Fratricelli, not in their opinions but only in their mode of life. The Fratricelli were real monks, living under the rule of St. Francis; but the Bizochi or

inquiries into his life, that after several years they detected his impieties. Hence in the year 1300, by order of Boniface VIII. his bones were burned, his tomb demolished, and an end put to the extravagant reverence of the people for Pongilupus. The records of this judicial process were first published by Muratori, in his *Antiq. Italiæ Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 93—147. From these ample records it is most manifest, that all those learned men are mistaken who represent Armann Pongilupus as the parent of the Fratricelli. He had no concern with them whatever; nay, he was dead some time before this sect arose. On the contrary, this celebrated man was one of the Cathari or Paulicians or Manichæans, and of that branch of them called Bagnolists from the town Bagnolo in Languedoc. Some of the moderns have correctly understood this point, that the Fratricelli were a more rigid sort of Franciscans; but they have erred in supposing them to differ from the Beguards or Beguins in nothing but their name. See Limborch, *Hist. Inquisit.* lib. i. c. xix. p. 69, who shows himself not well acquainted with these affairs; Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. i. p. 195, and in his *Vitæ Pontif. Avenionens.* tom. i. p. 509; Beausobre, *Dis. sur les Adamites*, subjoined to his *Historia Belli Hussitici*, p. 380. And even Wadding is not opposed to this opinion. See his *Annales Minorum*, tom. v. p. 376. But the Fratricelli certainly did differ, as I shall presently show, from the Beguards, not only in their opinions but also in their practice and mode of life.

The principal cause of the numerous mistakes made in the history of the Fratricelli undoubtedly was, the ambiguity of the name. Fratricellus or Fraterculus (Little Brother) was a term of reproach among the Italians of that age, which they applied to any one who assumed the appearance of a monk, and in his dress, demeanour, and habits, made a considerable show of piety or holiness, yet did not belong to any of the approved monastic sects. See Villani, *Istoria Fiorentine*, lib. viii. c. 34, p. 423. Imola on Danté, in Muratori's *Antiq. Italiæ*, tom. i. p. 1121. As there were in those times many such persons strolling the country, though differing much in their mode of life and opinions, this term was of course applied to persons of various descriptions and characters. Thus the Cathari, the Waldenses, the Apostoli, and many other sects who broached new doctrines, were commonly branded with this epithet;—and foreign writers, not aware of this fact, thought they discovered sometimes in one sect and sometimes in another those noted Fraterculi who gave the pontiffs so much trouble. But this term Fratricelli or Fraterculi, when applied to those stricter Franciscans who aimed to observe the rule of their master perfectly, had not its vulgar import and was not a term of reproach or a nickname, but an honourable appellation which these devotees of the severest poverty coveted and preferred before all other names. Fratricellus is the same as Fraterculus or Little Brother, and this is equivalent to Frater Minor. And everybody knows that the Franciscans chose to be called Fratres Minores, as expressive of their humility and modesty. These well-meaning people therefore did not assume a new name, but only applied to themselves the ancient name of their order in the form it took in the Italian language; for those who are in Latin called Fratres Minores are in the Italian called Fratricelli. Of the many proofs which are at hand I will subjoin one only, namely, a passage from William de Thoca in his life of Thomas Aquinas, in the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. Martii, cap. ii. sec. 21, p. 666: "Destruxit (sil. St. Thomas) et tertium pestiferum pravitatis errorem—cujus sectatores simul et inventores *se nominant Fraterculos de Vita Paupere*, ut etiam sub hoc humilitatis sophistico nomine simplicium corda seducant—contra quem errorem pestiferum Johannes Papa XXII. mirandam edidit decretalem."

And this very decretal of John XXII. which Thoco calls admirable, to mention no other proofs, is sufficient to evince that what I have here said of the Fratricelli is accordant with truth. It is extant in the *Extravagantes* of John XXII. [Tit. vii. cap. i.—*Mur.*] in the *Corpus Juris Canon.* tom. ii. p. 1112, ed. Boehmer. The pontiff says: "Nonnulli profanæ multitudinis viri, qui vulgariter *Fratricelli*, seu *Fratres de Paupere vita*, *Bizochi*, sive *Beguini* nuncupantur, in partibus Italiæ in insula Siciliæ—publice mendicare solent." These Fratricelli he then divides into monks and Tertiarii, or what is the same as I shall presently show, into the Fratricelli and the Beguini. Of the proper Fratricelli he thus speaks: "Plurimi eorum regulam, seu ordinem *Fratrum Minorum*—se profiteri ad literam conservare confingunt—prætendentes se a sanctæ memoriæ Cœlestino Papa Quinto, prædecessore nostro, hujus status seu vitæ privilegium habuisse. Quod tamen, etsi ostenderent, non valeret; cum Bonifacius Papa Octavus ex certis caussis rationabilibus omnia ab ipso Cœlestino concessa—viribus penitus evacuaverit." What could be more explicit and clear? The pontiff then proceeds to the other portion of these people who were called Bizochi, or Beguini: "Nonnulli etiam ex ipsis asserentes se esse *de tertio ordine beati Francisci* Pœnitentium vocato, prædictum statum et ritum eorum sub velamine talis nominis satagunt palliare."

[1] Besides his two rules both very strict and austere, the one for the Friars Minors [or Minorites], and the other for the Poor Sisters, called Clarissians from St. Clara [the first abbess among the Franciscans], St. Francis also prescribed a third rule more easy to be observed for such as wished to connect themselves in some sort with his order and to enjoy the benefits of it, and yet were not disposed to forsake all worldly business and to relinquish all their property. This rule required only certain pious observances, such as facts, prayers, continence, a coarse and cheap dress, gravity of manners, &c. but did not prohibit private property, marriage, public offices, and worldly occupations. This third rule of St. Francis is treated of by all the writers on the Franciscan order, and especially by Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, tom. ii. p. 7, &c. and by Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tome vii. p. 214. Those who professed this third rule were called Fratres de Pœnitentia [Penitentiary Brethren], sometimes also Fratres de Sacco, on account of the meanness of their dress, but commonly Tertiarii [Tertiaries]. This institution of St. Francis was copied by other orders of monks in the Romish church, as soon as they perceived its advantages. And hence most of the orders at the present day have their Tertiarii.

[2] The Tertiarii connected with those rigid Franciscans who were distinguished by the title of Fratricelli, sprung up in the marquisate of Ancona and in the neighbouring regions, in the year 1296 or 1297, and were called Bizochi as we learn from the bull of Boniface VIII. against them drawn up in 1297, and which is published by Bulæus, in his *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 441. John XXII. mentions the same appellation in his bull quoted in a preceding note. See also Du Fresne, *Glossar. Latinit. Mediæ*, tom. i. p. 1188, who observes that the name is derived from Bizocho, in French Besace, on account of the wallet or bag which these mendicants used to carry. [No: he says, Some have supposed it so derived, but he thinks they were called Bizochi and Bicchini from the grey colour of their garments; for from the Italian *bigio*, he says, is derived the French *bis*, grey or ash-coloured.—*Mur.*] The name Bocasotus or (as it is written in Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 510) Vocasotus, is undoubtedly of the same origin and import. It occurs in

Beguini lived in the manner of other people, except in regard to dress and a few observances prescribed for this class of persons by St. Francis; so that they were mere laics or secular brethren as the ecclesiastical phrase is.[1] These Bizochi

Jordanus, from whom a signal passage will hereafter be quoted. The names Beghardi and Beguini, by which this sort of people were called in France and Italy, are very notorious in the church history of the middle ages. But what both the ancients and the moderns state concerning the persons who bore these appellations is so vague and contradictory, that it is not strange we should find no part of the religious history of this period involved in more obscurity and uncertainty, than that of the Beghardi and Beguini. I will therefore dispel this obscurity as far as I am able, and expose the origin of these sects.

The words Beghardus or Beggehardus, and Begutta, and also Beghinus and Beghina, differ only in orthography and are all of the same import. The Germans and the Dutch say Beghard and Begutte, which are the forms most used in the ancient German language. But the French substituted the Latin instead of the German orthography, and pronounced Beghinus and Beghina after the Roman manner. Thus those who in Germany and Holland were called Beghardi and Beguttæ were in France and Italy called Beghini and Beguinæ; yet the Latin form was gradually preferred before the German even by the Germans and the Dutch, for which very probable reasons might be assigned, if this were the proper place. [It probably arose from the fact that those who wrote on the subject were priests, and retained the orthography adopted in the papal bulls.—*Schl.*] Concerning the derivation and the import of these names there are many opinions, which it would be tedious to enumerate and to refute. I have done this in another place; for I have commenced and nearly completed an extensive and copious work concerning the Beghardi and Beghini, in which I have carefully investigated the history of all the sects to which these names were applied, examining numerous documents, a great part of which were never published; and I have detected very many mistakes of learned men in this part of church history. In this place, therefore, disregarding the various conjectures and opinions of others, I will briefly state the true origin and signification of these terms. Beyond all controversy they are derived from the old German word beggen or beggeren [in English, to beg.—*Mur.*], which we now pronounce in a softer manner, begehren. It signifies to beg for anything earnestly and heartily. The syllable "hard," which is a frequent termination of German words, being subjoined to this produces the name Beggehard, which denotes a person who begs often and importunely. And as none ask and importune more frequently and earnestly than the Mendicants do, hence in the language of the old Germans a Beghard is a mendicant or beggar, which word still exists in the language of the English. Beghutta is a female who gets her living by begging. Christianity being introduced into Germany, the word beggen or beggeren was applied to religion, and denoted that duty which is enjoined upon Christians, namely, to offer devout and fervent prayer to God. This word beggen therefore as we may learn from the Gothic or Frankic version of the four Gospels by Ulphilas [in which bidjan is to pray, and bidagwa is a beggar.—*Mur.*] signifies to pray earnestly and devoutly to God. This application of the word coming into use, a man distinguished from others by praying much and fervently was called a Beghard or one that prays, and a woman constant in this duty was called Begutta, a female that prays. And as those who pray more than others make a display of unusual piety, therefore all who wished to be accounted more religious than others were usually denominated Beghardi and Beguttæ; that is, in modern phraseology, Praying Brothers and Praying Sisters.

Whoever duly considers these statements will successfully find his way amidst the many difficulties attending the history of the Beghardi and Beghinæ; and he will see whence arose such a multitude of Beghardi and Beghinæ in Europe, from the thirteenth century onward; and why so many sects (more than thirty might be named), differing greatly in their sentiments, institutions, and practice, were all called by these names. In the first place, Beghardus (or Beggert, as it was commonly uttered) was the term among the Germans for an importunate beggar. Therefore when they saw persons, under the pretence of piety and devotion, addicting themselves to a life of poverty and neglecting all manual labour, begging their daily bread, they called them all by the common name of Beghardi, or if females, Beghuttæ, without any regard to the sentiments or opinions by which they were distinguished from each other. Those called Apostoli were beggars; the more rigid Franciscans were beggars; the Brethren of the Free Spirit (of whom we shall treat hereafter) were beggars; and others were beggars. Among these there was a vast difference; yet the Germans called them all Beghardi on account of that mendicity into which they had thrown themselves; nor was this strange, for this their common characteristic was visible to all eyes, while their other traits of character were not so easily discerned.

But secondly, the term Beghard in this century also denoted a man who prayed very much and affected uncommon piety. Thus it was equivalent to the modern term Pietist [among the Germans]. Therefore all those who forsook the ordinary mode of living and were distinguished by the gravity and austerity of their manners, were designated by the common appellation of Beghardi or Beguttæ, or, among the French, Beguini and Beguinæ. This use of these terms was at first so extensive (as might be shown by many examples) that even the monks and nuns were called Beghardi and Beguttæ. But afterwards their application was more restricted, and they were appropriated to those who formed an intermediate class between the monks and common citizens, yet resembled the former in their habits and manners. The Tertiarii therefore of all the different orders, Dominicans, Franciscans, &c. were called Beghardi, as is abundantly attested; for although they were only citizens, yet they were more strict in their devotional exercises than common citizens. The Brother Weavers, the Brethren of St. Alexius, the followers of Gerhard the Great, and many others; in short, all who exhibited an exterior of higher sanctity and piety were Beghardi and Beguttæ, notwithstanding they obtained their support by labour and troubled no one by their begging.

The terms Beghardi and Beguttæ, Beguini and Beguinæ, if we regard them in their origin, were therefore honourable appellations; and they were used as such in works of the highest respectability in that age; as for instance in the Testament of St. Lewis, the king of France. But gradually these words, as often happens, changed their original import and became terms of reproach and derision. For among those mendicant monks and among those professing more than ordinary piety, there were found many whose piety was childish and superstitious, or who were crafty impostors, concealing crimes and villanies under a mask of piety, or who united with their piety corrupt doctrines contrary to the prevailing religion of the age. These characters caused the appellation Beghard or Beguin to become dishonourable, and to be used for one who is stupidly or senselessly religious, or who imposes upon mankind by a show of piety and poverty, or who debases his piety by grievous errors in doctrine. The term Lollard underwent a similar change in its import, as will be shown hereafter.

[1] See the *Acta Inquisit. Tholosanæ*, published by Limborch, p. 298, 302, 310, 313, but especially p. 307, 329, 382, 389, &c. Of the other passages illustrative of the history of the Fratricelli and Beguini, I will subjoin one from Jordanus' *Chronicon*, ad ann. 1294, in Muratori's *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. iv. p. 1020, which will briefly confirm nearly all I have said: "Petrus de Macerata et Petrus de Forosempronio, apostatæ fuerunt ordinis Minorum et hæretici. His petentibus eremitice vivere, ut regulam B. Francisci ad literam servare possent. Quibus plures apostatæ adhæserunt, qui statum communitatis damnabant et declarationes regulæ, et vocabant se Fratres S. Francisci" (he ought to have said Fratricellos, or Parvos Fratres de Paupere Vita), "et Sæculares" (these were the Tertiarii, the friends and associates of the Fratricelli, but who continued to be seculars and were

moreover were divided into two classes, the perfect and the imperfect. The former lived by begging, did not marry, and had no fixed residence; while the latter had permanent places of abode, married, possessed property, and engaged in the various occupations of life like other citizens.[1]

41. Totally different from these austere Franciscan Beguini and Beguinæ were the German and Belgic Beguinæ, who did not indeed originate in this century, but now first emerged into notice and in a short time became immensely numerous.[2] Certain pious females, including both widows and maidens, in order to keep themselves pure from the corruptions of the age, formed themselves into associations and lived in appropriate houses, amidst exercises of devotion and regular manual labour under a directress; yet reserving to themselves the right of marrying and of withdrawing from the association at their pleasure. And as all females who made pretensions to more than ordinary piety were called Beguttæ or Beguinæ, that is, Praying Ladies, so these also received the same appellation[3]. The first association of this description was formed at Nivelles in Brabant, A.D. 1226; and so many others followed soon after throughout France, Germany, and the Netherlands, that from the middle of the century onward, there was scarcely a city of any note which had not its Beguinagia as they were called, or Vineyards as such associations were sometimes denominated, borrowing a name from the book of Canticles.[4] All these female associations did not adopt the same regulations; but the greater part of them devoted the time which was not occupied in prayer and other religious exercises to various kinds of labour, and especially to weaving. Those who were really indigent, or disabled, or sick, sought relief in the kindness of the pious and benevolent.

42. This female institution was soon after imitated in the Netherlands by unmarried men, both widowers and bachelors, who associated and lived together in appropriate houses, praying and labouring unitedly under a director or chief, yet reserving to themselves, in the same manner as the females, the liberty of returning at any time to their former mode of life if they pleased.[5] These were called according to the phraseology of the age Beghards, corruptly pronounced Bogards by the Belgians; and by some, Lolhards; and in France at first Bons Valets (*Boni Valeti*) or Bons Garçons (*Boni Pueri*), and afterwards Beguins, and also from the occupation of most of them, Brother Weavers (*Fratres Textores*). The first association of these Beghards, it appears, was formed

excluded from the rank of Friars). "Sæculares autem vocarunt Bizocios, vel Fratricellos, vel Bocasotos." (Here Jordanus errs in saying that the sæculares were called Fratricelli, for this name was appropriated to the real monks of St. Francis and did not belong to the Tertiarii. His other statements are correct; and they show that these more rigid adherents to the rule of St. Francis were divided into two classes, namely, Friars and Seculars, and that the latter were called Bizochi). "Ii dogmatizabant, quod nullus summus Pontifex regulam B. Francisci declarare potuit. Item, quod angelus abstulit a Nicolao Tertio Papatus auctoritatem.—Et quod ipsi soli sunt in via Dei et vera ecclesia," &c.

[1] This distinction appears clearly from comparing, among others, several passages in the *Acta Inquisit. Tholo.* See p. 303, 310, 312, 313, 319, &c.

[2] There was much discussion in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century respecting the origin of these Beghardi and Beguinæ, of which I have given a full account in a work not yet published, *De Beguinis*. During this discussion the Beghinæ brought forward diplomas or written documents of the most authentic and unexceptionable character, from which it appears that there were associations of Beguinæ in the Netherlands, as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They were able indeed to produce but three such documents, the first dated A.D. 1065, the second A.D. 1129, and the third A.D. 1151. The whole were published at Vilvorden by the Beghinæ then resident there. See Miræus, *Opera Diplomatico-historica*, tom. ii. cap. xxvi. p. 948; and tom. iii. p. 628, ed. nova, Puteanus, *De Beghinarum apud Belgas Instituto et Nomine Suffragio*; which tract, with another of the same Puteanus on the same subject, is extant in Ryckel's *Vita S. Beggæ cum Annotat.* p. 65, 227, Douay, 1631, 4to. Hence, while it must be admitted that those are in error who affirm that the class of females who are still called Beghinæ or Beguttæ first appeared in the twelfth or thirteenth century; yet the very small number of the documents and testimonies puts it beyond controversy, that the Beguinæ were a very obscure party previously to the thirteenth century—it may be that they possessed only that one Beguinagium which was at Vilvorden, in Brabant.

[3] All the Beghardi and Beghinæ still existing in the Netherlands, though existing under regulations very different from their original ones, eagerly maintain that they derived their name and their institution in the seventh century from St. Begga, duchess of Brabant, and daughter of Pepin, mayor of the palace in Austrasia; which lady they of course revere as their patroness, and regard as a kind of tutelary divinity. See Ryckel, *Vita S. Beggæ cum Annotat.* published at Douay and Louvain. This is a ponderous volume, but in other respects a slender work and stuffed with anile fables. Those who are unfriendly to the Beguini and Beguinæ contend that they derived their origin from Lambert le Begue, a priest of Liege in the twelfth century and a very pious man. See Peter Coens (a learned canon of Antwerp,) in his *Disquisitio Historica de Origine Beghinarum et Beghinagiorum in Belgio*, Louvain, 1627, 12mo, than whom no one has more learnedly defended this opinion. Both these opinions have many and distinguished advocates, but none that are good authorities; and both of them may be easily confuted.

[4] See Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, ad ann. 1243 and 1250, p. 540, 696; Thomas Cantipratensis, in his *Bonum Universale de Apibus*, lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 478, ed. Colvener; Herenthal in his unpublished Annals, an important extract from which is exhibited by Ryckel, in his notes *Ad Vitam S. Beggæ*, sec. 196, p. 355, &c. The origin and establishment of the Beguinagia, founded in the Netherlands during this and the following century, are detailed at great length by Miræus, in his *Opera Historico-diplomatica*; by Gramaye, in his *Antiquitates Belgicæ*; by Sanderus, in his *Brabantia et Flandria Illustrata*; and by other historians of Belgian affairs.

[5] Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, ad ann. 1253, p 539, 540.

at Antwerp in the year 1228, and it continues still in a flourishing state, though the fraternity have departed widely from their pristine mode of life. This association was followed by many others in Germany, the Netherlands, and France; yet these associations of Beghards were not so numerous as those of the Beghinæ [or female Beghards].[1] The Roman pontiffs never formally approved or confirmed with their sanction these associations of male and female Beghards, yet they tolerated them, and often at the request of influential men and women, protected them with their edicts and bulls against the violence and the plots of their enemies, of whom they had not a few. At the present day most of the houses belonging to both the sexes of Beghards are either destroyed or converted to other uses; yet in the Belgic provinces the houses of female Beghards are sufficiently numerous, while those for males are very few.

43. It remains that we briefly notice the names and merits of those among the Greeks and the Latins who acquired most fame by their writings. Among the Greeks the following are the most noted:[2] Nicetas Acominatus, to whom we are indebted for a history and a *Thesaurus* of the orthodox faith;[3] Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, of whose productions there are extant among some others a tract against the Latins, and an exposition of the Greek Liturgy;[4] Theodorus Lascaris, who has left us several tracts on different topics in theology, and who also wrote against the Latins as nearly all the Greek authors did, this being a subject to which both their genius and their national attachments prompted them;[5] Nicephorus Blemmida, one of those who endeavoured to restore harmony between the Greeks and Latins;[6] Arsenius, whose Synopsis of the Greek ecclesiastical law is pretty well known;[7] George Acropolita, known as the author of a history, and as a man in public life;[8] John Beccus or Veccus, who brought himself into much trouble by advocating the cause of the Latins with more warmth than the zeal of most Greeks for their church would tolerate;[9] George Metochita,[10] and Constantine Meliteniota,[11] who expended much effort without effect to unite the Greeks and Latins; George Pachymeres, famed for his exposition of Dionysius the father of the mystics, and for a history of his own times;[12] and George of Cyprus, who acquired more fame by his invectives against the Latins and his attacks upon John Veccus, than by his other writings.[13]

[1] See Ryckel's *Vita S. Beggæ*, p. 635; Sander's *Flandria Illustrata*, lib. iii. cap. xvi. p. 136; Gramaye, in his *Antiq. Flandriæ*, and especially in *Gandavo*, p. 22; Miræus, *Opera Diplomatico-histor.* tom. iii. cap. clxviii. p. 145, and in several other places; Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tome vii. p. 248, who however makes many mistakes. Gerhard Antonius, the Pater Minister (as the head of the sect is called) of the Beghards of Antwerp, in his *Epistola ad Ryckium de Beghardorum Origine et Fatis*, in Ryckel's *Vita S. Beggæ*, p. 489, who studiously casts obscurity on not a few things in order to exalt his sect.

[2] Concerning them all, in addition to the writers *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, see Fabricius's *Bibliotheca Græca*.

[3] See above, p. 438, note 1.—*Mur.*

[4] He was called Germanus II. in distinction from a patriarch of the eighth century. He was a monk of the Propontis, created patriarch about A.D. 1222, deposed in 1240, restored again, and died in 1254. His exposition of the liturgy sadly interpolated was published, Greek and Latin, in Fronto le Duc's *Auctarium*, tom. ii. and about twelve of his sermons and homilies, with seven of his epistles and decrees, have been published in different collections of ancient works, by Combefis, Gretser, Leo Allatius, Cotelier, Leunclavius, &c.—*Mur.*

[5] Theodorus Lascaris was born at Nice, was much devoted to literature, became emperor A.D. 1255, waged successful wars against the Bulgarians and others during three years, then resigned the empire and retired to a monastery, where he died A.D. 1259, aged thirty-six. Very few of his tracts have been published. —*Mur.*

[6] See above, p. 438, note 5.—*Mur.*

[7] Arsenius, surnamed Autorianus, was born at Constantinople, became a monk and an abbot at Nice, retired from office and lived at Mount Athos, was made patriarch of Constantinople by Theodore Lascaris A.D. 1255, and tutor to Lascaris' son at his father's death A.D. 1259; resigned the patriarchate soon after, resumed the office in 1261, opposed and excommunicated the emperor Michael who had put out the eyes of Arsenius' royal pupil, was deposed and banished to the Proconnesus where he lived in exile many years. The time of his death is not ascertained. His *Synopsis Divinorum Canonum*, written while he was a monk, and arranged under one hundred and forty-one *Tituli*, is in Justell's *Biblioth. Juris Canon.* Greek and Latin, tom. ii. p. 749. His testament or will was published, Greek and Lat. by Cotelier, *Monumenta Eccl. Gr.* tom. ii. p. 168.—*Mur.*

[8] See above, p. 438, note 2.—*Mur.*

[9] Veccus was chartophylax of the great church of Constantinople, and a man of genius and learning. He at first strenuously opposed the Latins. For this the emperor Michael imprisoned him with others. By reading the writings of Nicephorus Blemmida, Veccus was converted into a friend and most zealous advocate of the Latins. Michael now made him patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 1274. On the death of Michael A.D. 1283, fearing the rage of the people he resigned his office, was the next year banished, and passed the remainder of his days in exile. His writings in defence of the Latins and in apology for his conduct are numerous, and were published, Greek and Lat. by Leo Allatius, in *Græcia Orthodoxa*, tom. i. and ii. and elsewhere.—*Mur.*

[10] George Metochita was a deacon of the great church of Constantinople, and a friend and associate of John Veccus. With him he contended in behalf of the Latins, and with him suffered exile for this offence. He flourished A.D. 1276; the time of his death is not known. His writings, all in defence of the Latins, were published by Leo Allatius, *Græcia Orthodoxa*, tom. ii.—*Mur.*

[11] Constantine Meliteniota was archdeacon of Constantinople under John Veccus, joined with Veccus and Metochita in defending the cause of the Latins, and passed through much the same sufferings. He died in exile in Bithynia. His tract on the union of the Greek and Latin churches, and another on the procession of the Holy Spirit, are extant, Gr. and Lat. in Leo Allatius, *Græcia Orthodoxa*, tom. ii.—*Mur.*

[12] See above, p. 438, note 3.—*Mur.*

[13] George of Cyprus, who assumed the name of

44. The Latin writers form a long list, from which we shall produce those only who are most frequently quoted. Joachim, abbot of Flora in Calabria, was perhaps a pious man and not wholly ignorant of the truth; but he was a man of small parts, of weak judgment, and addicted to visionary and enthusiastic notions; both in his lifetime and after his death the ignorant multitude regarded him as inspired of God. His predictions became far-famed and have been often published.[1] Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, expounded many of the books of holy scripture.[2] Francis, founder of the famous society denominated Minorites or Franciscans, wrote some pieces designed to enkindle devotional feelings in the soul, but they display little energy or ingenuity.[3] Alain de l'Isle was not the least among the dialecticians and acute reasoners of that age; he also paid attention to chemistry and has said many things wisely and well.[4] James of Vitré [de Vitriaco] obtained reputation by his Oriental history,[5] as did James of Varraggio [de Voragine] by his *Historia Lombardica*.[6] Among those who cultivated metaphysical or philosophical theology in this century, the most distinguished were Albertus Mag-

Gregory, was born and educated in the Latin church in Cyprus. At the age of twenty he went to Constantinople, changed his sentiments, became a monk and one of the court clergy, was created patriarch A.D. 1284, opposed and persecuted Veccus, was obliged to resign his office in 1299, retired to a monastery, and died not long after. He wrote largely against the Latins and in confutation of Veccus. His chief works are his *Tomus Orthodoxus* or *Columna Orthodoxiæ*, and discourses against the blasphemies of Veccus, still remaining in manuscript.

Besides the Greek writers enumerated by Mosheim, the following are noticed by Cave, in his *Historia Literaria*, tom. ii.:—

Nicolaus Hydrentinus, who flourished A.D. 1201 and was the Greek interpreter in all the negociations of cardinal Benedict, both at Constantinople and in Greece, for a reconciliation of the Greek and Latin churches. He wrote in Greek various tracts against the Latins, from which only some extracts have been published.

Nicetas Maronita, chartophylax of the great church of Constantinople and then archbishop of Thessalonica who flourished A.D. 1201. He wished to effect a union of the Greek and Latin churches, and wrote six books on the procession of the Holy Spirit with a view to reconcile the two parties. Leo Allatius has published some extracts from the work, *Adv. Hottinger.* cap. xix. His answers to the questions of Basil are extant, Greek and Latin, in the *Jus Gr. Rom.* lib. v. p. 345.

Manuel Caritopulus, patriarch of Constantinople about A.D. 1250, wrote some tracts on ecclesiastical or canon law, which Leunclavius published, Greek and Latin, in his *Jus Gr. Rom.* lib. iii. p. 238, &c.

George Moschamper, chartophylax of the great church of Constantinople, who flourished about A.D. 1276. He was bitterly opposed to the Latins and wrote several pieces against them, which were answered by John Veccus. Nothing of his has been published.

Simon, born in Crete but of a Constantinopolitan family, is supposed by Cave to have flourished about A.D. 1276. A long epistle of his, addressed to John Nomophylax, *De Conciliis quæ Processionem Spiritus Sancti a Filio Definiverunt*, was published Greek and Lat. by Leo Allatius, *Adv. Hottinger.* p. 324. He wrote two other tracts on the same subject, never published. —*Mur.*

[1] Gregory di Lauro composed in Italian a copious life of Joachim which was published at Naples, 1660, 4to. His prophecies were first printed at Venice, 1517, 4to, and often subsequently. [He was a Cistercian monk and abbot of different monasteries in Italy, the last of which, that at Flora, he himself founded. He flourished A.D. 1201 and died previously to A.D. 1215. He wrote *De Concordia Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, Commentaries on Jeremiah, Psalms, Isaiah, some portions of Nahum, Habakkuk, Zechariah, and Malachi, on the Apocalypse; also fifteen prophecies concerning the Roman pontiffs, besides some other prophecies. All the above were printed at Venice in different years previously to A.D. 1600.—*Mur.*

[2] Stephen Langton was an Englishman, but educated at Paris, where he became chancellor of the university and a canon of Paris. Innocent III. invited him to Rome and made him a cardinal. In the year 1206 the same pontiff made him archbishop of Canterbury against the will of the king, who refused him access to his see till he was compelled to it by the Pope in 1212. In 1215 Langton encouraged rebellion in England and aided the invasion by the French, for which he was accused and had to pay a heavy fine in 1218. He died in 1228. He wrote commentaries on a large part of the Bible, besides letters and sermons, nearly all of which remain in manuscript in the public libraries of England.—*Mur.* [See an account of him and his works, with a very curious specimen of his preaching on a stanza of a French popular song, in Wright's *Biogr. Brit. Liter. Anglo-Norman Period*, p. 442, &c.—*R.*

[3] See above, p. 452, sec. 25, and note 3. His works, consisting of epistles, discourses, prayers, and monastic regulations, were collected and published by John de la Haye, Paris, 1651, fol.—*Mur.*

[4] There were several of the name of Alan in this century, who have been strangely confounded both by the ancients and the moderns. See Le Bœuf, *Mémoires sur l'Hist. d' Auxerre*, tome i. p. 309, and *Diss. sur l' Hist. Eccles. et Civile de Paris*, tome ii. p. 293, &c. [This Alanus de Insulis or Alain de l'Isle was a native of Flanders, studied at Paris, was called the Doctor Universalis on account of his extensive learning, was for a time bishop of Auxerre, but resigned the mitre and became a Cistercian monk. Cave supposes he flourished about A.D. 1215. His works as collected and published by Du Visch, Antw. 1655, fol. consist of a commentary on the Canticles, on the art of preaching, a pœnitential, on the parables, a collection of memorable sayings, a poem in eleven books on a perfectly good man, two books against the Waldenses, eleven sermons, and a few other tracts. Du Visch, in his *Biblioth. Scriptor. Cisterciens.* Colon. 1656, 4to, added Alain's commentary on the prophecies of Merlin and his tract on the philosopher's stone.—*Mur.*

[5] Jacobus de Vitriaco or James of Vitré was born near Paris, educated in that city, became a priest in his native village, and a regular canon in the diocese of Namur. His zeal led him to Toulouse where he preached against the Albigenses, thence he went to Palestine and became bishop of Acco, or Ptolemais. About A.D. 1220 the Pope recalled him to Rome, made him cardinal bishop of Tusculum, and sent him as his legate into France to preach up a crusade. He returned to Rome, spent several years tranquilly, and died A.D. 1244. His oriental and occidental history is in three books; the first describes the country and nations of the east, and traces their history from the time of Mohammed to A.D. 1210; the second book gives the history of Europe during the author's own times; the third returns to the oriental nations and brings down their history to A.D. 1218. The first and third books were printed at Douay, 1597, 8vo, and in Bongarsius, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, tom. ii. He also wrote a letter describing the capture of Damietta, which is in Bongarsius, *ubi supra*, and an epistle to Pope Honorius III. and sermons on the gospels and epistles for the year.—*Mur.*

[6] See Echard's *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 454, and Bolandus' *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. p. 9 [also p. 441, note 2, above.—*Mur.*

nus,[1] Thomas Aquinas,[2] and Bonaventura.[3] That these men possessed very inquisitive minds, acute and superior understandings, and uncommon penetration in regard to abstruse and difficult subjects, no candid man will deny, although they assented to various things which are incorrect. Of the others who prosecuted the same species of theology, a long list appears in which are found men of subtlety and dexterity. That age held in reputation William of Paris, a man of acuteness;[4] Alexander Hales, the expounder of Aristotle;[5] Robert Capito,[6]

[1] Concerning Albertus Magnus, see Echard's *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 162. [Albert the Great was born of noble parentage at Launingen in Swabia, A.D. 1205, was early sent to Passau for education, and became a Dominican monk in 1223. Strange stories are told of his obtuseness in early life, and of his subsequent miraculous facility in acquiring knowledge. He was a universal scholar, but particularly distinguished in mathematics, natural philosophy, metaphysics, and scholastic theology. He taught at Hildesheim, Ratisbon, Cologne, and other places in Germany, and likewise at Paris. In 1238 he was made vicar-general of the Dominicans for two years, and afterwards provincial of the order for Germany. In 1249 he fixed himself at Cologne, and was president of the school there. In 1260 the pontiff obliged him to accept the bishopric of Ratisbon, but he resigned it in 1263 and retired to his favourite literary retreat at Cologne. He died in 1280, aged 75. His works in twenty-one volumes folio were published by Peter Jammy, at Lyons, A.D. 1651. They comprise eight works on dialectics, twenty-eight on natural philosophy, commentaries on the Psalms, Lamentations, Baruch, Daniel, the twelve minor prophets, the four Gospels, and the Apocalypse; many sermons, a compendium of theology in seven books, commentaries on Lombard's four books of Sentences, and various other pieces.—*Mur.* [Concerning Albertus Magnus and his philosophical system see Ritter, *Geschichte der Christl. Philos.* vol. iv. p. 181—256.—*R.*

[2] Concerning Thomas Aquinas, called the Angel of the Schools, see the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. Martii, p. 655, &c. and Touron's *Vie de St. Thomas*, Paris, 1737, 4to. [Thomas was of the family of the counts of Aquino in the kingdom of Naples, and was born at Aquino A.D. 1224. Educated in monasteries where he displayed great precocity of genius, he became a Dominican monk at Naples in the year 1241 contrary to the will of his parents. His mother was denied access to him by the monks, who sent Thomas from one place to another to conceal him. At length in his attempted removal to Paris she and her other sons seized him. For two years they kept him a prisoner in their castle, and used every effort to persuade him to renounce a monastic life without effect. In 1244 he escaped through a window, went to Naples, and was conducted to Paris, and thence to Cologne, where he heard the lectures of Albert the Great. From Cologne he was called to Paris to lecture on the Sentences. He and Bonaventura received their doctorates in theology at Paris on the same day A.D. 1255. A few days after he returned to Italy and taught theology in the universities of Bologna, Rome, Fondi, Foggia, and Pisa. In the year 1263 he was appointed provincial Definitor (Visitor) of his order for the province of Rome, and in that capacity attended the general convention of the order in London the same year. He at last settled down at Naples on a stipend from the king, as a permanent teacher there. He now refused the archbishopric of Naples offered him by the Pope. In 1274 the Pope called him to the council of Lyons, to maintain the principles of the Romish church against the Greeks; but he died on his way thither at Terracina, on the 7th of March, 1274, aged 50 years. His works as printed at Rome, 1570, fill 18 volumes, folio, and in the edition of Paris, 1636—1641, 23 volumes, folio. They comprise comments on nearly all the works of Aristotle, and on the Sentences of Lombard, a huge system of theology, entitled *Summa Theologiæ in partes tres divisa*, many miscellaneous pieces, commentaries on the Scripture, sermons, &c.—*Mur.* [For further information respecting the life, writings, and philosophical speculations of this celebrated divine, see chapter lxxix. in the 11th volume of the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, p. 793, &c. entitled *Thomas Aquinas and the Scholastic Philosophy*, from the pen of Dr. Hampden of Oxford, whose Bampton Lectures on the *Scholastic Philosophy*, Oxf. 1833, contain a valuable survey of that system. See also Ritter, *ubi supra*, vol. iv. p. 257—354, presenting a careful analysis of the philosophical and religious views of this "doctor angelicus."—*R.*

[3] Concerning Bonaventura, the patron saint of Lyons in France, see Colonia's *Hist. Littér. de la Ville de Lyon*, tome ii. p. 307; *Hist. de la Vie et du Culte de S. Bonaventure, par un Religieux Cordelier*, Lyons, 1747, 8vo. [John Bonaventura (called Eustachius and Eutychius in Greek) was born of honourable parentage at Bagnarea in Tuscany, A.D. 1221, and became a Franciscan monk in 1243. He studied and gave lectures on the Sentences at Paris, where he took his doctor's degree in 1255. The next year he was unanimously elected general of his order, an office which he held till his death and filled with great advantage to the fraternity. He was called the Seraphic Doctor, and was a man esteemed and confided in by every one. In 1272 the cardinals, being unable to agree upon a new pontiff, submitted the election to Bonaventura, who nominated Theobald of Liege, or Gregory X. In 1274 Gregory created Bonaventura cardinal bishop of Alba, and called him to the general council of Lyons. He died at Lyons while the council was in session, July 15th, A.D. 1274, aged 53. His funeral was attended by the Pope, the emperor, and the whole council. Bonaventura was a scholar, a man of an acute mind, a good writer, and a very devout man. He united mystic with scholastic theology, and was a voluminous writer on practical religion. His works as printed at Rome, 1588, in eight volumes, fol. comprise commentaries on the Scriptures, a full comment on the Sentences of Lombard, a great number of tracts, chiefly on ascetic and practical subjects, letters, sermons, &c.—*Mur.*

[4] See especially the *Gallia Christiana* of the Benedictines, tom. vii. p. 95. [William of Paris, D.D. was born at Aurillac, in Auvergne (and thence called William Alvernus), became an eminent scholar and divine, and was bishop of Paris from A.D. 1228 till his death, March 29th, 1249. His works were printed by Ferroneus, Orleans, 1674, in two volumes, fol. They consist chiefly of tracts on moral and practical subjects; yet there are several on dogmatic theology. He is not to be confounded with Matthew Paris, the historian, as he too often is in the references throughout the original of this work of Mosheim, through the mistake no doubt of the printer.—*Mur.*

[5] Alexander Hales or De Hales was an Englishman of Gloucestershire, but was early sent to Paris, where he spent most of his life in the study of scholastic theology and canon law and in teaching them to others. He was called the Irrefragable Doctor. He was a Franciscan, flourished about A.D. 1230, and died at Paris, August 27, 1245. His works as published separately consist of commentaries upon the Scriptures, commentaries on certain books of Aristotle, commentaries on the Sentences of Lombard, a system of theology, and a few tracts.—*Mur.*

[6] Concerning him, Wood has written largely, *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 81, 105. [Robert Grossetête or Capito was born at Stradbrook in Suffolk, and educated at Oxford and Paris. Returning to England he became archdeacon of Leicester, and then bishop of Lincoln from A.D. 1235 till his death, October 9th, 1253. He was a man of great learning and of an independent mind. The physical sciences, law, divinity, and the original languages of the Bible, all engaged his attention. He resisted the domination of the pope, and laboured to reform the clergy. His writings consist of translations, comments on Aristotle and Dionysius the Areopagite, sermons, letters, and other tracts, most of which still remain in manuscript. For a full account of him, see Milner's *Church History*, cent. xiii. c. 7.—*Mur.*

Thomas Cantipratensis,[1] John Peckham,[2] William Durand,[3] Roger Bacon,[4] Richard Middleton,[5] Ægidius de Colonna,[6] Armand de Bello Visu,[7] and others. But none of these attained to equal renown with the triumvirate above mentioned. Hugo de S. Caro was thought to have done much to advance sacred knowledge by his Concordance to the holy scriptures.[8] William of St. Amour waged war with boldness and resolution, but not successfully, upon the fraternities which sought renown for piety in mendicity.[9] Humbert de Romanis endeavoured by his writings to guide the conduct and regulate the lives of the monks.[10] William Perald acquired very high reputation in that age by his *Summa Virtutum et Vitiorum*.[11] Raymund Martini still lives in his *Pugio Fidei*, or his work against the Jews and Saracens.[12]

[1] Thomas Cantipratensis was born of noble parents at Lewe near Brussels, studied under Albert the Great at Cologne, became a regular canon at Cantimpre near Cambray, and afterwards a Dominican monk, subprior at Louvain, and a bishop, suffragan, and assistant to the bishop of Cambray. He flourished A.D. 1255. His principal work is entitled *Bonum Universale de Apibus;* in which he gives precepts for the conduct of all orders of men, deriving his illustrations from bees. He also wrote several lives of reputed saints.—*Mur.*

[2] John Peckham was born of low parentage at Chichester in Sussex, England, studied at Oxford and Paris, became a Franciscan, taught with applause at Oxford, Paris, Lyons, and Rome. While at Rome, A.D. 1278, the pope created him archbishop of Canterbury. On his arrival in England the pope demanded of him 4,000 marks of silver for the use of the holy see. Peckham had to pay it. He next had contention with the archbishop of York. He became vastly rich, founded a college, raised his relatives to affluence, and died about A.D. 1291. He wrote *Collectanea Bibliorum*, and forty-seven synodical decrees which have been published, and a number of theological tracts which remain in manuscript.—*Mur.*

[3] William Durand, LL.D. was born in Provence, France, of noble parents. He studied the civil and canon laws at Bologna, and took his doctorate there. He also taught law at Bologna and Mutina, and became so famous as a pleader that he was called the father of practice. He was auditor-general in the court of Rome, canon of Beauvais, and dean of Chartres. In 1274 he was the pope's proctor at the general council of Lyons. Nicolaus III. made him governor of the papal dominions with the title of rector and count of the patrimony. In this capacity he commanded successfully in several battles. In 1286 he was made bishop of Mende in France. In 1296 the pope sent him as ambassador to the Saracens in the East; but he died at Nicotia in Cyprus. He was a learned man, a profound jurist, and a respectable theologian. He wrote *Speculum Juris*, a large work, *Repertorium Juris*, extracted from the preceding, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, also some law tracts.—*Mur.*

[4] See above, p. 442, note 7. Roger Bacon was nobly born at Ilchester, Somersetshire, England, about A.D. 1206. He studied at Oxford and then at Paris, where he took his degree. Languages, history, law, the physical sciences, and theology, were his pursuit. Returning to England he taught at Oxford, became a Franciscan monk, devoted himself to the physical sciences, expended much time and money on experiments in optics, mechanics, and chemistry, was esteemed a magician, and confined many years as such to a monastery. He died about the year 1284, aged 78, and was buried at Oxford. His *Opus Majus* addressed to pope Clement IV. contains an abstract by his own hand of all the works he had then published, and nearly supersedes the necessity of reading any of his other printed works.—*Mur.*

[5] Richard Middleton or De Mediavilla, the *Doctor solidus et copiosus*, was an English Franciscan monk and theologian, who first studied philosophy, law, and theology at Oxford, and afterwards at Paris where he obtained a high reputation. In the year 1282 he was one of the commissioners appointed by the provincial of his order to try the cause of Peter John Olivi, which trial has been censured. He returned to England, and taught with great applause at Oxford, and died about A.D. 1300. He wrote four books of questions on Lombard's Sentences, and *Quodlibita Theologica*, containing eighty questions in theology, both of which works have been published; also commentaries on the gospels and the epistles of Paul, and some tracts which are not published.—*Mur.*

[6] Ægidius Colonna or De Columna, the *Doctor Fundatissimus*, was born at Rome, of the illustrious family of the Colonna, studied at Rome and in other places, became an Augustinian eremite monk, was invited to Paris to be tutor to prince Philip, son of Philip the Bold, and taught many years in the university of Paris. In 1292 he was made prior-general of his order. In 1296 Boniface VIII. made him archbishop of Bourges. Whether he became a cardinal or not has been disputed. He died A.D. 1316, aged 69. His writings are very numerous though but partially published, and never collectively. They are on scholastic theology, dialectics, on the Sentences of Lombard, vindications of Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura, and numerous other tracts.—*Mur.*

[7] Armand of Bellevue or De Bello Visu was a Dominican monk, born at Bologna, and master of the sacred palace at Rome. He is supposed to have lived near the end of this century. His works are a commentary on the Psalms, meditations, prayers, sermons, and an explanation of difficult terms in theology and philosophy.—*Mur.*

[8] Hugo of St. Cher, D.D. or De Sancto Caro, a Dominican monk, was born in Dauphiny, and studied at Paris, was papal ambassador to Constantinople under Gregory IX., became provincial of his order for France, was created a cardinal in 1245, after which he was repeatedly papal legate, especially to Germany. He died A.D. 1260. His works are, *Postillæ* or a brief commentary on the whole Bible, Venice, 1600, in eight volumes, sermons for the year, *Speculum Sacerdotum et Ecclesiæ*, and a Concordance to all the declinable words in the Latin Bible, to which Conrad of Halberstadt added the particles, about A.D. 1290, and which has been often printed.—*Mur.*

[9] William of St. Amour or De S. Amore. He was a native of Burgundy, and one of the leading doctors at Paris in the middle of this century. In the controversy between the university and the Dominicans he stood in the front of the battle. The pope ordered him to be degraded and banished in 1256. But supported by the university he held his ground, and fought more eagerly. See above, p. 454. His works were published at Constance (Paris), 1632, 4to.—*Mur.*

[10] Humbert de Romanis or of Romans in Burgundy became a Dominican monk while studying at Paris, A.D. 1225, was made general of the order in 1254, resigned the office 1263, and died in 1274. He wrote Instructions for monks, a commentary on the rule of St. Augustine, two hundred sermons on various subjects, lives of monks, on the three monastic vows, and on the erudition of preachers. Most of these are in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. XXV.—*Mur.*

[11] See Colonia, *Hist. Littér. de la Ville de Lyon*, tome II. p. 322, &c. [William Perald or Peralt, *i.e.* De Petra Alta, was born in the diocese of Vienne, became a Dominican monk in 1219, and some say archbishop of Lyons in 1272. He died in 1275. His *Summa de Virtutibus et Vitiis* has passed through numerous editions. This is his only work known, unless he is the author of the sermons for the year ascribed to William of Paris.—*Mur.*

[12] Raymund Martini or Des Martins, a Catalonian, and a very celebrated Dominican monk who flourished in Spain, A.D. 1278. At the suggestion of Raymond de Pennafort, general of his order, he composed his celebrated *Pugio Fidei* (Dagger of the Faith), in which he confutes the Jews and Saracens out of their own writers. It is a learned work, was long the chief

John of Paris deserves an honourable place among the defenders of truth and rectitude, because he contended for the power of temporal sovereigns against the machinations of the pontiffs, and because he openly professed his dissatisfaction with the prevailing doctrine respecting the Lord's supper.[1]

arsenal for other writers against the Jews and Mohammedans, and was printed with notes by Voisin, Paris, 1651, fol. and Leips. 1687, fol.—*Mur.*

[1] His *Determinatio de S. Cœna* was published by Peter Allix, London, 1686, 8vo. See Echard's *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 501, &c.; Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 4, 576, 577, &c.—[John of Paris was a Dominican monk and a distinguished theologian of Paris, about A.D. 1290. When Boniface VIII. attacked Philip the Fair, king of France, John stood forth in defence of the king in a tract, *De Regia Potestate et Papali.* While he was preaching in the assemblies of his order and giving theological lectures in the schools with much applause, he advanced the idea that possibly Christ's presence in the eucharist was by impanation or uniting himself to the elements, and not by a transmutation of their substance; the masters of Paris cried out against him. He was condemned of error, and forbidden to preach or to lecture; but he appealed to the pope, went to Rome, and died soon after his arrival, A.D. 1304. His tract, *De Regia Potestate et Papali*, is in Goldast's *Monarch. Imp.* tom. ii. p. 107.

Besides those named by Mosheim, Cave notices the following Latin writers of this century:—

Sylvester Giraldus, called Cambrensis from his country, and Barrius from his family. He was the son of William de Barri, and born at Mainarpu near Pembroke in South Wales, England. His uncle David, bishop of Man, made him archdeacon of Brechin. He went to Paris for study, and there taught theology in the English college three years. On his return he made some figure at the court of Henry II. In 1185 he attended the Prince John, commanding an expedition to Ireland, was offered the bishopric of Wexford, which he refused. He continued some time in Ireland to examine its geography and antiquities; then returned to Wales, where he composed his history. Afterwards he accompanied Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, in his pilgrimage to Palestine. In 1198 he was made bishop of Man; and a controversy arising respecting that see, he went to Rome in the year 1300, and finally lost his prelacy. He lived to be more than seventy years old, but the time of his death is unknown. His printed works are, a Topography of Ireland, the Conquest of Ireland by the English, Travels in Cambria (Wales), and a Description of Cambria; all extant in the *Scriptores X. Anglici*, Francf. 1602, fol. Several of his theological productions remain in manuscript.

Gervasius, an English Benedictine monk of Canterbury, well acquainted with the Anglo-Saxon history. He flourished A.D. 1201, and wrote an account of the conflagration and repair of the cathedral of Canterbury, sketches of the dissensions between the monks of Canterbury and the archbishop Baldwin, a Chronicle of English history from A.D. 1112 to A.D. 1199, and Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury from Augustine to Hubert inclusive; all of which are in the *Scriptores Decem Anglici*, Lond. 1652, fol.

William de Seligniaco, made bishop of Auxerre A.D. 1206, and afterwards bishop of Paris till his death, 1223. He wrote a *Summa Theologica* (system of theology), printed at Paris, 1500.

Arnold of Hildesheim and abbot of Lubec flourished A.D. 1209, and continued Helmold's *Chronicon*, from 1171 to 1209. He is considered as good authority in Slavonic affairs, but not in others. His continuation is published, in some editions imperfect, with Helmold.

Absalom, a canon of St. Victor, Paris, and an abbot in the diocese of Treves, A.D. 1210, has left us fifty-one sermons on the festivals.

Robert de Monte or Robert de Torinneio, abbot of St. Michael de Monte in the diocese of Avranches in Normandy. Some think he flourished A.D. 1210, but others make him to have died A.D. 1186. The continuation of the *Chronicon* of Sigebert Gemblacensis, from 1112 to A.D. 1210, or at least to A.D. 1182, is ascribed to him. He also wrote some historical and other tracts. All are published by D'Achery, in *Append. ad Opp. Guiberti*, Paris, 1651, and in his *Spicilegium.*

Willibrand of Oldenburg, canon of Hildesheim A.D. 1211. After visiting Palestine he wrote an account of his travels in that country, published by Leo Allatius, *Symmicta*, par. i. p. 104.

Helinandus, a Frenchman, who after a dissolute life became a Cistercian monk at Mons Frigidus, in the diocese of Beauvais. He flourished A.D. 1212, and died A.D. 1227. His great work or Chronicle from the Creation to A.D. 1204, with some sermons, martyrdoms of saints, &c. was published by Tissier, in his *Biblioth. Cisterciensis*, and by Surius.

Alexander Neckam, born at St. Albans, studied in England, visited the universities of France and Italy, returned to St. Albans, removed to Exeter, became a canon regular of St. Augustine, and was abbot there from 1215 till his death, A.D. 1227. His works, which are chiefly commentaries on the scriptures, were never published but are preserved in manuscript.

Honorius III. pope A.D. 1216—1227, famous for his zeal for crusades against the Saracens and the Albigenses, and for excommunicating the emperor Frederick II. has left us nineteen epistles, extant in the Collections of Councils, Baluze's *Miscellanea*, and Wadding's *Annales.*

Antonius de Padua, a Portuguese of Lisbon, who removed to Italy, lived at Padua, became a Franciscan theologian and preacher, was called to Rome and honoured by the pope and cardinals, and died A.D. 1231. He was a weak man though a popular preacher. Many of his sermons and mystic expositions of the scripture have been published.

Jordan, of Saxon origin, born in the diocese of Mentz, became a Dominican monk in 1220, provincial of his order for Lombardy in 1222, and general of the order in 1223. He died about 1236, leaving a tract on the origin of his order, and one or two devotional works.

Cæsarius, a German, who became a Cistercian monk at Heisterback, in the diocese of Cologne, A.D. 1119, was made master of the novices there, and then prior of a monastery near Bonn. He flourished A.D. 1225, and wrote *De Miraculis et Visionibus sui Temporis*, in twelve Books or Dialogues (full of fables), a life of St. Engelbert, bishop of Cologne, and a number of sermons; all of which have been published.

Gregory IX. pope A.D. 1227—1241, famous for his conflicts with the emperor Frederick II. His works, consisting of numerous epistles and decrees, were collected and published with notes by Pamelius, Antw. 1572, fol.

John Algrin, a French divine, dean of Amiens, chantor of Abbeville, archbishop of Besançon in 1225, and a cardinal A.D. 1227, after which he was sent into Spain to preach a crusade against the Saracens. He died A.D. 1236. His commentary on the Canticles was printed, Paris, 1521, fol.

Raymund de Pennaforti or De Rupe-Forti, a Catalonian of Barcelona, descended from the royal line of Arragon and the counts of Barcelona, born A.D. 1175, taught canon law at Bologna, became canon and archdeacon of Barcelona, a Dominican monk, served the papal court in the department of confessions, was general of his order A.D. 1238—1240, resigned and refused the archbishopric of Tarragona and some other sees, and died A.D. 1275, aged one hundred years. He wrote *Summa de Casibus Pœnitentialibus, seu de Pœnitentia et Matrimonio*, printed with notes, Fribourg, 1603, and compiled by order of Gregory IX. the part of the *Corpus Juris Canonici* called *Libri v. Decretalium*, or the Decretals of Gregory.

Philip Grevius, chancellor of the university of Paris, about A.D. 1230, has left us 330 sermons on the Psalms of David, printed, Paris, 1523, 8vo. Some others of his commentaries exist in manuscript.

Conrad of Marpurg, a distinguished Dominican monk and preacher, confessor to Elizabeth, margravine of Thuringia. He flourished A.D. 1230, and wrote the life and miracles of Elizabeth, his patroness, published by Leo Allatius, *Symmicta*, par. i. p. 269.

Petrus de Vineis, chancellor to the emperor Frede-

rick II. and the defender of his rights against the Pope. He made a public speech against the papal encroachments in a diet at Pavia, A.D. 1239, and was the emperor's ambassador and advocate in the council of Lyons, A.D. 1245. His six books of epistles relating to the affairs of the emperor Frederick were first published, Basil, 1566, 8vo.

Edmund Rich, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1234—1240. He was a great patron of learning as his foundations at Oxford declare, and a zealous reformer of the discipline of the church and the morals of the clergy. He went to Rome to complain of the vices and corruptions in the church, spoke boldly there, incurred enmity and a heavy fine, returned discouraged, resigned his office, and went to France where he died. In 1456 he was canonized as a saint. His *Speculum Ecclesiæ* is in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxv. and his twelve ecclesiastical laws are in Lindwood's *Provinciale Anglicum*.

Lucas, a Spaniard of Leon, who after travelling in Italy, Greece, and Palestine, was in 1236 made bishop of Tuy in Gallicia, Spain. He wrote a confutation of the errors of the Albigenses, printed in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxv. the life and miracles of St. Isidore, published by Mabillon and Bolandus, and continued the *Chronicon* of Isidore to his own times, extant in Schott's *Hispania Illustrata*, tom. iv.

Godefridus, a German monk in the convent of St. Pantaleon within the city, Cologne. He flourished A.D. 1237, and wrote Annals from A.D. 1162 to A.D. 1237, published by Freher, *Scriptores Germanici*, tom. i. p. 239.

Innocent IV. pope A.D. 1243—1254, a very ambitious and arrogant pontiff. He wrote commentaries on the five books of Decretals, and a very large number of epistles which are extant in the Collections of Councils and in Wadding's *Annales* and *Regestum Pontificum*.

John de S. Geminiano, a Dominican monk, intimate with Thomas Aquinas, and an eminent theologian and preacher who flourished about A.D. 1244. Gregory IX. sent him to preach up a crusade in the region about Naples against the emperor Frederick II. His *Summa de Exemplis et Rerum Similitudinibus* was often published and particularly Cologne, 1670, 4to. His funeral and quadragesimal sermons have also been published.

Peter, the son of Cassiodorus, was an English knight who flourished about A.D. 1250. His epistle to the English church, advising it to shake off the tyrannical yoke of the Roman pontiff, is in the *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, p. 365.

Theobald Stampensis, an English secular priest who perhaps flourished A.D. 1250, by some placed much earlier, has left five epistles, in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, tom. iii.

David de Augusta, a Franciscan monk of Augsburg, A.D. 1250, wrote some directions for monks, extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxv.

John Seneca, a distinguished jurist and rector of the church of Halberstadt, A.D. 1250. When Clement IV. demanded a tenth of all clerical salaries in France and Germany for a crusade to Palestine A.D. 1265, John resisted openly and accused the pontiff of avarice, for which he was deposed and excommunicated. He died A.D. 1267. His commentary on the *Decretum* of Gratian has been often printed with the text.

Gertrude, a German Benedictine nun at Rodalsdorf, abbess there in 1251, and afterwards removed to Heldenfen where she died A.D. 1290. She wrote in German *Exercitia Spiritualia*, which being translated into Latin were published with the works of Mechtilda, a contemporary sister in the same nunnery.

Robert de Sorbona or De Sorbonne, confessor or at least chaplain to St. Lewis, king of France, a canon first at Soissons and then at Paris. In the year 1252 he founded the divinity college called the Sorbonne in the university of Paris. He died after the year 1271 leaving three devotional tracts—on conscience, on confession, and the journey to Paradise, extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxv.

Reinerius Saccho of Placentia, a distinguished philosopher and theologian. He was first a leading man among the Waldenses [Cathari.—*R.*], but abandoning them he became a Dominican monk and Inquisitor-general. He flourished A.D. 1254 and died in 1259. He wrote *Summa de Catharis et Leonistis*, extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxv. and with the notes of Gretser, Ingolst. 1614, 4to.

Alexander IV. pope A.D. 1254—1261, has left us nearly three hundred epistles, three of which are in the *Concilia*, and the rest in Wadding's *Annales* and *Regest. Pontif.*

Albert, a Benedictine monk of Stade in the archbishopric of Bremen, and A.D. 1232 abbot there till 1236, when he went to Rome, resigned his abbacy in 1240, became a Franciscan, and at length general of the latter order. He wrote a Chronicle from the creation to A.D. 1256, which is better than most others. It was printed at Helmst. 1587, 4to, and Wittemb. 1608, 4to.

John Guallensis or Wallis, an English Franciscan monk of Worcester, who taught philosophy and theology at Oxford and at Paris, and was called the Arbor Vitæ on account of his excellent doctrines. He flourished A.D. 1260 and died at Paris in a year not ascertained. His religious works were all published at Lyons, 1511, fol. Some others of his works on canon law have also been published.

Bonaventura Brocardus of Strasburg, a Dominican monk who went into the East, and resided long there about the middle of the century. His description of places in the Holy Land was printed, Ingolst. 1604, 4to, Cologne, 1624, 8vo, and often elsewhere.

Urban IV. was papal legate in Pomerania, Prussia, Livonia, and Germany, then patriarch of Jerusalem, and A.D. 1261—1264 pope. His paraphrase on the 50th Psalm is in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, two of his epistles are in the *Concilia*, and twenty-four others in Wadding's *Annales* and *Regest. Pontif.*

Henry de Segusio, bishop of Ambrun before A.D. 1258, and cardinal bishop of Ostia, A.D. 1262, died A.D. 1271, so distinguished for knowledge of both civil and canon law that he was called *Fons et Splendor Juris*. He wrote *Summa Utriusque Juris* which is often called *Aurea Summa Hostiensis*, and an exposition of the six books of the Decretals; both have been printed.

Clement IV. pope A.D. 1265—1268, has left us numerous epistles and bulls, extant in various collections of documents.

Gilbert or Guibert, a Franciscan monk and professor of theology in the university of Paris, A.D. 1270. Several of his tracts are extant.

Nicolaus Hanapus, a Dominican monk, pœnitentiary in the court of Rome, and then patriarch of Jerusalem, died at Ptolemais, A.D. 1288. His *Biblia Pauperum*, or Examples of Virtue and Vice, has been often printed.

Gregory X. pope A.D. 1271—1276, has left us twenty-five epistles.

Robert Kilwarbius (Kilwarby) studied at Oxford and Paris, became a Franciscan, and archbishop of Canterbury A.D. 1272, went to Rome in 1277, was made a cardinal, and died in 1280. He left a number of theological and scientific works preserved in manuscript but never published.

Innocent V. pope A.D. 1276, during five months, left a *Compendium Theologiæ*, and a Commentary on the four books of Sentences.

John XXI. (or XIX.) pope A.D. 1276—1288, has left several epistles, some treatises on logic, and one on the cure of diseases, which have been published.

Henry of Ghent or Gandavensis, long a teacher of philosophy and theology in the Sorbonne, and called Doctor Solemnis. He died A.D. 1293, leaving a *Summa Theologiæ*, *Quodlibeta Theologica* on the four books of Sentences, *De Viris Illustribus*, or an account of ecclesiastical authors; besides several other works never printed.

Udalric Ulric, a German of Strasburg, pupil of Albertus the Great, a Dominican monk, and theologian of Paris, died prematurely about A.D. 1280, leaving a Compendium of Theology, besides other works not printed.

Mechtildis, a German lady of high family and a Benedictine nun of Helfenden. She flourished A.D. 1280, and died before A.D. 1290. Her Revelation or five books of spiritual grace, composed in German and translated into Latin, were published with other works of a similar character, Paris, 1513, and Cologne, 1536.

Guido Baifius, a native of Reggio and a citizen and archdeacon of Bologna, an eminent jurist, flourished A.D. 1283. He wrote three books of Commentaries entitled the *Rosarium*, on the five books of the Decretals, published, Venice, 1580.

Nicolaus IV. pope A.D. 1288—1292, left numerous epistles, many of which are published by Bzovius and Wadding; besides commentaries on the Scriptures,

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

1. THE inveterate defects of the prevailing religion, though very great and fundamental, were yet increased by considerable accessions. The Greeks and Orientals were gradually diverted more and more from the principles of truth and rectitude by their hatred of the Latins, by their immoderate veneration for the fathers and antiquity, by the calamities of the times, and by the heedlessness and stupidity of their prelates. Among the Latins, besides the sovereign pontiffs who it appears would tolerate nothing which was even remotely injurious to their majesty and authority, the scholastic doctors, among whom the Dominican and Franciscan monks stood foremost and were the most subtile, by philosophising, disputing, dividing, and distinguishing, exceedingly obscured the simple and beautiful religion of Christ. The most pernicious among them—for all were not equal offenders—were those who led the mass of people to believe that men can perform more than God requires of them, and that all religion consists in the external homage of the lips and in certain bodily gestures.

2. In the fourth and very full council of the Lateran, A.D. 1215, Innocent III. a most imperious pontiff, without asking the opinion of any one, published seventy decrees, in which, besides other enactments calculated to increase the power of the pontiffs and to give importance to the clergy, he extended the religious system by adding to it some new doctrines, or as they are called articles of faith. For whereas there had hitherto been different opinions respecting the manner in which Christ's body and blood are present in the eucharist, and no public decision had defined what must be held and taught on this point, Innocent pronounced that opinion to be the only true one which is now universal in the Romish church; and he consecrated to it the hitherto unknown term Transubstantiation.[1] He also required it to be held as an article of faith, that every one is bound by a positive divine ordinance to enumerate and confess his sins to a priest, which indeed had before been the opinion of some doctors, but it was not the public belief of the church; for up to this time, although the confession of sins was held to be a duty, yet every one had been at liberty according to his pleasure either to confess them mentally to God alone or orally to a priest also.[2] The reception of both these dogmas as of divine authority,

and theological treatises and sermons, never published.

Theodoric de Apoldia, a native of Erfurth and a Dominican monk, who flourished A.D. 1289. He wrote the life of Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew king of Hungary, and widow of Lewis, landgrave of Thuringia, published by Canisius, *Lectiones Antiq.* par. ii. p. 147; also the life of St. Dominic, founder of the order of Dominicans, published by Surius, at August 5th.

Augustinus Triumphus, of Ancona, an Augustinian eremite monk, who spent several years at the university of Paris but more at Venice, and at last fixed his residence at Naples, where he died A.D. 1298, aged 85. He wrote *Summa de Potestate Ecclesiastica*, published, Rome, 1479, 4to, and 1582, fol. several devotional pieces, a book of extracts from St. Augustine, besides several theological works, extensive commentaries on the Scriptures, and many sermons, never published.

William Major, a Frenchman, pœnitentiary of Angers, and bishop of the same, A.D. 1290—1314. He wrote the history of his episcopacy up to the year before his death; published by D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. x.

Guido, of noble birth in Burgundia, studied theology and canon law nine years at Paris and Orleans, and after filling several other offices was abbot of St. Germain of Auxerre, from A.D. 1277 to 1309, when he resigned his office and lived a retired life till his death in 1313. He wrote the history of the abbots of his monastery from A.D. 1189 to 1277, published by Labbe, *Biblioth. Nov. MS.* tom. i.

Henry (according to some, Amandus) Suso, of noble birth in Swabia, a distinguished Dominican theologian and lecturer at Constance, who flourished A.D. 1290, and died about the close of the century. He wrote various tracts, epistles, and sermons, in German, which Surius translated into Latin and published, Cologne, 1588, 8vo.

Boniface VIII. pope A.D. 1294—1303, has left numerous epistles and bulls published by Bzovius and Wadding; besides the *Liber Sextus Decretalium*, which is a part of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*.

Engelbert, a Benedictine monk, distinguished as early as A.D. 1273, and abbot of Admont in Styria from A.D. 1297. He wrote an heroic poem or panegyric on the coronation of Rodulph of Hapsburg, and a tract on the rise, progress, and fall of the Roman empire; the last is in the *Biblioth Patr.* tom. xxv. and the first is in all the collections of German historians.

Thomas Wickes or Wiccius, an English regular canon of St. Augustine in the monastery of Osneia, near Oxford, who flourished about A.D. 1299. He wrote a Chronicle of England from William the Conqueror A.D. 1066 to the year 1304, which was published among the *Scriptores Historiæ Anglicanæ*, tom. ii. Oxford, 1687, fol.

[1] See, among many others, Albertin, *De Eucharistia*, lib. iii. p. 972. [The decree of Innocent is in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vii. p. 16, 17: "Una vero est fidelium universalis ecclesia, extra quam nullus omnino salvatur. In qua idem ipse Sacerdos et Sacrificium Jesus Christus: cujus corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, *transubstantiatis*, pane in corpus, et vino in sanguinem, potestate divina, ut ad perficiendum mysterium unitatis accipiamus de suo quod accepit ipse de nostro. Et hoc utique sacramentum nemo potest conficere, nisi sacerdos, qui fuerit rite ordinatus secundum claves ecclesiæ, quas ipse concessit apostolis et eorum successoribus Jesus Christus."—*Mur.* [This ominous and fatal word first occurs in its Latin form, *transubstantiatio*, in a sermon of Hildebert of Tours (No. 93, *Synodicus ad Sacerdotes*, in his *Opera*, col. 685, &c. Bened. edit.), and the verb *transubstantiare* was first used by Stephen, bishop of Autun from 1113 to 1129, in his treatise *De Sacramento Altaris*, cap. xiv. in the *Biblio. Patr. Max.* tom. xx. p. 1879.—*R.*

[2] See Daillé, *De Confessione Auriculari*, and many others. [This decree of Innocent is in Harduin, *ubi supra*, p. 35, art. xxi. It is in this form: "Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter, saltem semel in anno, proprio sacerdoti; et injunctam sibi pœnitentiam studeat pro viribus adimplere, &c. alioquin et vivens ab ingressu ecclesiæ arceatur, et moriens Christiana careat sepultura."—*Mur.*

in consequence of the injunction of Innocent, produced many regulations and decisions, wholly unknown in the Scriptures or in the early ages of the church, and calculated to foster superstition rather than piety.

3. Nothing perhaps will show more clearly the general unsoundness of the religion of the age and its discordance with the Bible than the history of the societies of Flagellants, which first originated in Italy in the year 1260, and afterwards spread over a large part of Europe. A great multitude of persons of all ranks and ages and both sexes ran about the streets of cities and country towns, with whips in their hands, lashing miserably their naked bodies; and they expected by this voluntary punishment, by their frightful countenances and their distracted cries, to procure the divine compassion for themselves and others.[1] This method of propitiating the Supreme Being was perfectly accordant with views entertained in that age of the nature of religion. Nor did these Flagellants do anything but what they had learned from the monks, and particularly from the mendicant orders. Hence they were at first highly revered and extolled for their sanctity, and not by the populace only but even by their rulers and governors. But when the turbulent, the extravagant, and those contaminated with absurd opinions, joined themselves to the more decent and moral Flagellants, the emperors and the pontiffs issued decrees to put a stop to this religious frenzy.

4. The expounders of the sacred volume in this century differed not at all from those who assumed that office in the previous times. Most of them declared it to be their aim to draw out the internal juice and marrow of the sacred books, that is, to elicit their recondite or secret sense; and for the most part they do it so clumsily, that a discerning man can hardly escape a nausea while reading their commentaries. Those who are disposed to put their power of endurance to the test may peruse the lucubrations of Hugo of St. Cher, Stephen Langton, and Anthony of Padua, on various parts of the Bible. None pursued this course more intensely or more ridiculously than the mystic doctors, of whom not one is so obtuse but he can see clearly in the sacred writers all the principles of his mystic theology. Nor were their opponents, the scholastics, entirely averse from this method of interpretation; though they were at more pains to collect the opinions of the ancient interpreters than to devise new ones; as the example of Alexander Hales, William Alvernus, and Thomas Aquinas, will show. They likewise call in occasionally the aid of dialectics. To assist the expounders of the sacred books, Hugo of St. Cher composed his index of the words in these books or his Concordance to them.[2] The Dominicans by direction of Jordan, the general of their order, set forth a new edition of the Latin version of the scriptures, carefully corrected by the older copies.[3] The Greeks attempted nothing in this department worthy of notice. But among the Syrians, Gregory Abulpharajus very learnedly explained a large portion of the Bible.[4]

5. It would be tedious to enumerate all those who treated systematically either theoretical or practical theology; for all who possessed a tolerable share of discernment and ability to write applied themselves to this branch of theology, and especially all those who taught in the schools, among whom the Dominicans and the Franciscans held the first rank. But it is not necessary to recite the names of these doctors, or to specify all their lucubrations; for whoever has made himself acquainted with Albertus Magnus or with Thomas Aquinas, his disciple, knows them all. The first place among these writers on systematic theology belongs to Thomas Aquinas, who was commonly called the Angel of the Schools or the Angelic Doctor. For as soon as his *Summa*, or system of theology, both dogmatical and practical, began to circulate, all eagerly caught hold of the work and made it, in connexion with Lombard, the Master of the Sentences, the basis of instruction and the source of correct knowledge. Some indeed have denied that this celebrated work was the production of Thomas,[5] but their reasons are by no means solid and satisfactory.[6]

6. The greatest part of these doctors followed Aristotle as their model, and ap-

[1] Schötgen, *Hist. Flagellantium*; Bolleau, *Hist. de Flagellans*, chap. ix. p. 253. A drawing descriptive of this penance of the Flagellants is given by Martene, *Voyage Littér. de deux Bénédictins*, tome ii. p. 105. Compare Muratori's *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. vi. p. 469, &c.

[2] See Echard's *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 194.

[3] Simon, *Critique de la Biblioth. Ecclés. de M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 341.

[4] Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vat.* tom. ii. p. 277.

[5] See Launoi, *Traditio Ecclesiæ Romanæ circa Simoniam*, p. 290.

[6] See Nat. Alexander, *Hist. Eccles.* sæcul. xiii. p. 391; Echard and Quetif's *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicator.* sæcul. xiii. tom. i. p. 293, &c.; Touron's *Vie de St. Thome*, p. 604.

plied his principles, both dialectical and philosophical, to the investigation and explication of Christian doctrines. In explaining metaphysically the more abstruse doctrines, they followed the opinions of the Realists. For this sect had far more followers through nearly all this century than the Nominalists; which may be attributed to the vast influence of Albertus and Thomas, who stood at the head of the Realists at this time. But although these most lucid, irrefragable, seraphic, and angelic doctors, as they were called, may have viewed themselves as sagacious and powerful defenders of revealed religion, yet they very often poured darkness rather than light upon their subjects. For not to mention their intolerable and often ridiculous phrascology or their disgusting barbarity of style, and to pass by their senseless eagerness for prying into subjects inscrutable to man, they failed in the very points in which true philosophers ought least of all to be found defective; for their definitions are obscure and inaccurate, and their divisions are unsuitable and illogical. And these faults, which necessarily produce confusion of thought and obscurity in reasoning, are chargeable on the great Thomas himself.

7. This propensity to examine religious subjects by the powers of reason and human sagacity greatly lessened the number of those who, in the manner of the ancients and without employing philosophy, were accustomed to demonstrate religious truths by the scriptures and by the authority of the fathers, and who were therefore called biblical divines. Certain pious men indeed,[1] and even the Roman pontiffs,[2] seriously admonished the theologians, and more especially those of Paris, to avoid the subtleties of philosophy, and to teach the doctrines of salvation according to the scriptures with simplicity and purity, but their admonitions were fruitless; for so great was the enthusiasm for metaphysics, dialectics, and philosophy, that no arguments or exhortations could control it. The scholastic doctors did not indeed wholly disregard the scriptures and tradition; but what they adduce from these sources showed plainly that they had not been carefully studied.[3] At length they relinquished this study entirely to others, and reserved to themselves merely the province of disputing and philosophising. The outward circumstances of these doctors were not the least efficient cause of their pursuing such a course; for most of them were Dominican and Franciscan monks; and these sects held no property, possessed no libraries, and were moreover required to lead unsettled and vagrant lives. Of course, those who wished to make a figure as writers were compelled to rely wholly upon their own ingenuity.

8. The followers of the old divines deemed it the more necessary to resist strenuously these new dialectical theologians, in proportion as they instilled corrupt and dangerous sentiments into the youth in their schools. For they not only explained the mysteries of religion according to the principles of their dialectics, subjecting them to the empire of reason, but they also brought forward doctrines which were absolutely impious and manifestly hostile to religion; doctrines relating to God, to matter, the world, the origin of all things, and the nature of the human soul; and if any one taxed them with the fact they were accustomed to answer, that these doctrines were philosophically true and consonant with right reason, but that they readily admitted them to be theologically false. And hence, throughout this century, in all the universities and particularly at Paris and Oxford, you might see the ancient and biblical divines uttering decisions, opinions, and treatises in opposition to the dialectic theologians, and both publicly and privately accusing them of corrupting the religion of the scriptures.[4] Even St. Thomas was judged by the Parisians to be unsound, or to deviate on many points from the simple truth.[5] He indeed, though involved in various contests, escaped without harm; but others of less weight of character were required publicly to confess their errors while alive, or were severely censured after their death.

9. Still more dangerous to the scholastic divines were the mystics, and all those who

[1] See Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 9, 129, 180; Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 91, 92, 94.

[2] See especially a sharp and memorable epistle of Gregory IX. to the Parisian masters; in Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 129, which concludes with these words: "Mandamus et districte præcipimus, quatenus sine fermento mundanæ scientiæ doceatis theologicam puritatem, non adulterantes verbum Dei philosophorum figmentis—sed contenti terminis a patribus institutis mentis auditorum vestrorum fructu cœlesti eloquii saginetis, ut hauriant de fontibus Salvatoris."

[3] Faydit's *Altération du Dogme Théologique par la Philos. d'Aristote*, p. 289; Simon's *Critique de la Biblioth. Eccles. de M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 170, 187.

[4] See Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 541; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. in many places, but especially p. 397, 430, 433, 472, &c.

[5] See Launoi, *Hist. Gymnas. Navarreni*, par iii. lib. iii. c. cxvi. in his *Opp.* tom. iv. par. i. p. 485; Bulæus, *ubi supra*, tom. iv. p. 204; Zornius, *Opuscula Sacra*, tom. i. p. 445; Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tome ii. p. 266, &c.; Echard's *Script. Ord. Prædic.* tom. i. p. 435, &c.

maintained that piety was the only thing to be regarded, and that all discussions on religious subjects were to be discarded; for these were the most acceptable to the people, and had most influence with them. The accusations and prejudices of such opponents, the dialecticians judged it not advisable to repel by force, but to conciliate by prudent measures. They therefore extolled mystic theology with lavish praises, and even explained its principles in various treatises, combining it with the theology taught in the schools, notwithstanding the two systems were naturally at variance. The works of this character by Bonaventura, Albertus Magnus, Robert Capito, and Thomas Aquinas, are well known. Nor did they blush to publish comments on Dionysius himself, the coryphæus of the mystics, whom perhaps they at the same time viewed with secret contempt.[1]

10. Therefore in this century both the scholastics and the mystics wrote treatises on the duties of a Christian life, and on the way in which the soul is to be purified from its corruptions; but, as may readily be supposed, their treatises are very different in character. What the mystics taught and recommended as being a life of piety may be learned from the annotations of George Pachymeres on Dionysius, written in Greek, and from the *Spiritual Institutes* or Compendium of mystic theology by Humbert de Romanis. The primary object of the scholastics was to explain the nature of virtues and vices, as is manifest from the numerous Summas [or systems] of the virtues and vices which appeared in this age. The virtues they divide into the moral (which are precisely those that Aristotle recommended to his disciples), and the theological, of which there are three—faith, hope, and love—according to the enumeration of St. Paul, 1 Corinth. xiii. 13. In explaining both they spend more time on questions and controversies than in giving direct and lucid instruction. In this department the pre-eminence is due to Thomas, who devotes the entire second part of his *Summa* to moral or practical theology, and on whom innumerable others wrote commentaries.

11. But great care is necessary in reading the writers on moral theology of this and the following centuries. For though they use the same terms which the inspired writers and we of the present day do, yet they assign to them very different imports. The justice, charity, sanctity, and faith of most of the doctors of this age, are not identical with the virtues which Christ and his apostles designate by these terms. According to the views of Christ, he is a holy or pious man who devotes his whole soul to God and to his law; but the writers of these times denominate him a holy and pious man who divests himself of his possessions and worldly goods in order to enrich the priest and to build churches and monasteries, and who does not deny or neglect to do anything which the pontiffs would have men believe or do. And it is lawful and right, if we may believe these writers, to treat with all possible severity and even to massacre a heretic—that is, one who will not be submissive to the will of the Roman pontiff. The justice therefore which was inculcated in that age was a very different thing from that which the Scriptures enjoin.

12. Among the Greeks, Nicetas Acominatus in his *Treasury of the Orthodox Faith* confronted all the sects of errorists; but it was in the manner of the Greeks—that is, by the testimonies and the authority of the fathers and ecclesiastical councils, rather than by the declarations of holy scripture and by sound arguments.—Among the Latins, Raymund of Pennafort attempted to confute the Jews and Saracens, not in the manner practised previously, by penalties and the sword, but by arguments addressed to the understanding.[2] And this led many others, who were no contemptible disputants and who were acquainted with the Hebrew and Arabic languages, to assail these nations in a similar manner, among whom Raymund Martini, the author of the *Pugio Fidei*, manifestly stands pre-eminent.[3] Thomas also contended for the truth of Christianity in his *Summa contra Gentes*, which is no contemptible performance.[4] And Alanus ab Insulis [Alain de

[1] Whether Mosheim has here stated the real motives of these men in extolling and expounding the principles of the mystics, those must judge who are familiar with their writings. Metaphysical theology and mystical will be found often associated in the minds of the devout in every age. And in that age, the mystics gave at least as good evidence of deep-toned piety or of intimate communion with God as any others; and such men as Bonaventura may easily be supposed to have felt not a little sympathy with them in their devout contemplations. Who does not know how much the writings of Thomas à Kempis (a mystic of the fourteenth century) have been admired, even by Protestants, down to the present times? Besides, those more devout scholastics give too much evidence of sincerity and integrity to admit, without strong proof, that they would deliberately and systematically commend and write books in defence of a religious system which in their hearts they viewed with contempt.—*Mur.*

[2] Echard and Quetif's *Scriptores Ord. Prædic.* tom. i. sæcul. xiii. p. 106, &c.

[3] Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, article *Martini*, tom. ii. p. 2077; Colomesius, *Hispania Orientalis*, p. 209.

[4] Fabricius, *Delectus Argumentorum et Scriptor. pro Veritate Religionis Christianæ*, p. 270.

l'Isle] did the same in his work *Against the Jews and the Pagans*. Those who engaged in other controversies were far inferior in merit to these, and aimed rather to render their adversaries odious than to lead them to embrace the truth.

13. The principal controversy of this century was that which had produced separation between the Greek and Latin churches; and in discussing and endeavouring to settle this division nearly the whole century was consumed in unsuccessful efforts. Gregory IX. employed the Franciscan monks, especially after the year 1232, in negociations for peace with the Greeks, but their efforts were unavailing.[1] Afterwards in the year 1247, Innocent IV. sent John of Parma with other Franciscans to negociate with the Greeks; and on the other side, the Greek patriarch came in person to Rome and was created legate of the apostolic see.[2] But still several causes prevented an adjustment of all difficulties. Under Urban IV. the business was managed more successfully. For Michael Palæologus, as soon as he had expelled the Latins out of Constantinople, in order to establish his empire and secure the friendship of the Roman pontiff, sent ambassadors to Rome declaring his readiness to conclude a peace. But Urban died before the difficult negociations were brought to a conclusion.[3] Under Gregory X. after various discussions in the second council of Lyons A.D. 1274, John Veccus, the patriarch of Constantinople, and some other Greek bishops agreeing to it, the Greeks publicly consented to the terms of compromise prescribed by the pontiff.[4] But on a change in the state of public affairs, the fear of a war from the Latins being at an end, Andronicus, the son of Michael, in the council of Constantinople held in the palace of Blachernæ A.D. 1284, annulled this disgraceful compromise and sent its author Veccus into exile.[5] After this the rancour and disputes became more violent than ever.

14. We pass over the private and minor controversies which arose here and there. The only one which remains and deserves notice is, the discussions in France and in other countries during this century respecting the Lord's Supper. Notwithstanding Innocent III. in the Lateran council of 1215, had placed transubstantiation among the public doctrines of the Latin church, yet many had doubts of the validity of this decree, and even maintained that other opinions were quite probable. Those who approved the Berengarian sentiment, that the bread and wine were only symbols of the body and blood of Christ, dared not publicly avow and defend their opinions.[6] Yet there were many who deemed it sufficient to maintain what is called the real presence, though they might explain the mode of that presence differently from Innocent.[7] Pre-eminent among these was John, surnamed Pungens-Asinum [the Ass-goader], a subtle doctor of Paris, who near the close of the century avowed his preference of consubstantiation before transubstantiation, and yet was not condemned by the doctors there for advancing such an opinion.[8]

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[1] The records of the transaction are extant in Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. ii. p. 279, 296, &c. and in Echard's *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 103, 911, &c. See also Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 386, &c. [The union was prevented by the well-known principles of the Romish court which had all one aim, namely, to subject the whole world to themselves, or to make all nations tributary to the see of Rome, and thus to enrich themselves at the expense of others. At least the Greek patriarch Germanus, in his letter to the cardinals in the above-cited passage of Matthew Paris, says:—"Destroy the cause of the ancient hostility between the Latins and the Greeks—we have commenced the negociation for peace, and have written to the Pope; let God purge your hearts of all high thoughts that exalt themselves against a fraternal union. The severing of our union proceeds from the tyranny of your oppression and the exactions of the Romish church, which from being a mother has become a stepmother, and is like a rapacious bird that drives away her own young, which tramples upon the lowly in proportion as they are the more prostrate. Therefore let Roman avarice, inveterate as it is, be subdued, and let us proceed to an examination of the truth. You, eager solely for earthly possessions collect together silver and gold from every quarter; and yet you say that you are the disciples of Him who said, Silver and gold have I none.' You make kingdoms tributary to you, you increase your revenues by navigations, your deeds contradict the profession of your lips."—*Schl.*

[2] See Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 370, 388, 393, 397, 497, 498; Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. iii. and iv. p. 37, &c.

[3] Wadding, *ubi supra*, tom iv. p. 181, 201, 223, 269, 303.

[4] See Wadding, *ubi supra*, tom. iv. p. 343, 371, tom. v. p. 9, 29, 62; Colonia, *Hist. Littér. de la Ville de Lyon*, tome ii. p. 284.

[5] Leo Allatius, *De Perpetua Consensione Eccles. Orient. et Occident.* lib. ii. cap. xv. xvi. p. 727, &c.; Spanheim, *De Perpetua Dissensione Græcorum et Latinor.* in his *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 488, &c. and elsewhere.

[6] Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 373.

[7] Allix, *Præfatio ad F. Johannis Determinat. de Sacramento Altaris*, Lond. 1686, 8vo.

[8] His book was published by Allix [Lond. 1686, 8vo]. See Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. 996; D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 58; Echard's *Script. Domini.* tom. i. p. 561. [According to Du Pin, *Auteurs Ecclésiast.* sæcul. xiv. cap. v. John of Paris, surnamed Pungens-Asinum, lived in the early part of the thirteenth century and was a different person from that John of Paris who opposed the papal doctrine of transubstantiation. Neither did this latter John escape censure from the divines of Paris; for in the year 1305 they silenced him, and forbade his either preaching or lecturing on pain of excommunication. He appealed to the Pope then at Bourdeaux, who appointed commissioners to try the case, but before the day of trial John died, on the 15th Jan. 1306. Similar to this are the statements of Cave (*Hist. Liter.*) and Fabricius. *Bibl. Med. et Infi. Latin.* lib. ix. p. 322.—*Mur.*

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

1. It would be endless to enumerate all the additions which the pontiff made publicly and the priests and monks privately to the exterior of religion, in order to render it more splendid and imposing. We shall therefore despatch the extensive subject in a few words. Those who directed public worship conceived, that the religion generally embraced in those times was not to be presented solely to the understanding, but also to the eyes and the senses of mankind, that it might make a deeper impression on their minds. Hence at stated times, and particularly on the festivals, they were accustomed to exhibit the divine works and beneficent acts and all the more striking facts in sacred history by signs and emblems, or rather by mimic representations.[1] These scenic representations, partly comic and partly tragic, though they might gratify the senses and produce some transient emotions in the soul, were still rather prejudicial than advantageous to the cause of religion, and they afforded matter for ridicule to the more discerning.

2. No one will think it strange that after the establishment of the doctrine of transubstantiation, the consecrated bread of the eucharist should have received divine honours. This having become an established custom, the various ceremonies by which that bread was honoured followed of course. Hence those splendid caskets in which God in the form of bread might reside as in his house, and be carried from place to place; hence lamps and other decorations were added to these reputed domiciles of a present deity; hence this bread was carried in splendid processions along the streets to the sick, and other rites of the like character were introduced. This superstition reached its zenith when the festival of the body of Christ, as it is called, was instituted. One Juliana, a nun who lived at Liege in the Netherlands, gave out she had been divinely instructed it was the pleasure of God that an annual festival should be kept in honour of the holy supper, or rather of the body of Christ as present in the holy supper. Few persons gave credit to her vision.[2] But Robert, the bishop of Liege, in the year 1246 ordered this new festal day, though many were opposed to it, to be celebrated throughout his diocese. After the death of Juliana her friend Eve, another woman of Liege, ceased not from prosecuting the business, till at length Urban IV. in the year 1264 imposed that festival upon the whole church. Yet this pontiff died shortly after signing the decree; so that this festival was not universally observed by the Latin churches until Clement V. in the council of Vienne A.D. 1311, confirmed the edict of Urban.[3] And this festival contributed to establish the people in the doctrine of transubstantiation more than the decree of the Lateran council under Innocent III.

3. At the close of the century Boniface VIII. added to the public ceremonies of the church the year of jubilee, which is still celebrated at Rome with great pomp and splendid preparations. In the year 1299 there arose among the people at Rome a rumour that those who should the next year visit the temple of St. Peter would obtain the pardon of all their sins, and that this privilege was annexed to every hundredth year. Boniface ordered inquiry to be made into the truth of this opinion; and he learned from many witnesses of good credit that, according to very ancient ecclesiastical law and usage, all those who devoutly visited St. Peter's church in the course of the years which terminate centuries thereby merited indulgences for a hundred years. The pontiff therefore, in an epistle sent throughout Christendom, decided that in every centennial year all who should confess and lament their sins, and devoutly visit the temple of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, should receive plenary abolition of their sins.[4] The succes-

[1] This extravagance in getting up religious shows originated, I suspect, with the Mendicant orders.

[2] This fanatical woman declared that as often as she addressed herself to God or to the saints in prayer, she saw the full moon with a small defect or breach in it, and that having long studied to find out the signification of this strange appearance, she was inwardly informed by the Spirit that the moon signified the church, and that the defect or breach was the want of an annual festival in honour of the holy sacrament.—*Macl.*

[3] See Fisen's *Origo Prima Festi Corporis Christi ex viso Sanctæ Virgini Juliannæ divinitus oblato*, Liege, 1619, 8vo; Daille, *De Cultus Religiosi Objecto*, p. 287, &c.; *Acta Sanctor.* Aprilis, tom. i. p. 437, &c. and p. 903; and (one who should have been named first) Benedict XIV. the Roman pontiff, *De Festis Christi et Mariæ*, lib. i. cap. xii. in his *Opp.* tom. x. p. 360.

[4] Such is the statement of Cajetan, nephew of Boniface VIII. and cardinal of St. George, in his *Relatio de Centesimo seu Jubilæo Anno*, which is in all the Bibliothecas of the Fathers, and particularly in the *Biblioth. Max. Patrum*, tom. xxv. p. 267. Nor is there any reason why we should suppose that he misrepresents facts or that Boniface acted craftily and avariciously in this matter. [But when we consider the ambitious and avaricious character which Boniface manifested in innumerable ways, it is difficult to believe that he was so passive a being in this whole transaction, and that he had no other object in view than the furtherance of piety and the continuation of an ancient usage, which he found to be confirmed by the testimony of four aged persons, of whom one was a hundred and seven years old. The belief had long prevailed that Romish indulgences were more efficient than any others; and the pilgrims who travelled to Rome in order to obtain remission of sins there

sors of Boniface adorned this institution with many new rites; and after finding by experience that it brought both honour and gain to the church of Rome they limited it to shorter periods, so that at the present time every twenty-fifth year is a jubilee.[1]

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

1. THE Greeks mention no new sects as originating among them in this century. The oriental sects of the Jacobites and Nestorians, who equally with the Greeks spurned the laws of the Roman church, were repeatedly solicited by pontifical legates of the orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic to put themselves under the dominion of the Roman pontiffs. Innocent IV. endeavoured to annex both those communities to his empire in the year 1246. And Nicolaus IV. offered terms of reconciliation to the Nestorians, and particularly to those inhabiting northern Asia, in the year 1278.[2] And some of the bishops of both those sects seemed not averse to the proposed terms. But after a short time, from various causes all hopes of such a reconciliation vanished.

2. During the whole of this century the Roman pontiffs were engaged in fierce and bloody conflicts with heretics; that is, with those who taught differently from what the Romish church prescribed to them, and brought under discussion the power and prerogatives of the pontiffs. For the sects of the *Cathari*, the *Waldenses*, the *Petrobrusians*, and many others, spreading themselves over nearly all Europe, and especially in Italy, France, Germany,[3] and

stood under the immediate protection of the Popes.—(See the *Decret. Gratiani*, par. ii. caus. xiv. ques. iii. cap. xxiii.; *Si quis Romi petas*, and cap. xxv.; *Illi qui*, &c. and others also, par. i. distinc. lxxviii.) These pilgrims made many voluntary offerings to the Romish church which went into the Pope's treasury and also increased the business of the citizens, notwithstanding they could obtain nothing at Rome which they could not obtain at a cheaper rate of their own bishops at home. In these circumstances, what was more natural than for the thought to occur to Boniface of deriving some advantages from the rumour which was spreading at Rome, and which perhaps was set on foot or at least helped forward by his own creatures, and therefore rather to fabricate than search after proofs that a jubilee of indulgences was sanctioned by the ancient ecclesiastical law? Plenary indulgence had hitherto been confined to the crusaders. But those enterprises had now ceased, and a journey to Rome was less hazardous to life than a journey to Palestine. The public roads in Italy exhibited an almost continuous procession or a line of march from one end to the other; and nearly every day 200,000 foreigners might be counted at Rome. Indeed it has been estimated that 2,000,000 of people visited Rome during the year 1300; and the concourse there was so great that many were trodden to death by the throng. So happy a result of this experiment made both the Pope and the citizens of Rome wish that a century was not so long an interval. Therefore Clement VI. repeated the jubilee A.D. 1350, and Nicolaus V. established the festival to be held once in twenty-five years.—*Schl.* [Urban VI. in the year 1389, had previously reduced the interval to thirty-three years—the supposed years of our Lord's age at his crucifixion. See Amort, *De Indulgentiis*, par. i. p. 84, and Spondanus, *Annal. Eccles.* ad ann. 1389, No. 3.—*R.*

[1] The writers on the jubilee are enumerated by Fabricius, *Bibliog. Antiq.* p. 316, &c.; to his list others may be added, and among them especially Charles Chais, a recent author, whose *Lettres Historiques et Dogmatiques sur les Jubilés et les Indulgences* were published at the Hague, 1751, 3 vols. 8vo. [He was minister of the French church at the Hague. The first volume of the Letters is devoted to the history of the Roman jubilees, traces their origin to the avarice of Boniface VIII. A.D. 1300, points out their resemblance to the Roman secular games, and gives a particular account of each jubilee from their origin in the year 1300 to the year 1750. The second and third volumes are devoted to the subject of Indulgences.—*Mur.*

[2] Raynald, *Annales Eccles.* tom. xiii. ad ann. 1247, sec. 32, &c. and tom. xv. ad ann. 1303, sec. 22. and 1304, sec. 23; Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 372.

[3] In Germany they were called Stedingers from a district in ancient Friesland where they were most numerous, and Hallean heretics from a town in Swabia where they resided. The Stedingers were accused of magic and of Manichæism, but seem rather to have been Waldensians than Manichæans. Their chief difference was, that they refused to pay tithes to the bishops, particularly to the bishops of Bremen and Minden, and in general resolved to be free from the oppressive slavery of the clergy. These poor people in the year 1234 were nearly exterminated by an army of 40,000 crusaders. See Ritter's *Diss. de Pago Steding et Stedingis Hæreticis*, and Harzheim's *Concilia Germ.* tom. iii. p. 551, &c. The Hallean heretics may be best understood from the account of Albrecht of Stade in his *Chronicon*, ad ann. 1248. He thus describes them: "Strange and miserable heretics began to multiply in the church of God, who ringing the bells and calling the barons and freeholders together at Halle in Swabia, thus preached in public that the pope was a heretic, and all the bishops and prelates simoniacs and heretics, and also the inferior prelates and the priests; because being defiled with vices and mortal sins they had not authority to bind and loose, and that they all seduced the people; that priests guilty of mortal sins could not administer the sacrament, that neither the pope nor the bishops could interdict any living man from the worship of God, and that those who prohibited it were heretics and seducers; that the Dominicans and Franciscans corrupted the church by preaching falsehood, and that all those monks and likewise the Cistercians led sinful and unrighteous lives. That there was no one who declared the truth and who observed good faith in action except themselves and their associates—that hitherto your preachers have buried the truth, and have preached falsehood, while we do the contrary. The indulgence (pardon) which we offer to you is not fictitious and fabricated by the apostolic (the pope) nor by the bishops, but comes solely from God and from our order. We dare not make mention of the pope, because he leads so wicked a life and is a man of so bad example.—Pray ye for the emperor Frederick and for Conrad—the pope has not the power of binding nor of loosing, because he does not lead an apostolical life."—See also Bernhold's *Diss. de Conrado IV. Imperatore, Hallensium Hæreticorum aliquando Defensore*, Altdorf. 1758.—Among the inquisitors in Germany, Conrad of Marpurg rendered himself particularly famous. He was a Dominican and confessor of St. Elizabeth of Thuringia, whose biography he composed, and with much simplicity he united all the qualities requisite for so bloody and inhuman an office as that of an Inquisitor. This abominable man, burning with hatred against heretics, raved against high and low, allowed no one a legal trial, but imprisoned the innocent till they would themselves confess guilt of which they were unconscious. See Albrecht's *Chronicon*, ad ann. 1233. The German archbishops counselled him to use greater moderation; but the delirious man continued his mad career, preaching a crusade against the heretics,

Spain, collected congregations and threatened great danger to the Romish domination. New sects were added to the old ones, differing indeed widely in their opinions, but all agreeing in this, that the prevailing religion was false, and that the Roman pontiffs most unjustly arrogated to themselves dominion over Christians and their religious worship. And not a few noblemen listened, with favourable and even eager attention, to the doctrines maintained by these classes of persons out of the scriptures against the power, the wealth, and the vices of the pontiffs and of the whole clerical order. And hence new and extraordinary arms were requisite to overcome and subdue so numerous and powerful opponents.

3. Nowhere was there a greater number of heretics of every description than in Languedoc and the adjacent regions. For several persons, and especially Raymund VI. the earl of Toulouse, afforded them protection; and the bishops in those provinces were so negligent and remiss in their proceedings against heretics, that they were able to organise and increase their congregations without fear. On being apprised of these facts, Innocent III. sent extraordinary legates into these provinces near the beginning of the century, to correct the faults committed by the bishops, and to extirpate the heretics by all possible means. These legates were Raynier, a Cistercian monk, and Peter de Castronovo or Castelnau,[1] archdeacon of Maguelonne and subsequently too a Cistercian monk. To these were afterwards added others, the most noted of whom was Dominic, a Spaniard, the well-known founder of the order of preaching monks, who returning from Rome in the year 1206 connected himself with these papal legates, and by his preaching and in other ways very strenuously assailed the heretics. Those men acting by authority from the pontiff, and without consulting the bishops or asking their aid, hunted after heretics; and those whom they could not convert by arguments, they caused to be subjected to capital punishments. In common language they were called Inquisitors; and from them that terrible tribunal for heretics called the Inquisition took its rise.

4. As this new class of functionaries, the Inquisitors, performed effectually the duties assigned them, and purged the provinces in which they laboured of numerous heretics, similar papal legates were stationed in nearly all the cities whose inhabitants were suspected, notwithstanding the people opposed it, and often either expelled or massacred the Inquisitors. The council of Toulouse in which Romanus, cardinal of St. Angelo, presided as pontifical legate, A.D. 1229, proceeded still farther; for it ordered the establishment of a board of Inquisitors in each city, composed of one clergyman and three laymen.[2] But Gregory IX. altered the institution in the year 1233, and conferred on the preaching monks or Dominicans the inquisition for heresy in France, and by a formal bull freed the bishops from that duty.[3] And upon this the bishop of Tournay, as papal legate, stationed Peter Cellani and William Arnald as the first Inquisitors of heretical pravity at Toulouse; and soon after he created similar Inquisitors in all the cities where the Dominicans had convents.[4] From this period we are to date the commencement of the dreadful tribunal of the Inquisition, which in this and the following centuries subdued such hosts of heretics, either by forcing them back into the church, or by committing them to the temporal authorities to be burned. For the Dominicans erected, first at Toulouse and then at Carcassone and other places, permanent courts, before which were arraigned not only heretics and those suspected of heresy, but all who were accused of magic, soothsaying, Judaism, sorcery, and similar offences. And these courts were afterwards extended to other countries of Europe, though not everywhere with equal facility and success.[5]

till at last he was put to death by some nobleman near Marpurg. See Harzheim's *Concilia German.* tom. iii. p. 543, &c.—*Schl.*

[1] Very many of the Romish writers denominate this Peter the first Inquisitor; but in what sense he was so will appear from what we are about to say. See concerning him the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. Martii, p. 411, &c.

[2] See Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vii. p. 175.

[3] Guido's MS. Chronicle of the Roman pontiffs, in Echard's *Script. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 88; Percin's *Hist. Inquisitionis Tolosanæ*, subjoined to his *Hist. Conventus Fratr. Prædicator.* Toulouse, 1693, 8vo; and *Hist. Générale de Languedoc*, tome iii. p. 394, 395.

[4] Echard and Percin, *ubi supra.*

[5] The account here given of the origin and early history of the Inquisition differs very much from what is stated in numberless books; yet it is supported by the most unexceptionable testimonies which cannot here be adduced. Learned men tell us that St. Dominic invented the court of the Inquisition and first instituted it at Toulouse, that he was himself the first Inquisitor who was ever appointed, that the year is uncertain; yet that it is beyond dispute that Innocent III. in the Lateran council, A.D. 1215, approved and confirmed this tribunal. See Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii Toti Orbi Exoriens*, p. 569; Limborch, *Hist. Inquisit.* lib. i. cap. x. p. 39, &c. and other writers who are mentioned by Fabricius. I believe that those who make such statements have their authorities for them, but those authorities are unquestionably not of the first order. Most of the modern writers follow Limborch, whose *History of the Inquisition* is an excellent work on the subject, and indeed may be considered the prin-

5. The method of proceeding in the courts of the Inquisition was at first simple, and not materially different from that in the ordinary courts.[1] But gradually the Dominicans, guided by experience, rendered it far more complex, and so shaped their proceedings that the mode of trying heretical causes (if the phrase is allowable) was wholly different from that practised in secular courts. For these simple monks, being wholly ignorant of judicial proceedings, and acquainted with no other tribunal than that which in the Romish church is called the penitentiary tribunal, regulated these new courts of the Inquisition as far as possible according to the plan of those religious proceedings. And hence arose that strange system of jurisprudence, bearing in many respects the most striking features of injustice and wrong. Whoever duly considers this history of their origin will be able to account for many things which are unsuitable, absurd, and contrary to justice, in the mode of proceeding against offenders in the courts of the Inquisition.[2]

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cipal work. Limborch is to be commended for his diligence and his fidelity. But he was very indifferently acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of the middle ages; nor did he derive his materials from the original sources but from second-hand writers, and he therefore fell into not a few mistakes. At least, what he tells us respecting the origin of the Inquisition is not true. Nor are the accounts of others much better. In particular, not one of the positions stated above is true. Many of the Dominicans who to this day preside in the courts of the Inquisition and highly extol its sanctity, yet deny that St. Dominic invented the Inquisition or that he was the first Inquisitor, nay, that he was an inquisitor at all; and they also deny that the tribunal of the Inquisition was instituted during the lifetime of St. Dominic. Nor are they rash in making these assertions. Yet the dispute whether St. Dominic was an Inquisitor or not is a contest about a term rather than about a fact; for it turns wholly on the different acceptations of the term Inquisitor. At first an Inquisitor was a person sent forth under the authority of the Roman pontiff to subdue and extirpate heretics, but without any judicial powers. But the term afterwards changed its meaning, and was used to denote a judge appointed by the Roman pontiff to try the causes of heretics and of those suspected of heresy, to pronounce sentence upon them, and to deliver over the pertinacious to the civil magistrates. In this latter sense Dominic most certainly was not an Inquisitor; nor were there any such judges appointed by the pontiffs before the time of Gregory IX. But that Dominic was an Inquisitor in the former sense of the term admits of no doubt.

[1] The documents published by the Benedictines in their *Hist. Générale de Languedoc*, tome iii. p. 371, &c. show what was the first and simple method of proceeding in the Inquisition.

[2] A more definite account of the peculiar characteristics of the tribunal of the Inquisition [as it existed in the subsequent centuries.—*Mur.*] will not here be out of place. The persons arraigned before this tribunal, besides those mentioned in the text, were the abettors, encouragers, and protectors of heretics, the blasphemers, and such as resisted the officers of the Inquisition or interrupted them in the discharge of their duties. A person became suspected of heresy if he said anything that might offend others; if he misused the sacraments or other sacred things; if he treated the images with disrespect; if he possessed, read, or gave to others to read, books prohibited by the Inquisition; if he said mass or heard confessions without being in orders; if he attended even for once the preaching of heretics; if he did not appear before the Inquisition as soon as he was cited; if he showed any kindness to a heretic or aided him in making his escape. Abettors of heresy were those who harboured heretics or did not give them up, those who spoke to arrested heretics without permission, or even trafficked with heretics. When the Inquisition discovered a transgressor of their laws, either by common report or by their spies or by an informer, he was cited three times to appear before them, and if he did not appear he was forthwith condemned. It was safest to appear on the first citation, because the longer a man delayed the more guilty he would be; and the Inquisition had their spies and a thousand concealed ways for getting an absconding heretic into their power. When a supposed heretic was once in the hands of the Inquisition, no one dared to inquire after him or write to him or intercede for him. When everything belonging to the person seized was in their hands then the process began, and it was protracted in the most tedious manner. After many days or perhaps months, which the accused dragged out in a loathsome dungeon, the keeper of the prison asked him as it were accidentally if he wished to have a hearing. When he appeared before his judges, they inquired, just as if they knew nothing about him, who he was and what he wanted. If he wished to be informed what offence he had committed, he was admonished to confess his faults himself. If he confessed nothing, time was given him for reflection and he was remanded to prison. If after a long time allowed him he still confessed nothing, he must swear to answer truly to all the questions put to him. If he would not swear, he was condemned without further process. If he swore to give answer he was questioned in regard to his whole life, without making known to him his offence. He was however promised a pardon if he would truly confess his offences, an artifice by which his judges often learned more than they knew before against him. At last the charges against him were presented to him in writing, and counsel also was assigned him, who however only advised him to confess fully his faults. The accuser and informer against him were not made known to him, but the real charges against him were put into his hands. He was allowed time for his defence; but his accuser and the witnesses against him he could know only by conjecture. Sometimes he was so fortunate as to discover who they were, but rarely were they presented before him and confronted with him. If his answers did not satisfy the judges, or if the allegations against him were not adequately proved, resort was had to torture, a transaction which well nigh exceeded the sufferings endured by the first Christians when persecuted by the pagans. The torture was by the rope, by water, and by fire. The rope was passed under the arms, which were tied behind the back of the accused. By this rope he was drawn up into the air with a pulley and there left to swing for a time, and then suddenly let fall to within half a foot of the ground, by the shock of which fall all his joints were dislocated. If he still confessed nothing, the torture by water was tried. After making him drink a great quantity of water he was laid upon a hollowed bench; across the middle of this bench a stick of timber passed which kept the body of the offender suspended, and caused him most intense pain in the back-bone. The most cruel torture was that by fire, in which his feet being smeared with grease, &c. were directed towards a hot fire, and the soles of them left to burn till he would confess. Each of these tortures was continued as long as in the judgment of the physician of the Inquisition the man was able to endure them. He might now confess what he would, but still the torture would be repeated, first to discover the object and motives of the acknowledged offence, and then to make him expose his accomplices. If when tortured he confessed nothing, many snares were laid to elicit from him unconsciously his offence. The conclusion was that the accused, when he seemed to have satisfied the judges, was condemned according to the measure of his offence to death, or to perpetual imprisonment, or to the galleys, or to be scourged; and he was delivered over to the civil authorities, who were entreated to spare his life as the church never thirsted for blood: but yet they would experience persecution if they did not carry the decisions of the court into execution.

6. That this tribunal devised for subduing heretics might awaken more terror, the pontiffs prevailed on the emperors and sovereigns of Europe, especially on Frederick II. and Lewis IX. or Saint Lewis, king of France, to enact severe laws against heretics, requiring the magistrates both to punish with death, and particularly with burning at the stake, all those who should be adjudged obstinate heretics by the Inquisitors; and also to afford their special protection and support to the courts of the Inquisition. The laws which Frederick II in particular enacted from time to time on this subject are well known; and nothing could be more efficient both to support the Inquisition against all its opposers and to exterminate those who might be odious to the Inquisitors, however high and honourable their characters.[1] And yet these severe laws could not prevent the inquisitorial judges, who were generally inhuman, insolent, superstitious, jealous, and indiscreet, from being mobbed and chased out of many places by the populace, and from being murdered in others. Such was the fate of many, and particularly of Conrad of Marpurg, who was appointed by Gregory IX. the first Inquisitor of Germany.[2]

7. As the labours of the first Inquisitors did not at once produce all the results which Innocent III. anticipated, in the year 1207 he exhorted Philip Augustus, king of France, and his nobles to make war upon the heretics, promising them ample indulgences as their reward.[3] And this exhortation he repeated in a much stronger and more urgent manner in the following year, A.D. 1208, when his legate and Inquisitor, Peter de Castronovo, was murdered by the patrons of the heretics.[4] Soon after, the Cistercian monks, in his name, preached a crusade (or the cross according to the language of that age) against the heretics throughout France; and Raymund VI. the earl of Toulouse, in whose territories Peter had been murdered, being now excommunicated, took the cross himself in order to obtain release from that punishment. In the year 1209, a very large army of crusaders commenced their holy war against the heretics who bore the general name of Albigenses,[5] and continued the war in the most cruel manner during several years with various success. The director of the war was one Arnald, a Cistercian abbot and the pontiff's legate; the commander-in-chief of the forces was Simon earl of Montfort.[6] Raymund VI. the earl

What an infernal device is the Inquisition! What innocent person could escape destruction if an Inquisitor was disposed to destroy him? A heretic, even if he had been acquitted by the Pope himself, might still be condemned to die by the Inquisition. An equivocal promise of pardon might be given to induce him to make confession, but the promise must not be fulfilled when the object of it was obtained. Even death did not free a person from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, for a deceased heretic must be burnt in effigy.—Would not every feeling of humanity be outraged by following such horrid principles? The inquisitorial judges do not deny that by such proceedings many innocent persons unavoidably perish along with the guilty, but this does not trouble them. Better, say they, that a hundred innocent persons who are good Catholics should be cut off and go to paradise, than to let one heretic escape who might poison many souls and plunge them in endless perdition. See Cramer's *Fortsetzung von Bossuet.* vol. v. p. 468—477.—*Von Ein.*

[1] The laws of Frederick are exhibited in the epistles of Peter de Vineis in Limborch's *Hist. Inquisit.* p. 48, and by Bzovius, Raynald, and many others. The law of St. Lewis was by the French jurists called *Cupientes*, because it began with this word; and that it was enacted in the year 1229 is shown by the Benedictine monks in their *Hist. Générale de Languedoc*, tome iii. p. 378, 575. It may be found in Catel's *Hist. des Comtes de Tholose*, p. 340, &c. and in many other works. It is not a whit milder than the laws of Frederick II. For a great part of the sanctity of this sincere Lewis consisted in his flaming zeal against heretics, who in his opinion were not to be vanquished by reasoning and sound arguments, but to be forthwith exterminated. See Du Fresne's notes on Joinville's *Vie de St. Louis*, p. 11, 39.

[2] The life of this noted and ferocious man has been compiled by Schmink, from documents both manuscript and printed, and is most worthy of being printed. In the mean time for an account of him see Wadding's *Annales*, tom. ii. p. 151, 355, &c. and Echard's *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 487, &c. [See also some notice of him, p. 475, note 3, above.—*Mur.*

[3] See the Epistles of Innocent III. lib. x. ep. 49.

[4] Epistles of Innocent III. lib. ix. ep. 26, 27, 28, 29. *Acta Sanctorum*, Martii, tom. i. p. 411, &c.

[5] The name Albigenses had a twofold application, the one more extended, the other more limited. In the broader sense, all the heretics of every sort who at that time resided in Languedoc (Gallia Narbonensis) were called Albigenses. Peter Sarnensis, a writer of that age, in the dedication of his History of the Albigenses to Innocent III. (first published by Camusat, Troyes, 1615, 8vo), says expressly: "Tolosani, et aliarum civitatum et castrorum hæretici, et defensores eorum, generaliter Albigenses vocantur." Afterwards, cap. ii. p. 3, he divides these Albigenses into various sects, and in p. 8 says that the Waldenses were the best among them: "Mali erant Valdenses, sed comparatione aliorum hæreticorum, longe minus perversi." And thus in general all the French heretics were called Albigenses; not however from the city of Albi (Albigea), but from the fact that the greatest part of Languedoc was in that age called Albigesium, as is clearly shown by the Benedictine monks in their *Hist. Générale de Languedoc*, tome iii. p. 552, note 13. [With this Fuessl. agrees, *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie der mittlern Zeit*, vol. i. p. 320.—*Schl.*] In the more limited sense, the Albigenses were those who in Italy were sometimes called Cathari, Publicani or Paulicani, and Bulgari, and who approximated to the Manichæans in their sentiments. [That many such persons were mingled with the Albigenses in the broader sense is proved by Fuessli, *ubi supra*, p. 413, 432, &c.—*Schl.*] This appears from various documents, but most clearly from the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanæ*, published by Limborch, in which the Albigenses are carefully distinguished from the other sects.

[6] Simon was lord of Montfort not far from Paris, and earl of Leicester in England; and the unrighteous liberality of the pope in the council of the Lateran, A.D. 1215, made him duke of Narbonne, earl of Toulouse, and viscount of Beziers and Carcassonne, territories which were in part fiefs of the German empire and in part fiefs of the kings of France, and which the pope had no right thus to dispose of without the consent of the liege-lords. In Simon, fanaticism appears to have been closely united with selfishness. He was certainly

of Toulouse, who at first fought against the heretics, became himself involved in the war in the year 1211.[1] For Simon coveted his territories and engaged in the war, not so much to advance religion and put down heresy, as to promote his own interests and to enlarge his dominions. And he obtained his object; for after numerous battles, sieges, and a great many deeds of valour but of extreme cruelty,[2] he received at the hands of Innocent III. in the Lateran council of 1215, not only the earldom of Toulouse but also the many other territories he had subdued, as his reward for so nobly supporting the cause of God and the church. He was slain however in the siege of Toulouse, A.D. 1218. And his antagonist, Raymund, died in the year 1222.

8. After the death of the two generals, this lamentable war was prosecuted vigorously and with various success by their sons, Raymund VII. earl of Toulouse, and Amalric of Montfort. When the former of these, Raymund, seemed to get the advantage of the other, the Roman pontiff, Honorius III. persuaded Lewis VIII. the king of France, by great promises and favours to march in person at the head of a powerful army against the enemies of the church. He dying soon after, his successor, Lewis IX. called Saint Lewis, vigorously prosecuted the work begun by his father. Raymund therefore, being pressed on every side, made peace in the year 1229 on the hardest terms; for he ceded the greatest part of his territories to the king, besides some cessions to the Romish church. After this peace the heretics were entirely prostrate; for the tribunal of the Inquisition was established at Toulouse, and besides Saint Lewis, Raymund himself, formerly a patron of the heretics, became their unrelenting persecutor. He indeed renewed the war afterwards, against both the king and the Inquisitors who abused their power beyond measure; but it was attended with little or no success. At last, exhausted and broken down by a series of afflictions and troubles, he died without issue in the year 1249, being the last of the once very powerful earls of Toulouse. This crusade, of which religion was in part the cause and in part only the pretext, was of course exceedingly advantageous both to the kings of France and to the Roman pontiffs.[3]

a fanatic. He supposed he was doing God service while persecuting the heretics with fire and sword; and he was so zealous in performing the external duties of religion, that he often neglected his official duties for the sake of them. While besieging Toulouse, as he was attending mass word was brought him that the enemy had made a sally, and that his army was in imminent danger. He replied that he could not come till he had seen his Saviour. Another message arrived, that if he did not come his whole army would be thrown into disorder; and he replied again that he would not leave the altar till he had seen his Creator, even if he must be slain there for it. When the mass was ended, he went away to oppose the enemy but was killed by a stone. See Peter of Walcerney, cap. lxxxvi.—*Schl.*

[1] The papal legate accused Raymund for not treating the murderers of Peter de Chateauneuf with due severity, and prescribed hard conditions for his reconciliation with the church. He must promise to be subject to the legate in everything, and especially in all matters relating to religion; and must give up to the legate seven fortresses for his security. He must also do public ecclesiastical penance, and suffer himself to be scourged with rods by the legate. And in proof of his sincerity, he must assume the cross and take the field against his own friends and vassals. But when he saw that Simon and the legate advanced against his territories, and aimed to get the castles of the heretics there into their hands, he separated himself from the crusading army in the year 1210, and sought in vain for aid from France, England, Germany, and Rome. His near friend and relative indeed, Peter, king of Aragon, took up arms in his behalf against Simon of Montfort; but he unfortunately was slain in the first battle, and Raymund was obliged to witness the misfortunes of his own country while he remained in Aragon an inactive spectator. At length, many lords and districts of country revolted from Simon and recalled their legitimate sovereign, who threw himself into the city of Toulouse, and was there besieged by Simon. Raymund appears to have been a warlike and energetic prince, and one who had no partiality for prelates. To the Cistercians also he was no friend; and he used to say, they could not possibly be good men, because they were so voluptuous. On the contrary, he had very high regard for the heretics who inhabited his territories, and he protected them, partly as subjects and partly as his personal friends.—*Schl.*

[2] The cruelties which were practised under the command of Simon are indescribable. It must be admitted however that the heretics sometimes returned like for like. At the capture of Minerbe, Simon found one hundred and forty Manichæans; all of whom were burned at the stake because they would not abjure their religion. At Beziers, 6,000 persons were slain; and at Toulouse, 20,000; and at Carcassonne the priests shouted for joy at the burning of so many miserable beings, whose only crime was that they did not believe what the church believed. Still more shocking is the account given by Peter of Walcerney, cap. xxxiv. that the crusaders captured a castle called Brom, in which were found one hundred persons; and that the papal general, Simon, ordered all their noses to be amputated and their eyes to be put out, except a single eye of one individual who might serve as guide to the rest, who were sent to Cabrieres to terrify others. It is true, the monk informs us of similar cruelties by the other party. But retaliation in such a case is cruelty, and especially in the assailing party and one which pretends to fight only for the cause of God and religion. Who can refrain from adopting the wish of the poet:

Périsse à jamais l'affreuse politique,
Qui prétend sur les cœurs un pouvoir despotique:
Qui veut le fer en main convertir les mortels,
Qui du sang hérétique arrose les autels,
Et suivant un faux zèle ou l'intérêt pour guides,
Ne sert un Dieu de Paix, que par des homicides.—*Schl.*

[3] Many writers, both ancient and modern, have given us histories of this crusade against the earls of Toulouse and their associates who favoured the heretics, and against the heretics themselves. But among them, I have not found one who was free from partiality. The Protestant writers, among whom Basnage (in his *Hist. de l'Eglise*, and in his *Hist. des Eglises Réformées*) stands pre-eminent, all favour too much the Raymunds and the Albigenses. On the contrary, the Roman Catholic writers, of whom the most recent are Benoist, a Dominican monk (*Hist. des Albigeois des Vaudois, et des Barbets*, Paris, 1691, 2 vols. 12mo); Langlois, a Jesuit (*Hist. des Croisades contre les Albigeois*, Rouen, 1703, 12mo); Percin (*Monumenta Conventus Tolosani Ordinis Frat. Prædicator. in quibus Historia hujus conventus distribuitur, et refertur totius Albigensium facti*

9. All this severity of the pontiffs against the heretics and the numerous safeguards erected against the enemies of the church could not prevent new and very pernicious sects from starting up. Passing by the more obscure and short-lived among them, one not the least considerable was that of the Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit, which at this time secretly spread itself over Italy, France, and Germany, and by a great show of piety drew after it many persons of both sexes. Few decisions of councils against these people in this century can be found; but in the next century, the councils in every part of Germany and in other countries published decrees against them; and the Inquisitors seized and cruelly burned a large number of them. They derived their name from the words of Paul, Rom. viii. 2, 14, and they maintained that the true sons of God were brought into the most perfect freedom from the law.[1] The Germans and Belgians called them Beghardi and Beghardæ or Beguttæ, which were the common designations of all those who pretended to uncommon piety. Some called them by way of contempt Bicorni, that is Idiots. In France they were called Beghini and Beghinæ, and by the populace (I know not why) they were called Turlupins.[2] Clothed in a singular manner they ran about the cities and the country, begging their bread with loud vociferations; for they maintained that labour prevented the elevation of the soul to God and devout contemplation. They were accompanied by women under the appellation of sisters, with whom they lived in the greatest familiarity; and for this reason the Germans called them Schwestriones [Sisterers], as appears from the enactments of councils. They distributed books containing their principles, held nocturnal assemblies in retired places, and dissuaded the people from attending public worship in the churches.

10. These brethren, who boasted of being free from the law and of having attained to the freedom of the Spirit, professed a rigid and austere species of mystic theology, based upon philosophical principles which were not far removed from the impiety of those called pantheists. For they held that all things emanated from God and would revert back into Him; that rational souls were parts of the Supreme Being, and that the whole universe was God; that a man, by turning his thoughts inward and withdrawing his attention from all sensible objects, may become united in an inexplicable manner with the Parent and First Cause of all things, and be one with Him; that persons thus immersed in the vortex of the Deity by long contemplation attain to perfect freedom, and become divested not only of all their lusts but of the instincts of nature. From these and similar principles they inferred that a person thus raised up to God, and absorbed as it were in the divine nature, is himself God and such a son of God as Christ was, and therefore is raised above all laws human and divine. And they maintained consequently that all external worship of God, prayer, fasting, baptism, the sacred supper, &c. are mere elements for children, which a man no longer needs when converted into God himself and detached from this visible universe.[3]

narratio, Toulouse, 1693, fol.), these are all very unjust to the Raymunds and the Albigenses; and they cover over and conceal the horrid deeds of Simon de Montfort, and the ambitious designs of the kings of France to extend their power. The most full and accurate history of these wars against the heretics is that of the Benedictine monks, Claude le Vic and Joseph Vaissette, two very learned men, in that excellent work, *Hist. Générale de Languedoc*, Paris, 1730, &c. fol. nearly the whole of the third volume. Their only fault is that they sometimes omit what they ought not. [Sismondi has given full details of these unexampled severities in the sixth and seventh volumes of his *Histoire des Français*, which have been translated into English and published anonymously under the title of, *History of the Crusades against the Albigenses in the 13th Century*, Lond. 1826, 8vo. Among the *Documents Inédites sur l' Histoire de France*, published by the French government, is one on this subject edited by M. C. Fauriel, entitled *Histoire de la Croisade contre les Hérétiques Albigeois*, Paris, 1837, 4to. It is written by a contemporary poet in the Provençal dialect, but a French translation is annexed. It contains a dry chronicle of events from the year 1208 to June, 1219, and amply corroborates all that has since been written of the unparalleled cruelties of that crusade.—*R.*

[1] These statements are derived from documents of the most credible character, many of them not yet published, from the decrees and councils in France and Germany, the bulls of the popes, the decisions of the Inquisition, and others, of all which a great many have fallen into my hands. I have also extracts from certain books of these people, and particularly from a book on the nine spiritual rocks, which they highly recommended as being full of divine sentences. As these documents cannot here be exhibited, I will merely refer the reader to a long edict against them, by Henry I. archbishop of Cologne, in the *Statuta Coloniensia*, p. 58, ed. Colon. 1554, 4to. In perfect harmony with this are the decrees of Mentz, Aschaffenburg, Treves, Paderborn, Beziers, and others.

[2] Concerning the Turlupins, many have written much but none accurately. See Beausobre (*Diss. sur les Adamites*, par. ii. p. 384, &c.), who has committed numerous errors, as he usually does on such subjects. The origin of the name I know not, but I am able to prove from substantial documents that the Turlupins, who were burned at Paris and in other parts of France, were no other than the Brethren of the Free Spirit, whom the pontiffs and councils condemned.

[3] I will here subjoin some positions extracted from their more private books. I. Every good man is the only-begotten son of God, whom the Father hath begotten from eternity. For all that the sacred scriptures teach respecting a distinction of three persons in the divine nature, they maintained was not to be understood literally, but to be explained in conformity with their recondite system of doctrines. II. All created objects are nothing; I do not say that they are small and trivial, but that they are nothing. III. There is something in the human mind which is not created nor creatable, and that is, rationality. IV. God is neither

11. Among these people there were some upright and conscientious persons, who did not extend that liberty of the spirit which they said was possessed by persons united to God beyond an exemption from external worship and from ecclesiastical law. They made religion to consist exclusively in internal worship, despising that which is external; and they maintained that a perfect man ought to look with contempt on the rules of monastic discipline, and the other institutions which were regarded as sacred. Of this character were those who in the middle of the century persuaded many monks and nuns in Swabia to live without any rule, saying, that in this way they could serve God better in the liberty of the spirit.[1] Not a few persons of this description, being apprehended by the Inquisitors, expired cheerfully and calmly in the flames. But there were others of a worse character among them, and whose piety was as foolish as it was dangerous. These maintained that by persevering contemplation all the instincts of nature might be eradicated and excluded from the godlike soul, and a kind of holy or divine stupor be brought over the mind. Persons of these sentiments throwing off all clothing held their secret assemblies in a state of nudity, and in the same state slept in the same bed with the spiritual sisters and other women. For modesty and shame they said indicated a mind not yet sufficiently detached from the sentient and libidinous soul, nor brought back to the source from which it originated, that is, the divine nature; and those who still experience the carnal emotions of nature, or are excited and inflamed by the aspect or touch of bodies of a different sex, or who are unable to repress and subdue the occasional emotions of concupiscence, are still far, very far from God.[2] There were also among these people some who abused their doctrines to justify all iniquity; and who did not fear to teach that a godlike man, or one who is closely united to God, cannot sin do what he may. This senseless, impious dogma was explained by them in different ways. Some held that the motions and actions of the body had no connexion with the soul, which was elevated and blended with the divine nature. But others maintained the blasphemous sentiment, that the emotions and desires arising in the soul after its union with God were the acts and operations of God himself; and therefore, though apparently criminal and contrary to the law, they were really holy and good, because God is above all law.[3]

good, nor better, nor the best; whoever calls God good talks as foolishly as the man who calls a thing black while he knows it to be white. V. God still begets his only-begotten son, and begets the same son that he begat from eternity. For every operation of God is uniform and one, and he therefore engenders his son without any division. VI. What the scripture says of Christ is true of every godly man. And what is predicable of the divine nature is also predicable of every godly man. To these we shall add the following, taken not from their own books, but from the long rescript of John, bishop of Strasburg, against the Brethren of the Free Spirit or the Bechardi, A.D. 1317, on the sabbath before the assumption of the Virgin Mary. VII. God is formally whatever exists. VIII. Every perfect man is Christ by nature. IX. A perfect man is free totally, nor is he required to obey the precepts which God gave to the church. X. Many things in the gospel are poetic and not [literally] true; and men ought to believe the conceptions which proceed from their souls when united to God rather than the gospel.

[1] See Crusius, *Annales Suevicorum*, par. iii. lib. ii. cap. 14, ad ann. 1216, p. 99. old ed. He extracts from Felix Faber, a writer of that age.

[2] Those who study to vindicate and defend the character of the heretics, and who think that all those who seceded from the Romish church in the middle ages were holy persons, conjecture that the things here stated are falsehoods, invented by the Inquisitors for the purpose of defaming pious men; but they are strictly true. This we may infer from the fact which the Inquisitors themselves admit, that the Beghards, though divested of all sense of shame, yet in general did not offend against chastity and modesty. This firmness of mind and unsusceptibility of emotion the Inquisitors attribute to the power of the devil. For they believed with the simple Jo. Nieder (*Formicarium*, lib. iii. cap. v. p. 316), that the devil can render men cold or extinguish the natural emotions; and that he so operated upon his friends as to render them utterly insensible, so that they might appear to common people more exalted and holy. "Credo" (says Nieder, who was a Dominican and an Inquisitor), "quosdam ex eis dæmonis opere affectos fuisse, ne moverentur ad naturales actus incontinentiæ. Facillimum enim est dæmonibus infrigidare."

[3] That I may not seem chargeable with misrepresentation, I will cite the very words of a private book of the Brethren of the Free Spirit, entitled *De Novem Rupibus*:—"Moreover, the godlike man operates and begets the same that God operates and begets. For in God he worked and created heaven and earth. He is also the generator of the eternal Word. Nor can God do anything without this man. The godlike man should therefore make his will conformable to God's will, so that he should will all that God wills. If therefore God wills that I should sin, I ought by no means to will that I may not have sinned. This is true contrition. And if a man have committed a thousand mortal sins, and the man is well regulated and united to God, he ought not to wish that he had not done those sins; and he ought to prefer suffering a thousand deaths, rather than to have omitted one of those mortal sins." Here is that sentiment with which the Inquisitors often tax this sect, that the sin of a man who is united to God is not sin because God works all in him. In the next century Henry Suso, a celebrated writer among the mystics and a Dominican monk, composed likewise a book *De Novem Rupibus*, which is extant among his works published by Surius. But this book of Suso is altogether different from that which was in so much estimation among the Beghards. The latter was much more ancient, and was in circulation among the Brethren of the Free Spirit in Germany before Suso was born. There has fallen into my hands an old manuscript book of the fifteenth century, composed in Alsace, containing various revelations and visions of that age. I find there a piece entitled *Declaratio Religiosi cujusdam, super Revelatione Carthusiano cuidam de Ecclesiæ per Gladium Reformatione, Leodiæ, anno* 1453, *facta*; near the beginning of which there is the following passage relating to the book of the Beghards, *De Novem Rupibus*:—"Homo quidam devotissimus, licet laicus, librum *De Novem Rupibus*

Lastly, among the Beghards as they were called, unprincipled and flagitious persons sometimes lurked, who did not hesitate by feigned piety to worm themselves into the confidence of the simple and unsuspicious, in order to gratify their own lusts.[1]

12. To the sect now described undoubtedly belonged Amalric of Bena, the Parisian dialectician and theologian, whose bones were dug up and publicly burned in the year 1209, notwithstanding he had abjured his errors while alive, by command of Innocent III.; and many of whose followers endured at the stake the penalties of their unsound faith.[2] For though the barbarous writers of that age give different and confused statements of his opinions, and attribute some sentiments to him which he never held, yet it is certain he taught this much, that all things are but one, that is, God; that not only the forms of things but also their matter proceeded from God and would all revert back into God; and hence he derived that mistaken piety or religious system of these mystics, maintained that a man may become changed into the divine nature if he will, and proved that all external worship was vain and useless. His disciples were men of very distinguished piety and austerity, and many of them endured the flames with the greatest fortitude. One of his most distinguished followers was David Dinant, a Parisian doctor, who was accustomed to state the fundamental doctrine of his master in this manner—God is the original matter of all things. He composed a work called *Quaternarii* and some other books in a popular style and well calculated to captivate the common people, and saved his life by a timely flight.[3] The bishops who assembled in council at Paris A.D. 1209, supposed that the philosophy of Aristotle gave rise to this impiety, and they therefore prohibited the reading and expounding of his metaphysical and other works.[4]

13. If what some tell us be true (which however I question), this Amalric and his followers gave credit to those predictions which were circulated as coming from Joachim, abbot of Flora in Calabria, respecting an approaching reformation and purification of the church by the sword, an impending age of the Holy Spirit to succeed the ages of the Father and the Son, and similar things with which the Franciscan Spirituals were carried away. This however is certain that some others did suffer themselves to be led by these predictions to found new sects, and to declare war against the reigning church. Wilhelmina, an infatuated and delirious Bohemian woman, who resided in the territory of Milan, took occasion from these predictions concerning an age of the Holy Spirit, of foolishly persuading first herself and then many others, that the Holy Spirit had assumed human nature in her person for the sake of saving a large part of mankind, for Christ she said had procured salvation by his blood for all real Christians, and the Holy Spirit by her would save the Jews, the Saracens, and false Christians; and for this end all the things which befel Christ when incarnate must also befal her, or rather the Holy Spirit incarnate in her. This infatuated woman died at Milan in the year 1281 with the highest reputation for sanctity, and after her death she was honoured, as well by her followers who were considerably numerous as by the ignorant populace, both publicly and privately with the highest veneration. But in the year 1300 the Inquisitors detected her sect,

conscripsit a Deo compulsus, ubi multa ad præsens pertinentia continentur de ecclesiæ renovatione et prævia gravi persecutione." According to the doctrine of this sect, the Nine Rocks were so many steps by which the man who desires to rise to God must be elevated to a union with Him.

[1] By whom, where, and when, this celebrated sect was first instituted is uncertain. I have before me *Octoginta Novem Sententiæ Bechardorum, quos vulgus Schwestrones, ipsi vero se de Secta Liberi Spiritus et Voluntariæ Paupertatis vocant, cum Confutatione;* written by an Inquisitor at Worms at the close of this century. The seventy-ninth of these sayings (*sententiæ*) is this: "To say that the truth is in Rhetia, is to fall into the heresy of Donatus, who said that God was in Africa and not elsewhere." From these words it appears that Rhetia was the chief seat of the church of the Brethren of the Free Spirit, and that from this province they passed into Germany. Yet probably Rhetia was not the place where this sect originated; I apprehend rather that being expelled from Italy it took refuge in Rhetia, so that it was Italy which gave birth to this, as well as to many other parties which seceded from the general church. And there is extant in Raynald's *Annales Eccles.* tom. xv. ad ann. 1311, sec. 66, p. 90, a long Epistle of the sovereign pontiff, Clement V. addressed to Raynerius de Casulis, bishop of Cremona, exhorting him to suppress and eradicate the sect of the Free Spirit, resident in certain parts of Italy, and particularly in the province of Spoleto and the regions adjacent.

[2] This did not escape the notice of those enemies of the Brethren of the Free Spirit or Bechards, the Inquisitors. Hence the sixty-eighth of the eighty-nine MS. sayings of the Bechards, with their confutation, is this: To say that all creatures are God is the heresy of Alexander (that Epicurean whom Plutarch mentions in his *Symposium*), who said, "Materiam primam et Deum et hominem, hoc est, mentes esse in substantia;" which afterwards one David de Dinant followed, who in our times fled from France on account of this heresy, and would have been duly punished if he had been caught.

[3] See the *Hæreses pro quibus sacerdotes Parisiis* (A.D. 1209) *igne consumpti sunt*, in Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdot.* tom. iv. p. 163, &c.; Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles.* sæcul. xiii. cap. iii. art. ii. p. 76, &c.; Gerh. du Bois, *Hist. Eccles.* Paris, tom. ii. p. 244, &c.; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 24, 48, 53; Thomasius, *De Exustione Mundi Stoica*, p. 199, &c.

[4] Launoi, *De Varia Aristotelis Fortuna in Acad. Paris.* p. 127, &c.

destroyed her splendid tomb, and committed her bones and with them the leaders of the party of both sexes to the flames.[1]

14. Similar predictions were the foundation of the sect of the Apostles, a sect which made little change in the received religion, but aimed to revive the apostolical mode of life. Its founder, Gerhard Sagarellus of Parma, ordered his followers to travel up and down the world in the manner of the apostles, clad in white, with heads bare, beards and hair long, and attended by women whom they called sisters; to possess no property at all, but to live upon the voluntary gifts of the pious; and publicly to exhort the people to repent, but in their private meetings to announce the impending downfal of the utterly deformed Romish church, and the rise of a new, purer, and holier church, according to the prophecies of the abbot Joachim. This Gerhard being burned at the stake at Parma A.D. 1300, his successor, Dulcinus of Novara, a bold and energetic character and familiar with the Scriptures, preached much more boldly, that the Roman pontiff, Boniface VIII. and all the flagitious priests and monks would shortly be slain by the emperor Frederick III. son to Peter the king of Aragon, and that a new and most holy pontiff would be placed over the church. For in many of the predictions ascribed to the abbot Joachim it was announced that an emperor called Frederick III. would complete what the emperor Frederick II. had left unfinished. With this Dulcinus, who was both the general and the prophet of this sect of the apostles, and who had collected an armed force, Raynerius, bishop of Vercelli, waged fierce war in behalf of the pontiff for more than two years; and at length after several battles Dulcinus was taken alive and was executed with exquisite tortures at Vercelli, A.D. 1307, together with Margaretha, the sister whom he had chosen according to the practice of his sect. After the horrid death of Dulcinus the sect long existed in France, Germany, and other countries; nor could it be wholly extirpated till the times of Bonifacc IX. in the beginning of the fifteenth century.[2]

15. This Joachim, abbot of Flora, whose prophecies induced so many honest people to menace the Romish church with a reformation by the sword, as the phrase was, and the pontiffs with great disasters, and to proclaim open war against them, was himself brought under suspicion of heresy, not indeed on account of these predictions, but on account of a new explication of the doctrine of three persons in the Godhead. He wrote a book against Peter Lombard, the master of the Sentences, because the latter distinguished the divine essence from the three persons in the Godhead; for Joachim supposed that this distinction introduced a fourth subject into the divine Trinity, namely, this essence. But his ignorance of dialectics led him in this discussion to use less caution than the subject demanded. For he denied that there was in the sacred Trinity a something or an essence which was common to the three persons; from which position it seemed to follow that the union of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is not a simple or natural union, but merely a moral union like that of several persons all having the same views and opinions. As this sentiment in the view of many appeared to approach very near to the doctrine of Arius, Innocent in the Lateran council of 1215 condemned not indeed the man but his opinions. Joachim however even to the present day has many patrons and advocates, especially among those Franciscans who are called Observants, some of whom maintain that his book was altered by his enemies, and others that his opinions were misunderstood.[3]

[1] The Milanese historians, Bernhard Corio and others, give an account of this woman. But their statements differ widely from those of Muratori (*Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 95, &c.) derived from the record of the judicial proceedings. He also informs us that a learned man named Puicelli composed a history of Wilhelmina and her sect, which still exists in manuscript. [She pretended to be the daughter of Constantia, queen of Primislaus, king of Bohemia; and that her birth was announced to her mother by the angel Raphael just as the birth of Christ was announced to Mary by the angel Gabriel. Her most noted followers were one Andrew and a nun named Mayfreda. As Christ appointed Peter his vicegerent and the head of his church on earth, so she appointed Mayfreda her vicegerent and placed her on a footing of equality with the Romish popes. She promised her followers to appear to them before the day of judgment. See Muratori, *ubi supra*.—*Mur.*

[2] I have composed in the German language a particular history of this famous sect so imperfectly known in our age, in three books, which was published at Helmstadt, 1746, 4to. I could now add some things to that history. That the sect continued to exist in Germany and other countries down to the times of Boniface IX. we are informed by Coerner, in his Chronicle published in Eccard's *Corpus Historicum Medii Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 906. And the fact may be corroborated by many proofs. In the year 1402, an apostle named William was burned at Lubec. See Coerner, *ubi supra*, p. 1185. The Germans, who called all that affected uncommon piety and sought a reputation for sanctity by begging, Beghards, gave this appellation also to the Apostoli.

[3] See Papebroch's *Disquis. Histor. de Florensi Ordine, prophetiis, doctrina B. Joachimi*, in the *Acta Sanctor.* Mail, tom. vi. p. 456, &c. where is a life of Joachim written by Syllanæus, a Greek, and some other documents. Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles.* sæc. xiii. Diss. ii. p. 331, &c.; Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iv. p. 6, &c.

CENTURY FOURTEENTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

1. SOME of the Latin kings, being admonished by the Roman pontiffs, thought several times of renewing the war against the Turks and Saracens and of rescuing Syria from their hands. In particular the pontiffs who resided at Avignon in France omitted no motive which they thought would induce the kings of France and England to engage in such a military enterprise. But from various causes their expectations were always disappointed. Clement V. urged this holy war with great energy in the years 1307 and 1308, and appropriated to it a vast sum of money.[1] John XXII. in the year 1319 fitted out a fleet of ten ships for transporting an army to Palestine;[2] and in order to raise the money necessary for so great an enterprise, in the years 1322 and 1323 he commissioned certain nuncios to offer everywhere great indulgences to the liberal who should contribute to it. But the emperor Lewis of Bavaria and others complained that he used the pretext of a crusade to gratify his own avarice and ambition.[3] Nor does his character shield him from such a charge. Under Benedict XII. in the year 1330, Philip de Valois, king of France, collected a large army for such a holy expedition as it was called;[4] but when he was about to embark, impending dangers from his neighbour, the king of England, induced him to abandon the enterprise. In the year 1345 Clement VI. at the request of the Venetians, persuaded a vast multitude by his indulgences to embark for Smyrna, over whom Guido, dauphin of Vienne, was appointed commander-in-chief. But in a short time their want of provisions obliged them all with their commander to return to Europe.[5] Again in the year 1363 at the solicitation of Urban V. a great army was collected to sail to Palestine, of which John, king of France, was appointed commander. But he dying soon after, the army dispersed.[6]

2. The missionaries sent by the Roman pontiffs in the preceding century to the Chinese, the Tartars, and the adjacent countries, continued to gather numerous and large congregations among those nations. In the year 1307 Clement V. constituted John de Monte Corvino archbishop of Cambalu, that is, Peking; for it is now beyond a doubt that the celebrated city of Cathai, then called Cambalu, is the same with Peking the modern capital of China. The same pontiff sent seven new bishops, all of them Franciscans, into those regions.[7] John XXII. appointed Nicolaus de Bentra to succeed John de Monte Corvino in the year 1333, and also sent letters to the emperor of the Tartars who was then the sovereign of China. Benedict XII. in the year 1338 sent new nuncios into China and Tartary, after being honoured with a solemn embassy from the Tartars which he received at Avignon.[8] So long as the Tartar empire in China continued, not only the Latins but the Nestorians also had liberty to profess their religion freely all over northern Asia, and to propagate it far and wide.

3. Among the European princes, Jagello, duke of Lithuania and the adjacent terri-

[1] Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 14, 594, tom. ii. p. 55, 57, 374, 391, &c.; Matthæus, *Analecta Vet. Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 577.

[2] Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 122, tom. ii. p. 515.

[3] Baluze, *ubi supra*, tom. i. p. 175, 786; Matthæus, *Analect. Vet. Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 595, 598.

[4] Baluze, *ubi supra*, tom. i. p. 200.

[5] *Fragmenta Historiæ Romanæ*, in Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, iii. p. 368.

[6] Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 366, 386, 371, 401, &c.

[7] Wadding's *Annales Ord. Min.* tom. vi. ad ann. 1305, sec. xii. p. 69, and ad ann. 1307, p. 91, and p. 368, tom. vii. p 53, 221, tom. viii. p. 235; Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vat.* tom. iii. sec. ii. p. 521, &c. Add Echard's *Scriptores Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 537; *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. Januarii, p. 984, &c. and Mosheim's *Hist. Tartarorum Eccles.*

[8] Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 242.

tories, was nearly the only one who still adhered to the idolatry of his ancestors. In the year 1386 he embraced the Christian rites, was baptized with the assumed name of Uladislaus, and persuaded his subjects to do the same thing. For Lewis, king of Poland, dying in the year 1382, among the candidates for the crown Jagello offered his name, nor were the Poles averse from having so potent a prince for their king. But neither Hedwig, the youngest daughter of the deceased king and by a decree of the senate heiress of the kingdom, would consent to marry, nor would the Poles consent to obey a man who rejected Christianity. He must therefore change his religion.[1] The remains of the old religions which still existed in Prussia and Livonia were extirpated by the Teutonic knights and the crusaders with war and massacres. We are likewise informed that many Jews in one place and another made profession of Christianity. They were rendered docile by the exquisite punishments everywhere inflicted upon them, especially in France and Germany. For a rumour being spread, either truly or calumniously, that they had poisoned the public fountains, had murdered the infants of Christians and drunk their blood, had treated with extreme contumely what were called the hosts [the consecrated wafers of the eucharist], and had committed other crimes equally heinous, the most severe and cruel tortures which could be devised were decreed against that miserable race.

4. In Spain the Saracens still held the sovereignty of Granada, Andalusia, and Murcia; and against them the Christian kings of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre, waged perpetual war, though not always successfully. The kings of Morocco in Africa sent aid to the Saracens against the Christians. The Roman pontiffs roused and encouraged the Christians by subsidies and by their counsels and promises, to unite and drive the Saracens from Spain. The difficult enterprise proceeded but slowly; yet it became evident in this century that the time was approaching when the Christians would triumph and become sole masters of Spain.[2]

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

1. THE Turks and the Tartars who had vast sway in Asia, and who assailed on the one hand the Greeks and on the other the Saracens and Mamelukes, wholly extirpated the Christian religion in many cities and provinces, and caused the religion of Mohammed to be inculcated on the people in its stead. The nation of the Tartars, in which such numbers once professed Christianity or at least tolerated it, after the commencement of this century universally submitted to the Koran. And this religion though somewhat corrupted was embraced by that most potent emperor of the Tartars Timur Beg, or as he is commonly called Tamerlane.[3] Having subjugated the greatest part of Asia by his arms, and even conquered the Turkish sultan Bajazet, and moreover caused the terrors of his name to pervade Europe, his mere nod was sufficient to cause vast multitudes to abandon Christianity. But he also employed violence and the sword. For being persuaded, as the most credible historians of his life inform us, that it was the duty of every true disciple of Mohammed to make war upon Christians, and that those who should compel many of them to embrace the religion of the Koran might expect high rewards from God,[4] he inflicted numberless evils on persevering Christians, cruelly butchering some and dooming others to perpetual slavery.[5]

2. The Christian religion was likewise overthrown in the parts of Asia inhabited by the Chinese, the Tartars, the Moguls, and other nations, whose history is yet imperfectly known. At least no mention has been found of any Latin Christians resident in those countries subsequent to the year 1370. Nor has it yet been ascertained what became of the Franciscan missionaries sent thither from Rome. But of the Nestorians living in China some traces can be found, though not very clear, as late as the sixteenth century.[6] There can be little

[1] Raynald, *Annales Eccles.* ad ann. 1386, sec. iv.; Wadding's *Annales Min.* tom. ix. p. 71; Solignac, *Hist. de Pologne*, tome iii. p. 241, &c.

[2] Jo. de Ferreras, *Hist. Hispaniæ*, tom. iv. v. vi. in various passages; *Fragmenta Hist. Rom.* in Muratori's *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 319, where however true and false are blended. Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. ii. p. 267.

[3] The great Tamerlane, whose name struck terror even long after his death, wished to be regarded as belonging to the sect of the Sonnites, and to be an enemy of the Schiites. See Petit Croix, *Hist. de Timur-Bec*, tome ii. p. 151, tome iii. p. 228. But what his religion was is very doubtful, although he professed that of Mohammed. See Mosheim's *Hist. Tartarorum Eccles.* p. 124, &c.

[4] Petit Croix, *Hist. de Timur-Bec*, tome ii. p. 329, tome iii. p. 9, 137, 243, 265, &c.

[5] Examples are given in the *Hist. de Timur-Bec* (taken from the Persian writer Scherifeddin), tome ii. p. 376, 384, 386, tome iii. p. 243, tome iv. p. 111, 115, 117, ed. Delft, 1723, in 4 vols. 8vo; Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* article *Timur*, p. 877.

[6] Trigaut, *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas*, lib. i. cap. xi. p. 116, &c.; Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. iii. par. i. p. 592, &c. and par. ii. p. 445,

doubt that this fall of Christianity was a consequence of the wars of the Tartars with the Chinese and with other nations. For in the year 1369 the last Tartar emperor of the family of Genghis Kan was driven out of China and the Mim family was placed on the throne, who have excluded all foreigners from entering China.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

1. THE Greeks, though greatly oppressed with both external and internal troubles, did not suffer literature and science to become wholly prostrate, as is manifest from the number of learned men among them in this century. The liberal arts, antiquities, criticism, and grammar, were reputably prosecuted by Nicephorus Gregoras,[1] Manuel Chrysoloras,[2] Maximus Planudes,[3] and many others. History was prosecuted, though with different degrees of success, by Theodorus Metochita,[4] John Cantacuzenus,[5] Nicephorus Gregoras, and by several others of less note. An ecclesiastical history was composed by Nicephorus Callisti, which although it contains many fabulous and superstitious accounts, throws light on a number of subjects.[6]

536, &c.; Du Halde, *Description de la Chine*, tome i. p. 175.

[1] Nicephorus Gregoras or son of Gregory, was born at Heraclea in Pontus about A.D. 1295, studied under the best masters at Constantinople, became a teacher there, and acquired the title of the Philosopher. He was one of the ambassadors to the prince of the Servians. In the year 1328, when the younger Andronicus dethroned his grandfather, Andronicus Palæologus, Nicephorus not only lost his patron, but suffered otherwise. Yet he continued a teacher and had eminent men for pupils. Theodorus Metochita made him overseer of a monastery. He engaged in the public controversies between Barlaam and Palamas, became a monk, and retired from court. He died soon after A.D. 1359. Besides some orations and smaller tracts, he wrote a valuable history of the Byzantine empire, from A.D. 1204, where Nicetas Acominatus ends, to the year 1359, in 38 books. The first 24 books, reaching to A.D. 1351, were published, Gr. and Lat. by Boivin, Paris, 1702, and Venice, 1729, 2 vols. fol.—*Mur.*

[2] Manuel Chrysoloras, one of the first and most active of the Greeks who promoted learning in the West, was born of noble parentage at Constantinople, about the middle of the fourteenth century, and for some time taught literature and science in his native city. About A.D. 1393 the Greek emperor, Manuel Palæologus, sent him twice as an ambassador to various European kingdoms to solicit aid against the Turks. After visiting the English and various other courts, he took up his residence in Italy, and taught Greek to several of the first scholars of that age in the West. He gave instruction at Florence, Milan, Venice, Pavia, and Rome. In the year 1409 the pope sent him to Constantinople to negotiate a union between the Greek and Latin churches. In the year 1413 he was sent to the emperor Sigismund, to settle arrangements for the general council of Constance in the following year. He attended that council and died shortly after, in the year 1415. Æneas Sylvius and Poggio give him very high commendations in their notices of his death. Among his pupils in the West were Leonard Aretinus, Francis Barbarus, Guarinus of Verona, Poggio, and Philelphus. His only work which has been published was his *Erotemata Grammatica*, which was the first good Greek grammar among the Europeans, and was that studied by Erasmus and Reuchlin.—*Mur.* [The reader will see some very interesting facts relative to the revival of Greek literature in Europe, in Hallam's *Intro. to the Liter. of Europe*, 1st edit. vol. i. p. 131, &c.—*R.*

[3] Maximus Planudes was a learned Greek monk of Constantinople, well acquainted with the Latin language. In the year 1327 the Greek emperor sent him with others on an embassy to Venice. He suffered considerably for his attachment to the cause of the popes; but afterwards he changed sides and espoused that of the Greeks. He appears to have died soon after A.D. 1353. He translated from Latin into Greek the writings of Cicero, Cæsar, Ovid, Cato, and Boëthius, with Augustine's fifteen books on the Trinity; he composed a life of Æsop, and compiled a Greek Anthology in seven books. He likewise wrote against the Latins, composed some orations, and many letters and smaller pieces.—*Mur.*

[4] Theodorus Metochita was a learned Greek of the kindred of the emperor, and the favourite and prime minister of Andronicus Palæologus. In the latter part of the preceding century, the emperor sent him with John Glycas to conduct Maria, sister of the German emperor, who was espoused to the oldest son of the Greek emperor, to Constantinople. It was about the year 1314 he was made prime Logotheta, and took nearly the whole government of the empire on his shoulders. But about A.D. 1328, Andronicus senior being dethroned by his grandson, Andronicus junior Metochita of course fell into disgrace, and was made a state prisoner till his death A.D. 1333. He transcribed the third book of Glycas' *Annals*, which Meursius published in 1648 as an original work, entitled a Compendium of Roman History from Julius Cæsar to Constantine the Great. He wrote comments on Aristotle's eight books of Physics, besides some historical tracts never published. He was esteemed one of the most learned Greeks of his age.—*Mur.*

[5] John Cantacuzenus was of the illustrious family of the Cantacuzeni on the father's side, and of that of the Palæologi on the side of his mother. His youth was devoted to literature and arms. He then became a statesman under the elder Andronicus. In the year 1320 he was found to be a partisan of the younger Andronicus, and fell under displeasure. But his friend supported him; and on the elevation of his friend to the throne Cantacuzenus was loaded with honours and offices. On the death of Andronicus junior A.D. 1341, Cantacuzenus was made regent of the empire and guardian of the prince, John Palæologus, then nine years old. But the empress-mother and others became jealous of him, and a civil war ensued. Cantacuzenus was victorious, and in 1347 concluded a peace, by which he and John Palæologus were to be joint emperors. Civil war again broke out; and in 1355 Cantacuzenus resigned the purple and voluntarily retired to Mount Athos, where he became a monk, and spent the remainder of his days in literary pursuits and monastic devotions. Here he wrote the history of the empire during the reigns of the two Andronici and himself, or from A.D 1320 to 1357, published Gr. and Lat. with notes, Paris, 1645, 3 vols. fol. He also wrote three orations and some tracts against the Mohammedans, which are extant.—*Mur.*

[6] Nicephorus Callisti, *i.e.* the son of Callistus, lived

2. Those Greeks who devoted themselves to philosophy for the most part followed Aristotle as their guide. No one among them, so far as I know, ventured upon philosophical speculations relying on his own ingenuity. In what manner they explained the precepts of the Stagyrite we may learn from the tracts of Theodorus Metochita. Yet Plato had likewise some followers, especially among the cultivators of mystic theology which had long been in high estimation among the Greeks. In the mathematics and astronomy Nicolaus Cabasilas was their most distinguished scholar.[1] The Stoic principles in regard to morals were recommended by Barlaam, and exhibited in his Ethics according to the Stoics.[2]

3. There was no country of the Latins in which efforts were not made, and successfully, for the advancement of learning and the improvement of the human mind. Hence academies and universities were erected in various places, as Cologne, Orleans, Perugia, Florence, and Pisa, in which all the liberal arts and sciences were taught, and were distributed as at this day into several faculties. In the universities, colleges were founded by the opulent and endowed with ample revenues, in which not only monks but young men of narrow circumstances were educated in the useful arts and sciences. Libraries were also collected, and men of learning were excited by honours and rewards to aspire after fame and distinction. But the advantages to the church and the state from the numerous teachers and learned men were not correspondent with the vast expense and care bestowed by the great on these institutions. Yet all who assumed the office of teachers in this age were not, as many have rashly supposed, stupid and despicable; while there was a gradual advance from lower to higher attainments.

4. The sovereign pontiff himself, Clement V. required the Hebrew and other Oriental languages to be taught in the public schools, that there might be men competent to enter into discussions with the Jews and the Saracens, and to preach divine truth in the countries of the East.[3] Of course there were some persons in that age who were acquainted particularly with those languages. The Greek language, which previously very few had regarded at all, was now first taught by Leontius Pilatus, a Calabrian, the translator of Homer, and by a few others;[4] and afterwards, with far greater applause and success, by Manuel Chrysoloras, a Constan-

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at Constantinople, and was probably a priest or monk there about 1333. His personal history is little known. From Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Evagrius, and others, he compiled an Ecclesiastical History in twenty-three books, from the Christian era to A.D. 911. The style and arrangement are deemed good for that age, but it abounds in useless trash and fables. The first eighteen books, extending to A.D. 610, were published Greek and Latin, Paris, 1630, 2 vols. fol. He also wrote catalogues of the Greek emperors and of the Constantinopolitan patriarchs.—*Mur.* [See Fabricius, *Biblio. Græca*, vol. vi. p. 130, for a fuller account of this writer and his Ecclesiastical History. There is a brief notice of him and his work in Dowling's *Introd. to the Critical Study of Eccles. Hist.* p. 91, &c. A homily by Nicephorus on Mary Magdalene may be seen in Bandini, *Græcæ Eccles. Vet. Monum.* Flor. 1762, vol. iii.—*R.*

[1] Nicolaus Cabasilas, nephew and successor to Nilus Cabasilas, archbishop of Thessalonica, was employed as a negociator between the parties in the civil wars, A.D. 1346 and 1347. The time of his death is unknown. He was a learned man and a violent opposer of the Latins. His works are, an Exposition of the Greek Liturgy, on a life in Christ or the efficacy of the sacraments, an oration against usurers, an encomium on St. Theodora, a Commentary on Ptolemy's third book of constructions, some astrological diagrams, remarks on Ezekiel's vision of four beasts, and some tracts against the Latins. The last three were never published.—*Mur.*

[2] Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 405. [Barlaam was a native of Calabria in Italy, became a monk of the order of St. Basil, lived at Constantinople, and was a very learned, ambitious, and factious man. Being born and educated among the Latins, he at first agreed with them against the Greeks. But changing sides, he became a most powerful champion among the Greeks against the Latins. While an abbot at Constantinople he investigated the state of the monks of Mount Athos, and brought a complaint against the Hesuchists there before the patriarch of Constantinople. George Palamas appeared as their advocate. The cause was tried before a council, A.D. 1337, and the monks were acquitted. (See below, ch. v. sec. 1, 2, of this century.) In the year 1339 Barlaam was the emperor's ambassador to the pope at Avignon, for negociating a union of the two churches. In the year 1341 he withdrew from Constantinople on a change in the government, came to Italy, again espoused the cause of the Latins against the Greeks, and was made bishop of Geraci in Naples. He died about the year 1348. His works, besides his *Ethicæ secundum Stoicos*, are various letters, orations, and tracts, both for the Greeks against the Latins, and for the latter against the former, and six books on arithmetic. The last was printed Gr. and Lat. Paris, 1600, 4to. All the others in Latin are in Canisius, *ubi supra*, and in the *Biblio. Max. Patrum*, tom. xxvi.—*Mur.*

[3] Wood's *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 156, 159. [This bull of Clement is in the *Corpus Juris Canon. Clementina*, lib. v. tit. i. cap. i. and bears date A.D. 1311. It required Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaic, to be taught, each by two competent instructors, wherever the papal court might be, and also in the universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca. The pope was to support the teachers in his court, the kings of France and England those at Paris and Oxford, the clergy of Italy those at Bologna, and the clergy of Spain those at Salamanca.—*Mur.*

[4] See Hody, *De Græcis Illustribus, Linguæ Græcæ, Literarumque humaniorum Instauratoribus*, lib. i. p. 5, Lond. 1742, 8vo; Calogera, *Opuscoli Scientifici*, tom. xxv. p. 258. [Leontius Pilatus came to Venice in the year 1360, on his way to the papal court at Avignon. Boccaccio met him, and persuaded him to go with him to Florence. Here he taught Greek with which he was well acquainted, to Boccaccio and to Petrarch, and for their use translated Homer's *Iliad* into Latin. His admiration of the Greeks led him in 1363 to go to Constantinople. But he found that people not such as his imagination had represented them. He therefore set sail for Italy the next year, and was killed by lightning on board the ship. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxx. p. 154.—*Mur.*

tinopolitan,[1] who encouraged many to prosecute this study. The true and genuine excellence of Latin composition was revived by several distinguished men of genius in Italy; among whom the first place is due to Francis Petrarch, a great and superior man,[2] and the second place belongs to Dante Alighieri.[3] These men felt it to be their duty in general to excite mankind to cultivate their minds, and to place a high value on all sorts of learning; and they found numbers disposed to listen to them, not only among the Italians but among the French and Germans.

5. Of the grammarians, historians, jurists both civil and canon, and physicians, it would be easy to make out a long list from the monuments of this age, but it would be unsuitable to our design. It is sufficient for the reader to know that among the vast number, there were few whose labours were of much service to mankind. The study of civil and canon law was pursued by an immense number, because this was the avenue to preferment in church and state; and who has not heard of Bartolus, Baldus, Andreas,[4] and other jurists of this century, who gave reputation to the Italian universities? Yet the jurisprudence of this age offered nothing that could be alluring to an ingenuous mind. It was rather a barren, thorny field, on which the light of history and polite learning never shone. Mathematics engaged the attention of many; but with the exception of Thomas Bradwardine, the acute bishop of Canterbury,[5]

[1] Hody, *ubi supra*, lib. i. p. 10; Calogera, *Opuscoli Scientifici*, tom. xxv. p. 248, &c. and especially Boerner, *De Græcis literarum Græcar. in Italia Instauratoribus*, p. 1—35. [See also note 2, p. 486, above.—*Mur.*

[2] See Thomasin's *Life of Petrarch*, in Müschen's *Vitæ Claror. Virorum*, tom. iv. who in the preface enumerates the other biographers of Petrarch. [The Abbé de Sade's *Mémoires pour servir à la Vie de François Petrarque*, Amsterd. 1764, 3 vols. 4to. See also a paper by A. F. Tytler, Esq. in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, vol. v. Petrarch was born at Arezzo in Tuscany, A.D. 1304. When eight years old his father, being banished, carried him to Avignon in France. Here he was educated for the civil law. But he hated the pursuit, fell in love, and became a poet. He passed his life either in travelling about France and Italy, or in different retreats, particularly at Vaucluse near Carpentras, in the south of France. But he also spent considerable time at the courts and seats of different princes, noblemen, and prelates, in Italy and France, and was in high reputation as a scholar, a poet, a philosopher, and a theologian. Honours were heaped upon him; but that which he valued highest was to be publicly crowned with the poet's bay sat Rome, A.D. 1341. He died at his own villa near Padua, A.D. 1374. His works are numerous short pieces, particularly letters and poems, with some moral and political writings, partly in Latin and partly in Italian. The whole were never collected, though a large part of them were, in one vol. fol. Basil, 1554, 1581, and Lyons, 1601. The best edition of his poems is said to be that of Venice, 1756, 2 vols. 4to.—*Mur.* [In the *Mémoires de Littérature* there is a *Vie de Petrarque* by the Baron de la Bastie, in vol. xv. p. 746—794, and vol. xvii. p. 390—491; and a *Mémoire sur l'Origine de Laure*, by M. Menard, in vol. xxx. p. 756—776. But on that topic see Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 509, note. The most recent English work on this celebrated scholar is a life of him by the late Thomas Campbell, Lond. 1841, 2 vols. See also Hallam, *Introd. to the Liter. of Europe*, vol. i. p. 109.—*R.*

[3] The life of Dante, the celebrated poet, has been treated of by many, but especially by his annotator Benovenutus de Imola, from whom Muratori has given numerous extracts in his *Antiquit. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 1036. [Dante was born at Florence, A.D. 1265, studied there and at Bologna and Padua. The Belles Lettres were his favourite pursuit. He married, became a soldier, and a statesman at Florence. But belonging to an unsuccessful faction he was banished from Tuscany in the year 1302, and after wandering in Italy and making some excursions to France and Germany, he settled at Ravenna where he died A.D. 1321. He has left us two considerable works. The first is a poem in Italian, entitled *La Divina Comedia*, or vision of Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven, as seen by himself, A.D. 1300, divided into three parts. It abounds in vivid descriptions, and has been extolled to the highest by the Italians. The other is shorter and in Latin, entitled *De Monarchia*. Its object is to evince, that the pontiffs have no right to control princes in civil affairs. The best edition of his collected works is that of Venice, 1757, 1758, 4 vols. 4to.—*Mur.* [See Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 503, and *Introd. to Liter. of Europe*. Rosetti has endeavoured to prove that Dante, throughout his *Divina Comedia*, was presenting an allegorical picture of the corruptions of the papal church, and sowing the seed which came to maturity in the Reformation of the sixteenth century. See Rosetti's *Disquisitions on the Anti-Papal Spirit which produced the Reformation*, &c. a translation from the Italian, by Miss C. Ward, Lond. 1834, 2 vols.—*R.*

[4] Bartolus was born at Sassoferatto in the duchy of Urbino, A.D. 1313. At the age of 13 he commenced the study of the civil law, first at Perugia and then at Bologna. He was made doctor at the age of twenty, and commenced teacher of law three years after at Pisa. He also taught at Padua and Bologna, and died A.D. 1356. His lectures and his legal opinions were highly esteemed, and his Glosses on the civil law for two centuries were of the highest authority. They were printed at Venice, A.D. 1615, in eleven vols. fol. He was more distinguished for acumen and nice discrimination than for extensive reading.—Baldus Ubaldus was nobly born at Perugia, A.D 1324, and was first the pupil and then the rival of Bartolus. He taught both civil and canon law, and lectured at Perugia, Padua, and Pisa. He died at the last-mentioned place of the hydrophobia, A.D. 1400, aged 76. In readiness and metaphysical acumen he was thought superior to Bartolus, but not his equal in solidity of judgment. He wrote commentaries on the Decretals, five volumes of legal opinions, Glosses on nearly the whole *Corpus Juris Civilis*, besides various law tracts, all of which have been printed. These two were the greatest jurists of the age, so far as the civil law is concerned. Yet Andrew Horne, an Englishman of Gloucestershire, distinguished himself by his attempt to reform the English laws, by expunging from them everything which was not in accordance with the scriptures and natural justice. His work was written in French, and entitled a *Mirror for the Judges*, and was printed in French, Lond. 1642, 8vo, and in English, Lond. 1646, 8vo. As to his age, we only know that his book was written under Edward III. and before A.D. 1324, and that he defended the abbot of Waltham in a court, A.D. 1343. See Wharton's Append. to Cave's *Hist. Liter.*—John Andreas, the celebrated doctor of canon law, taught that science at Bologna for forty-five years, and died there A.D. 1348. His works are commentaries on the five books of Decretals, Glosses on the *Liber Sextus Decret.* and the *Clementina*, and tracts concerning feudalities, marriage, affinities, all of which have been published.—*Mur.*

[5] Thomas Bradwardine was an Englishman, educated at Oxford, where he was a proctor in 1325 and afterwards doctor of divinity and lecturer on theology. He became confessor to Edward III. whom he attended in his French wars. In the year 1348 he was elected archbishop of Canterbury, but the king preferring

few obtained much applause from these studies.

6. Of the immense swarm of philosophers who infested rather than adorned this age, Aristotle was the guide and the oracle, though imperfectly understood and divested of all his beauties. In so high estimation was the Peripatetic philosophy that kings and princes ordered the works of Aristotle to be translated into the languages of their people, that greater numbers might acquire wisdom. In particular, Charles V. king of France, has been commended for directing Nicholas Oresme to translate into French, among other writings of the ancients, the principal works of Aristotle.[1] Those however who professed to be philosophers were less solicitous to discover and support truth than to have the pleasure of wrangling; and they perplexed and obscured the pure and unadulterated doctrines of reason and religion by their vain subtleties, their useless questions, and their ridiculous distinctions. I need not mention their barbarous diction in which they supposed the principal strength of their art to consist, or their contempt for all elegant literature which they accounted their glory. The whole art and method of this wrangling tribe may be learned by reading the works of only John Scotus or Walter Burley; for they all followed one common track, though differing among themselves as to some opinions.

7. The old disputes between the Realists and the Nominalists which had been long dormant were again stirred up in the schools by William Occam, an English Franciscan monk of the more rigid cast, a pupil of the great Scotus and a doctor in the university of Paris; nor was it possible afterwards to bring these contentions to an end. Never was there fiercer war between the Greeks and Persians than between these two sects of philosophers, down to the time when Luther obliged the scholastic doctors to terminate their intestine conflicts. The Realists despised their antagonists as philosophers of a recent date, and branded them with the name of Moderns; while to their own doctrine they ascribed the highest antiquity. But in this they were undoubtedly mistaken. The Nominalists on the contrary regarded them as being visionaries, who mistook the creations of their own imaginations for real existences and solid substances. The Nominalists had, particularly at Paris, a number of acute, subtle, and eloquent doctors, among whom, besides Occam, the celebrated John Buridan, a Parisian doctor, stood pre-eminent;[2] but the Realists were the most numerous and were also strong in the countenance given them by the Roman pontiffs. For Occam having joined the order of Franciscans who were openly opposed to John XXII. this pontiff first, and afterwards his successors, left no means untried to put down the philosophy of the Nominalists which seemed to be opposed to the church.[3] Hence in the year 1339, the university of Paris by a public edict condemned and prohibited the philosophy of Occam which was that of the Nominalists.[4] But as men are prone to pursue what is forbidden, this decree only caused a still greater number than before to follow the system of the Nominalists.

8. Not a few of these philosophers added astrology, or the art of prognosticating the fortunes of men from the stars, to their philosophy. For this fallacious science was prosecuted in those times even to madness by all orders from the highest to the lowest.[5] But these astrological philosophers had to be very cautious and circumspect, to avoid impeachment for magic and to escape the hands of the Inquisitors. Such

another, Ufford was chosen. But Ufford dying before his consecration, Bradwardine was rechosen, and with the king's consent was ordained by the pope at Avignon. He however died very soon after his arrival at Lambeth, A.D. 1348. He was a profound reasoner, eminently pious, a strong Augustinian in theology, of plain unpolished manners, and particularly fond of mathematics. His great work is, *The Cause of God and the Truth of Causes, against Pelagius*, published by Saville, Lond. 1618, fol. He also wrote *Geometrica Speculativa*, and *Arithmetica Speculativa*, published together, Paris, 1512; also *Tractatus Proportionum*, published, Venice, 1505. See Wharton's Appendix to Cave's *Hist. Liter.* and Milner's *Eccles. History*, cent. xiv. ch. ii.—*Mur.* [See also Hallam's *Introd. to the Literature of Europe*, vol. i. p. 156, 7.—*R.*

[1] Launoi, *Hist. Gymnasii Navarreni*, in his *Opp.* tom. iv. par. i. p. 504; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 379; Le Bœuf's *Dissert. sur l' Hist. Eccles. et Civile de Paris*, tome iii. p. 456, 463, &c.

[2] A biography of this noted man was written by Robert Guaquin, as we are told by Launoi, *Hist. Gymnasii Navarreni*, in his *Opp.* tom. iv. par. i. p. 722. Launoi also speaks of him in other places, as p. 296, 297, 330. See Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 280, 307, 341, &c. [John Buridan was a native of Bethune in Artois, studied at Paris under Occam, and taught philosophy there with great applause. He wrote commentaries on Aristotle's logic, morals, and metaphysics, which are still extant. Some say that he was rector of the university of Paris, and that he afterwards went to Vienna, and there commenced that university; but these circumstances as well as the exact time when he lived are uncertain. To him is ascribed the noted metaphysical maxim, that a hungry ass placed between two equal bundles of hay would not be able to eat of either. See Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, art. *Buridan.*—*Mur.*

[3] Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. iv. p. 532.

[4] Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 257, tom. v. p. 708. D'Argentre, *Collectio Judicior. de Novis Erroribus*, tom. i. p. 337. On the contests of these sects in England, see Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 169, &c.

[5] See Imola, in Muratori's *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 1039; Le Bœuf's *Dissertations sur l' Hist. de Paris*, tome iii. p. 445, &c.

caution was neglected to his ruin by Cecchus Asculanus, a very noted Peripatetic philosopher, astrologer, mathematician, and physician first to the pontiff John XXII. and then to Charles Lackland, duke of Calabria. For, having by mechanical arts performed some things which appeared miraculous to the vulgar, and by his predictions which were reported to have proved true, given offence both to his patron and to others, he was looked upon as having intercourse with the devil, and was committed to the flames by the Inquisitors at Florence, A.D. 1327.[1] His Commentary on the Sphere of John de Sacrobusto is still extant, and is represented as affording proof of the extreme superstition of the author.[2]

9. A new and singular species of art was invented and elucidated in numerous treatises by Raymund Lully of Majorca, a man of a singular and very fertile genius, a compound of folly and reason, who after many journeys and various efforts for the advancement of the Christian cause, was put to death in the year 1315 at Bugia in Africa by the Mohammedans whom he attempted to convert to the Christian faith. The Franciscans, to whose third order he is said to have belonged, extol him to the skies, and have long endeavoured most earnestly to persuade the pontiffs to enrol him among the saints; but the Dominicans and others, on the contrary, endeavour to make him a heretic, a magician, a delirious alchymist, a compiler from the works of the Mohammedans; and some represent him as deranged and a fanatic. Of the pontiffs, some have pronounced him an innocent and pious man, and others a heretic and irreligious. Those who will read his works without prejudice will coincide with neither party. Lully would have been truly a great man, if the warmth and fertility of his imagination had been tempered and restrained by a sound judgment.[3]

[1] An apology for him was written by Appian, the Jesuit, which may be seen in Bernini's *Storia di tutte l'Heresie*, tom. iii. sæcul. xiv. c. iii. p. 210, &c. An account is also given of this unhappy philosopher and poet (for he was also a poet) by Crescembeni, *Commentarj della Volgar Poësia*, vol. ii. par. ii. lib. iii. c. 14.

[2] Naudè, *Apologie pour les Grands qui ont soupsonnez de Magie*, p. 270, &c.

[3] See Salzinger's Preface to the works of Raymund Lully, which the elector Palatine, John William, caused to be collected and published at a great expense in five vols. folio, A.D. 1720; Wadding's *Annales Min.* tom. iv. p. 421, &c. tom. v. p. 157, 316, &c. tom. vi. p. 229, &c. On the famous *Lullian Art*, see Morhof's *Polyhistor*, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 352, &c. ["It consisted in collecting a number of general terms common to all the sciences, of which an alphabetical table was to be provided. Subjects and predicates taken from these were to be respectively inscribed in angular spaces upon circular papers. The essences, qualities, affections, and relations of things being thus mechanically brought together, the circular papers of subjects were fixed in a frame, and those of predicates were so placed upon them as to move freely, and in their revolutions to produce various combinations of subjects and predicates, whence would arise definitions, axioms, and propositions, varying endlessly." See Rees's *Cyclopædia*, art. *Lully Raymond;* Brücker's *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. iv. p. 9, &c. The Life of Lully, written by a contemporary, is in the *Acta Sanctor. Antwerp*, tom. v. p. 633, &c. He is said to have been born A.D. 1236, to have been dissipated in his youth, and afterwards to have applied himself much to chemistry, as well as to metaphysics and theology. He died aged 79, A.D. 1315. As a chemist, Boerhaave thought him much in advance of his age, if the works ascribed to him are all genuine.—*Mur.*

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

1. THAT the governors of the church, as well the prelates as those of lower rank, were addicted to all those vices which are the most unbecoming in men in their stations, is testified most abundantly. As for the Greek and oriental clergy, many of whom lived under oppressive governments, I shall say nothing, although their blemishes are sufficiently manifest. But of the faults of the Latins silence would be the less proper, in proportion to the certainty that from this source the whole community was involved in the greatest calamities. All the honest and good men of that age ardently wished for a reformation of the church both in its head and members, as they themselves expressed it.[4] But to so desirable an event

[4] Math. Flacius, *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, lib. xiii. p. 1697; Launoi, *De Varia Fortuna Aristotelis*, p. 217; Hottinger, *Hist. Eccles.* sæcul. xiv. p. 754. [See Raynald's *Annal. Eccles.* ad ann. 1311, sec. 56—65. tom. xv. p. 87—90. From a manuscript account of the transactions of the council of Vienne, A.D. 1311, found in the Vatican library, Raynald here quotes largely a document offered to the council by a prelate distinguished by his piety and learning, who stated that in most parts of France, Sundays and the principal festivals, instead of being days for public worship were the market days and the days for assize courts and public fairs. So that, instead of being distinguished by the honours paid to God, they were days for serving the devil. The churches were left empty, while the courtrooms and the taverns resounded with broils, tumults, blasphemies, and perjuries, and nearly all the wickedness of Pagans. And the people grew up in almost total ignorance of religion; God was dishonoured, the devil reigned, souls perished, and religion was stricken to the ground. In some parts of the same kingdom, the rural archdeacons, archpresbyters, and deans, instead of inflicting ecclesiastical censures only for heinous sins, wantonly excommunicated whom they pleased, and sometimes 300 or 400 at once, for the slightest offences and even for no offence at all. In this way the people had become disgusted, had lost all reverence for ecclesiastical law, and were loud and open in their censures of the church and its officers. To remedy this evil, more care must be taken not to admit unfit persons to holy orders. In this the church had committed a great error; for numerous vile and contemptible persons, whose lives, knowledge, and morals, rendered them totally unfit, were admitted to holy orders, especially to the priesthood. And hence the whole sacred order was disgraced, the sacred ministry censured, and the church scandalized, while the people beheld in the church a licentious multitude of priests in the highest degree unworthy, whose hateful lives and pernicious ignorance gave rise to numberless scandals, and caused even the sacraments to be despised. In many places

there were still many obstacles. First, the power of the pontiffs was so confirmed by its long continuance, that it seemed to be immoveably established. In the next place, extravagant superstition held the minds of most persons in abject slavery. And lastly, the ignorance and barbarism of the times quickly extinguished the sparks of truth which now and then glimmered forth. Yet the dominion of the Roman pontiffs, impregnable and durable as it seemed to be, was gradually undermined and weakened in this century, partly by the rash insolence of the pontiffs themselves, and partly by the occurrence of certain unexpected events.

2. The commencement of this important change must be referred to the contest between Boniface VIII. who governed the Latin church at the beginning of this century, and Philip the Fair, king of France. For this high-minded sovereign first taught the Europeans what the emperors had in vain attempted, that the Romish bishops could be vanquished and controlled. In a very haughty letter addressed to Philip, Boniface maintained that all kings and persons whatsoever, and the king of France as well as others, by divine command owed perfect obedience to the Roman pontiff, and this not merely in religious matters, but likewise in secular and human affairs. The king replied with great severity. The pontiff repeated his former assertions with greater arrogance, and published the celebrated bull, called *Unam sanctam*,[1] in which he asserted that Jesus Christ had granted a twofold power or sword to his church, a spiritual and a temporal, that the whole human race was subjected to the pontiff, and that all who dissented from this doctrine were heretics, and could not expect to be saved.[2] The king on the contrary in an assembly of his nobles, A.D. 1303, through the famous lawyer, William de Nogaret,[3] publicly accused the pontiff of heresy, simony, dishonesty, and other enormities; and he urged the calling of a general council for deposing the guilty pontiff from his office. The pope, in return, excommunicated the king and all his adherents the same year.

3. Soon after receiving this sentence, Philip in an assembly of the states of his kingdom, again entered a formal complaint against the pontiff by men of the highest reputation and influence, and appealed to the decision of a future general council of

the priests were more hateful and contemptible to the laity than even the Jews. The monks no longer confined themselves to their cloisters and their proper duties. Many lived two or three together in the little priories scattered over the country, where they were subject to no restraints, and had almost nothing but the name and garb of monks. And those who pretended to live in the cloisters, wholly neglected the observance of their rules and their exercises, travelled as traders and merchants, attended the fairs, and lived like laymen. Multitudes of persons from all parts of the world, whose lives and morals were detestable, hovered around the Romish court, petitioning for livings even before they became vacant, especially in those regions where the bishops ordained without much examination, and showed great deference to the pope. And these vile persons were so often gratified that the churches were dilapidated the gospel scandalized, and the church of God blasphemed. The prelates could neither furnish fit persons with livings nor the livings with fit persons, on account of the multitudes who thus obtained appointments at Rome. In one cathedral of only thirty prebends, there were then thirty-five persons entitled to those livings; and for twenty-three years the bishop had been able to appoint only two persons of his own choice. These obtrusive priests rarely became residents, or if they did, they were a scandal to the church. Thus the church of God was in fact left without pastors, and the people lived in ignorance and sin. For if the bishops trained here and there a fit person for the ministry, they could seldom introduce him to a living, so that he had at last to betake himself to some worldly calling, while the church livings were lavished upon non-residents and unworthy persons appointed at Rome. Pluralities had become so common that many persons held four or five benefices, and sometimes ten or twelve, in different and sometimes distant places, without serving any one of them. Thus a single individual sometimes obtained an income sufficient to support fifty or sixty well informed ministers and teachers; and the resources of the church were so wasted upon pluralists and non-residents, that the schools were left destitute of instructors, and the parishes without curates; and the bishops could not remove the evil. Children also were in great numbers put in possession of ecclesiastical dignities and livings, though utterly incapable of fulfilling the duties of the sacred office. And such was the corruption of the times, that if here and there the election of a curate was in the power of the people, they generally preferred one ignorant and vicious, a demagogue who flattered and indulged their vicious propensities. The prelates, alas! were too often blind leaders of the blind. Simony was common among them, and the clergy were in general profligate, *ventri suo non Christo Domino servientes*. — *Mur.*

[1] The papal bulls are usually quoted by jurists and writers on canon law by the words with which they begin; thus, another bull by Boniface is styled *Clericis laicos;* that of Clement V. respecting the mendicant orders is called *Exivi de paradiso;* that of Clement VI. for the jubilee, and proclaiming for the first time the theory of indulgences, is called *Unigenitus;* that of Leo X. against Luther is styled *Exsurge Domine*, and so forth. — *R.*

[2] This bull is extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon. Extravagant. Commun.* lib. ii. tit. [viii. cap. i.] *De Majoritate et Obedientia.* [In this bull the pontiff asserts that there is but one church of Christ under one head, as there was but one ark under the command of Noah, all out of which necessarily perish; that the sole head of the church on earth is Christ's vicegerent St. Peter and his successors, who are amenable to none but God; that both swords, the spiritual and the material, are in the power of the church; the latter to be wielded for the church, or by kings and soldiers at the nod and pleasure of the priesthood, and the former to be wielded by the church or the priesthood; and the temporal power is subjected to the spiritual, otherwise the church would be a double-headed monster; that whoever resists this order of things, resists the ordinance of God; and he concludes thus — We declare, determine, and decree, that it is absolutely necessary to salvation that every human being should be subject to the Roman pontiff. — *Mur.*

[3] Of this celebrated lawyer, who was the most bold and determined enemy the pontiffs ever had before Luther, none have given a fuller account than the Benedictine monks, in their *Hist. Générale de Languedoc*, tome iii. p. 114. 117, &c. Philip made him chancellor of France for his heroic opposition to the pontiff.

the church. He then dispatched William de Nogaret, with some others into Italy, to rouse the people to insurrection, and to bring the pontiff prisoner to Lyons, where he intended the council should be held. Nogaret who was a resolute and energetic man, having drawn over to his interest the Colonna family who were at variance with the pontiff raised a small force, suddenly attacked Boniface who was living securely at Anagni, made him prisoner, wounded him, and among other severe indignities struck him on the head with his iron gauntlet. The people of Anagni indeed rescued the pontiff from the hands of his furious enemy; but he died shortly after at Rome in the month of October, from the violence of his rage and anguish of mind.[1]

4. Benedict XI. previously Nicolaus of Trevisa, the successor of Boniface, profiting by his example, restored the king of France and his kingdom to their former honours and privileges, without even being solicited; but he was unwilling to absolve from his crime Nogaret, who had so grievously offended against the pontifical dignity. This daring man therefore prosecuted strenuously the suit commenced against Boniface in the Romish court, and in the name of the king, demanded that a mark of infamy should be set upon the deceased pontiff. Benedict XI. died in the year 1304; and Philip, by his secret machinations, caused Bertrand de Got, a Frenchman and bishop of Bourdeaux, to be created pontiff at Rome on the 5th of June, A.D. 1305. For, the contest of the king against the pontiffs was not yet wholly settled, Nogaret not being absolved, and it might easily break out again. Besides, the king thirsted for revenge, and designed to extort from the court of Rome a condemnation of Boniface; he also meditated the destruction of the Templars and other things of great importance, which he could hardly expect from an Italian pontiff. He therefore wished to have a French pontiff whom he could control according to his pleasure, and who would be in a degree dependent on him. The new pontiff who took the name of Clement V. remained in France, as the king wished, and transferred the pontifical court to Avignon, where it continued for seventy years. This period the Italians call the Babylonian Captivity.[2]

5. It is certain that this residence of the pontiffs at Avignon was in no slight degree injurious to the authority of the Romish see. For the pontiffs being at a distance, the Gibelline faction in Italy, which was hostile to the pontiffs, assumed greater boldness than formerly, and not only invaded and laid waste the territories of St. Peter, but also assailed the pontifical authority by their publications. Hence a number of cities revolted from the popes, Rome itself became the parent and fomenter of tumults, cabals, and civil wars; and the laws and decrees sent thither from France were publicly treated with contempt, not merely by the nobles but even by the common citizens.[3] A great part of Europe followed the example of Italy, and numberless instances show that the people of Europe attributed far less power to the fulminations and decrees issued from France, than to those issued from Rome. Various seditions therefore were raised in one place and another against the pontiffs, which they were unable to restrain and subdue, notwithstanding the Inquisitors were most active in the discharge of their functions.

6. As the French pontiffs could derive but little revenue from Italy which was rent into factions, seditious, and devastated, they were obliged to devise new modes of raising money. Therefore they not only sold indulgences to the people more frequently than formerly, to the great indignation of kings and princes, but they required enormous prices to be paid for their letters or bulls of every kind. In this affair John XXII. showed himself peculiarly adroit and shrewd; for though he did not first invent the regulations and fees of the apostolic chancery, yet the Romish writers admit that he enlarged them and reduced them to a more convenient form.[4]

[1] See the *Acta inter Bonifacium VIII. Benedictum XI. Clementum V. et Philippum pulchrum*, enlarged and corrected by Peter Puteanus [de Puy], as the title-page asserts; published 1618, 8vo, but without notice of the place of publication. [The compiler of the work was a Parisian divine named Simon Vigor. The first edition was published at Paris, 1613, 4to, and the third was in French, Paris, 1655, fol. entitled *Histoire du Différend de Philippe le Bel et de Boniface VIII. produite par les Actes et Mémoires originaux.*—*Schl.*] Baillet, *Histoire des démêlez du Boniface VIII. avec Philippe le Bel*; Paris, 1718, 12mo; Jo. Rubens, in his *Bonifacius*, cap. xvi. p. 137, &c. The other writers are mentioned by Baillet, in his Preface, p. 9, &c. Add Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 4, &c. [and Gifford's *History of France*, vol. i. p. 518, &c.—*Mur.* [On this memorable contest between Boniface and Philip, so pregnant with important results to the papacy, see the entire section 59 with its quotations, in Giesseler, *Lehrbuch*, &c. Cunningham's transl. vol. ii. p. 237—250, with the modern French historians, Sismondi and Michelet.—*R.*

[2] Concerning the French pontiffs, the writer to be especially consulted is Baluze, *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* in two volumes, Paris, 1693, 4to. The reader may also peruse, though it should be with caution, Longueval and his continuators, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tome xii. &c. This Jesuit and his successors in the work, are eloquent and laborious; but they often artfully conceal the abominable deeds of the pontiffs.

[3] See Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 290, 261, 301, 309, 333, and various other places; Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 397, 401, 409, &c.; Giannone, *Hist. de Naples*, tome iii. p 280, &c.

[4] Ciampini, *De Vicecancellario Ecclesiæ Roman.* p

He is also said to have imposed that species of tribute which under the title of annates is customarily paid to the pontiffs; but the first commencement of it was prior to this period.[1] Moreover, these French pontiffs, subverting the rights of election, assumed the power of conferring all sacred offices whether high or low, according to their own pleasure, by which means they raised immense sums of money. Hence under these pontiffs those most odious terms, reservation, provision, and expectative, rarely used before, were now everywhere heard, and they called forth the bitterest complaints from all the nations of Europe.[2] These complaints increased immeasurably when some of the pontiffs, as John XXII. Clement VI. Gregory XI. publicly announced that they had reserved all churches to themselves, and that they would provide for all without exception by virtue of the sovereign right which Christ had conferred on his vicars, or in the plenitude of their power.[3] By these and other artifices for filling their treasury and amassing property, these indiscreet pontiffs increased the odium against the apostolic see, and thus weakened very considerably the papal empire, which began to decline from the time of Boniface.

7. Clement V. was governed all his life by the will and pleasure of Philip the Fair, king of France. William de Nogaret, the implacable foe of Boniface VIII. though excommunicated, resolutely prosecuted his own cause and that of king Philip against Boniface in the papal court, a transaction which I believe is without a parallel. Philip wished to have the body of Boniface disinterred and publicly burned. With great difficulty Clement averted this infamy by his entreaties and advice, but in everything else he had to obey the king. Accordingly he abrogated the laws enacted by Boniface, granted the king five years' tithes, absolved Nogaret from all crime after imposing on him a slight penance which he never performed, restored the inhabitants of Anagni to their former reputable and good standing, and held a general council at Vienne A.D. 1311, that Philip's pleasure might be gratified in the suppression of the Templars. In this council likewise various things were decided according to the pleasure of the king, whom Clement dared not offend, being terrified by the melancholy fate of Boniface.[4]

8. On the death of Clement A.D. 1314, there were violent contests among the cardinals respecting the election of a successor, the French demanding a French pontiff and the Italians an Italian. After two years the French gained the victory; and in 1316 James de Euse of Cahors, cardinal of Porto, was made head of the church and assumed the pontifical name of John XXII. He was not destitute of learning, but was crafty, insolent, weak, imprudent, and avaricious, as those who honour his memory do not altogether deny. He rendered himself notorious by many imprudent and unsuccessful enterprises, but especially by his unfortunate contest with the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria. There was a contest for the empire of Germany between Lewis of Bavaria and Frederick of Austria, each being chosen emperor by a part of the electors in the year 1314. John declared that the decision of this controversy belonged to him. But Lewis, having conquered his rival in battle and taken him prisoner in the year 1322, assumed the government of the empire without consulting the pontiff, and refused to submit a cause which had been decided by the sword to another trial before the pontiff. John was greatly offended at this, and in the year 1324 divested the emperor of all title to the imperial crown. Lewis in return accused the pontiff of corrupting the faith or of heresy, and appealed to the decision of a council. Exasperated by this and some other things, the pontiff in the year 1327 again divested the emperor of all his authority and power, and laid him under excommunication. In revenge for this injury the emperor in the year 1328 at Rome publicly declared John unworthy of the pontificate, and substituted in his place

39, &c.; Chais, *Lettres sur les Jubilés*, tome ii. p. 673, and others.

[1] Van Espen, *Jus Eccles. Universale*, tom. ii. p. 876; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iv. p. 911; Wood's *Antiq. Oxon* tom. i. p. 213; Berthier, *Dissert. sur les Annates*, in his *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tome xii. p. 1, &c. [The *Annates* were the first year's revenues of a benefice, which every new incumbent was required to remit to the pontiff's treasury. By constantly advancing clergymen from poorer to richer benefices and prohibiting pluralities, these *annates*, it will be seen, might be made the source of immense income, when levied throughout Christendom upon all the numberless officers in the churches and monasteries. First Fruits exacted by Henry VIII. of England, were the *annates* of the bishoprics which the king took from the pope after the Reformation in that country.—*Mur.*

[2] Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. ii. p. 479, 518; and his *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 60, 63, 65, 74, 154, 156; *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. Append. p. 13; Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 148, 201, 202; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 911, &c.

[3] Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 873, tom. i. p. 285. 311, 681, &c.; Matthæus, *Analecta Vet. Ævi*, tom. v. p. 349, &c.; *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 69, 1208, *Hist. du Droit Ecclésiast. Français*, tome ii. p. 129, &c.

[4] Besides the common writers already cited, see Berthier's *Discours sur le Pontificat de Clement V.* in his *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tome xii.; Colonia's *Hist. Littér. de Lyon*, tome i. p. 340; *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 1189, and tom. ii. p. 829

De Corbieri, a Franciscan monk and one of those who disagreed with the pontiff; and assuming the name of Nicolaus V. he crowned Lewis as emperor. But in the year 1330 this imperial pontiff voluntarily abdicated his office and surrendered himself into the hands of John, who kept him a prisoner at Avignon till his death. Thus John continued to reign in spite of the emperor, and the emperor in spite of the pontiff.[1]

9. On the side of Lewis stood the whole mass of the Fratricelli, the Beghards of every description, and the Spirituals or more rigid among the Franciscans; and these being scattered over a large part of Europe and supported by the protection of Lewis, everywhere assailed John with reproaches and criminations, both orally and in books, and charged him with religious apostacy. The pontiff however was not greatly injured by these private attacks; but towards the close of his life he fell under the disapprobation and censure of nearly the whole church. For in the years 1331 and 1332 he taught in some public discourses that departed souls would indeed behold the man Christ, but would not see the face of God or the divine nature until their reunion with the body at the last day. With this doctrine Philip VI. the king of France, was highly displeased, the theologians of Paris condemned it in 1333, and both the friends and the foes of the pontiff were opposed to it. For it appeared to them that the pontiff detracted much from the blessedness of departed spirits. To an opposition so serious John, though naturally pertinacious, had to give way. He therefore first apologized for the doctrine; and afterwards when near the point of death A.D. 1334, he did not indeed abandon it, but he qualified it by saying that he believed souls in the intermediate state saw the divine essence, so far as the state and condition of the unembodied spirit would permit.[2] But this declaration did not satisfy his opponents. Hence after various disputes his successor, Benedict XII. terminated the controversy agreeably to the decision of the Parisian doctors, by declaring the true faith to be, that the souls of the blessed when separate from the body fully and perfectly behold the divine nature or God himself.[3] Benedict could do this without impeaching his predecessor, because John when dying submitted his opinion to the judgment of the church, lest perhaps after death he should be classed among heretics.[4]

10. On the death of John A.D. 1334, new contests between the French and the Italians respecting the choice of a pontiff, divided the college of cardinals. But near the close of the year, James Fournier, a Frenchman, cardinal of St. Prisca, was chosen and assumed the name of Benedict XII. Historians allow him the praise of being an upright and honest man, and void alike of avarice and the love of power.[5] During his reign the controversy with the emperor Lewis was at rest. For although he did not restore him to church communion, being prevented as is reported by the king of France, yet he did not attempt anything against him. He saw the existing evils in the church, and some of them as far as he could he removed; in particular he laboured to reform by decrees and ordinances the sects of monks, both the mendicant and the opulent orders. But death removed him when he was contemplating more and greater changes, A.D. 1342. With the exception of his superstition, the common fault of the age, we shall find nothing to prevent our declaring this pontiff to be a man of a right spirit.

11. Of a different spirit was his successor Clement VI. who was likewise a French-

[1] This great contest is to be learned principally from the *Records* of it, published by Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 512, &c.; by Martene, *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 641, &c.; by Herwart in his *Ludovicus Imperator defensus contra Bzovium*, Munich, 1618, 4to; and by Gewold in his *Apologia pro Ludovico Bavaro.* Ingolst. 1618, 4to, against the same Bzovius, who in his *Annales* had basely defamed the character of this emperor. Add Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, tom. vii. p. 77, 106, &c. Whoever considers attentively the history of this contest will perceive that Lewis of Bavaria took for his pattern Philip the Fair, king of France. As the latter brought the charge of heresy against Boniface, so did Lewis against John XXII. The French king employed Nogaret and others as accusers; Lewis employed [William] Occam, and the Franciscan monks. [Marsilius of Padua, John of Ghent, and Ulrich Hangoer.—*Mur.*] Each wished to have a general council called, by which the pontiff should be hurled from the chair of St. Peter. I omit to mention other parallels.

[2] See Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenionens.* tom. i. p. 175, 177, 182, 197, 221, 786, &c.; D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. i. p. 760, ed. vet.; Launoi, *Hist. Gymnasii Navarr.* p. 1, cap. vii. in his *Opp.* tom. iv. par. i. p. 319; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 235, 250; Wadding, *Annales Minor.* tom. vi. p. 371, tom. vii. p. 145; Echard, *Scriptores Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 599, 608.

[3] Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 197, 216, 221, 224, 226, &c.

[4] All this Pope's heretical fancies about the Beatific Vision were nothing in comparison with a vile and most enormous practical heresy which was found in his coffers after his death, viz. five-and-twenty millions of florins, of which there were eighteen in specie and the rest in plate, jewels, crowns, mitres, and other precious baubles, all which he had squeezed out of the people and the inferior clergy during his pontificate. See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. xciv. sec xxxix.—*Mad.*

[5] See the *Fragmenta Historiæ Romanæ*, in Muratori's *Antiq. Italic.* tom. iii. p. 275; Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 205, 218, 240, &c.; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 253, &c. [It was the jovial habits of this Pope which occasioned the saying.—"Bibamus Papaliter." Milman's Gibbon's *Decl. and Fall*, vol. xii. p. 69.—*R.*

man named Peter Roger, and cardinal of St. Nereus and St. Achilles. Without stating all his censurable deeds, I observe that he trod in the steps of John XXII. by his provisions and reservations of churches, which was evidence of his base avarice; and further, that he conferred the most important spiritual offices on foreigners and Italians, which produced controversy between him and the kings of France and England; and lastly, that he exhibited the arrogance and pride of his heart, among other things, by renewing the war with Lewis the Bavarian. For in the year 1343 he hurled new thunders at the emperor; and finding these to be contemned by Lewis, in the year 1346 he devoted him again to execration, and persuaded the princes of Germany to elect Charles IV. son [grandson] to Henry VII. for their emperor. A civil war would now have broken out in Germany, had not the death of Lewis in 1347 prevented it. Clement followed him to the grave in 1352, famous for nothing but his zeal for exalting the majesty of the pontiffs, and for annexing Avignon, which he bought of Joanna queen of Naples, to the patrimony of St. Peter.[1]

12. There were more moderation and probity in Innocent VI. or Stephen Albert, a Frenchman, previously bishop of Ostia, who governed the church ten years and died A.D. 1362. He favoured his own relatives too much; but in other respects he encouraged the pious and the well informed, held the monks to their duty, abstained from reserving churches, and did many things worthy of commendation. His successor, William Grimoard, abbot of St. Victor at Marseilles, who assumed the name of Urban V. was also free from great faults, if we except those which are almost inseparable from the office of a Pope. Overcome by the entreaties of the Romans he removed to Rome in the year 1367, but returned again to Avignon in 1370, in order to make peace between the king of England and the king of France, and died there the same year.[2]

13. He was succeeded by Peter Roger, a Frenchman of noble birth, under the pontifical name of Gregory XI. Inferior to his predecessors in virtue, he exceeded them in energy and audacity. Under him great and dangerous commotions disturbed Italy and the city of Rome. The Florentines especially waged fierce war with the Romish church, and were successful in it.[3] To restore the tranquillity of Italy and recover the territories and cities taken from the patrimony of St. Peter, Gregory in the year 1376 transferred his residence from Avignon to Rome. One Catharinè, a virgin of Sus, whom that credulous age took to be a prophetess divinely inspired, came to Avignon, and by her exhortations greatly contributed to this measure.[4] But Gregory soon after repented of his removal, for by their long absence from Italy the authority of the pontiffs was so fallen there, that the Romans and the Florentines had no scruple to insult and abuse him in various ways. He therefore purposed to return to Avignon, but was prevented by death which removed him from earthly scenes in the year 1378.[5]

14. After the death of Gregory XI. the cardinals being assembled to provide for a successor, the Roman people fearing lest a Frenchman should be elected who would remove to Avignon, with furious clamours and threats demanded that an Italian should be placed at the head of the church without delay. The terrified cardinals proclaimed Bartholomew de Pregnano, who was a Neapolitan by birth and archbishop of Bari, to be elected pontiff, and he assumed the name of Urban VI. This new pontiff, by his coarse manners, his injudicious severity, and his intolerable haughtiness, alienated the minds of all from him, but especially the cardinals. These therefore withdrew to Fondi, a city in the kingdom of Naples, and there created another pontiff, Robert, count of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII. alleging that Urban was elected only in pretence in order to quiet the rage of the people of Rome. Which of these was the legitimate and true pontiff still remains uncertain, nor can it be fully ascertained from the records and documents which have been published in great abundance by both parties.[6] Urban

[1] Biographies of this pontiff may be found in Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 143, &c. and in Muratori, *Scriptores Rer. Italic.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 550, &c.—*Schl.*

[2] Of these Popes also there are several biographies; of Innocent VI. in Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 321, &c.; and in Muratori, *Scriptores Rer. Italicar.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 589, &c.; and of Urban V. in Baluze, *ubi supra*, p. 363, &c.; and in Muratori, *ubi supra*, p. 642, &c.—*Schl.*

[3] See here especially the *Epistolæ Coluccii Salutati*, written in the name of the Florentines, par. i. p. 47—100, p. 148, 162, and the Preface to par. ii. p. 18. I use the new edition at Florence by Mehus.

[4] See Longueval, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tome xiv. p. 159, 192.

[5] He was the son of William earl of Beaufort and brother's son to Pope Clement VI. His last will which is in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 378, is worthy of notice, as he there very frankly acknowledges his faults. His biography is in Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 426, &c.; and in Muratori's *Scriptores Rer. Italic.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 645, &c.—*Schl.*

[6] See the records and documents in Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 463, &c. in Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. ix. p. 12, &c. in Baluze's *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 442, 998, &c. and in the *Acta*

continued at Rome, Clement removed to Avignon in France. The cause of Clement was espoused by France, Spain, Scotland, Sicily, and Cyprus; the other countries of Europe acknowledged Urban for the true vicegerent of Christ.

15. Thus the unity of the Latin church as existing under one head, came to an end at the death of Gregory XI. and that most unhappy disunion ensued which is usually denominated the great Schism of the West.[1] For, during fifty years the church had two or three heads, and the contemporary pontiffs assailed each other with excommunications, maledictions, and plots. The calamities and distress of those times are indescribable. For besides the perpetual contentions and wars between the pontifical factions, which were ruinous to great numbers, involving them in the loss of life or of property, nearly all sense of religion was in many places extinguished, and wickedness daily acquired greater impunity and boldness; the clergy, previously corrupt, now laid aside even the appearance of piety and godliness, while those who called themselves Christ's vicegerents were at open war with each other; and the conscientious people, who believed no one could be saved without living in subjection to Christ's vicar, were thrown into the greatest perplexity and anxiety of mind.[2] Yet both the church and the state received very considerable advantages from these great calamities. For the sinews of the pontifical power were severed by these dissensions and could not afterwards be restored; and kings and princes who had before been in a sense the servants of the pontiffs, now became their judges and masters. Moreover, great numbers possessing some measure of discernment, despised and disregarded these pontiffs who could fight for empire; and committing themselves and their salvation into the hands of God, concluded that the church and religion might exist and be safe without any visible head.

16. On the death of Urban V. A.D. 1389, the Italian cardinals, his partisans, elected for his successor at Rome Peter Thomacelli, a Neapolitan, known among the pontiffs by the name of Boniface IX. And Clement VII. dying in the year 1394, the French cardinals appointed as his successor Peter de Luna, a Spaniard, who assumed the name of Benedict XIII. In the mean time kings, princes, bishops, and theologians, proposed and attempted various methods for extinguishing this schism. It was generally thought that the safest and best method was that of voluntary resignation (*via cessionis*), as they expressed it.[3] But neither of the pontiffs could be induced to resign either by entreaties, threats, or promises. The French church greatly displeased by this obstinacy, in the year 1397 withdrew itself from the dominion and authority of both pontiffs in a council held at Paris. This decree being published in the year 1398, Benedict XIII. was detained as a prisoner by order of Charles VI. king of France, in his own palace at Avignon.[4]

17. The vices and faults of the great body of the monks were seen even by some of the Roman pontiffs, and especially by Clement XII. who looked upon them with abhorrence and laboured to cure and remove them; but the vast and difficult undertaking was unsuccessful. At the head of the monks and indeed of the whole church stood the Mendicants, particularly

Sanctor. tom i. April. p. 728, &c. There are also some unpublished documents in my possession which throw much light on this controversy, yet do not decide it. [The whole question must be tried according to ecclesiastical law, and according to that both elections were undoubtedly liable to exceptions.— *Schl.*

[1] For an account of this schism see Peter Puteanus (de Puy) *Histoire du Schisme qui a été en l'Eglise depuis l'an* 1378, *jusqu'en l'an* 1428, Paris, 1654, 4to, which as the preface informs us was compiled from documents in the archives of the king of France, and is worthy of credit. Neither is Maimbourg's *Histoire du Grand Schisme d' Occident* to be despised, though the writer is here and there manifestly partial. Many documents are contained in Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. and v. and Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 1074, &c. The common writers, as Nat. Alexander, Raynald, Bzovius, Spondanus, Du Pin, I omit to name as usual. [On the origin and progress of this schism and the attempts to reconcile it, see especially *Gieseler*, in sec. 101, 102, and 103, of his *Lehrbuch*, &c.; Cunningham's transl. vol. iii. p. 58—70, with his authorities.— *R.*

[2] On the great evils of this schism there are direct remarks in the *Hist. du Droit publique Ecclés. François*, tome ii. p. 166, 193, 202, &c. [See also in Gieseler, *ubi supra*, vol. iii. p. 71, an important section (104) on the effects of this schism upon public sentiment in ecclesiastical matters. — *R.*

[3] In reality the university of Paris proposed three ways of terminating the schism, the voluntary resignation of both (via cessionis), an agreement between them (via compromissi), and reference to the decision of a general council (via deliberationis per concilium universale). Among all these, that by resignation was thought to be the easiest; but this supposed the pontiffs to be ingenuous and to make the good of the church their primary object, which was not the fact. In order to facilitate this project, the king and the nobles of France with the university of Paris used all their exertions, after the death of Clement, to prevent a new election at Avignon. But the cardinals were of a different mind. They went into conclave and elected Benedict XIII. yet previously binding themselves by a solemn oath that the person elected, on the return of tranquillity, should himself labour to bring about a resignation of both, if the majority of the cardinals should see it to be best But neither Benedict nor his opposer Boniface would have anything to do with a resignation. The pleasure and the honour of being Pope outweighed all considerations of patriotism; and it was not till the next century that the church was so happy as to see this schism removed.— *Schl.*

[4] Besides the common writers see Longueval, *Hist. de l' Eglise Gallicane*, tome xiv. and the Records themselves, in Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 829, &c.

the Dominicans and Franciscans, by whose counsels and pleasure everything of importance was transacted, both at the court of Rome and in the cabinets of princes. So high was the reputation of those brethren for sanctity and for influence with God, that the most distinguished persons of both sexes, some while in health and others when sick and in the near prospect of death, wished to be received into their orders, for the purpose of securing the favour of God. Many carefully inserted in their last wills that they would have their corpses wrapped in a sordid Dominican or Franciscan garment, and be buried among the Mendicants. For the amazing superstition and ignorance of the age led people to believe, that those would find Christ a gracious judge at the last day, who should appear before his tribunal associated with the Mendicant monks.

18. But this high reputation and vast influence of the Mendicants only inflamed still more the hatred which had long burned against them almost universally, in the higher and lower orders of the clergy, in the other monks and in the universities. Hence there was scarcely a country of Europe or a university in which one might not see bishops, priests, and theologians, eagerly contending against the Dominicans and Franciscans, who by means of the great privileges conferred on them by the pontiffs everywhere undermined the ancient discipline of the church, and assumed to themselves the direction of all religious matters. In England the university of Oxford firmly resisted the Dominicans;[1] and Richard of Armagh,[2] Henry Crump, Norris, and others, assailed with great energy all the Mendicant orders.[3] The most zealous of these, Richard of Armagh, went to the court of Innocent VI. in the year 1356, and there pleaded the cause of the church against them with amazing ardour, until his death in 1360.[4] In France various persons, and among them those of the university of Paris, laboured in a more private way to overthrow the power of the Mendicants;[5] but John de Polliac, a doctor of theology, publicly denied that the Dominicans and Franciscans had power to grant full absolution to persons confessing sins to them, or that the pontiffs were able to give them such power, so long as the canon called *Omnis Utriusque Sexus* remained in force; whence he inferred that those who would be sure of salvation must confess their sins to their parish priests, notwithstanding they had absolution from the monks. But all these adversaries effected little or nothing, for the pontiffs vigorously defended these their best friends and supporters against all attacks secret or open. The opinion of John de Polliac was condemned by a special decree of John XXII. in the year 1321.[6]

19. But among all the foes of the Mendicant orders no one has obtained greater fame, both good and ill, among posterity than John Wickliffe, an Englishman, doctor and professor of theology at Oxford, and afterwards rector of Lutterworth [in Leicestershire], a man of an acute mind, and for the age in which he lived of great learning. After the example of Richard of Armagh and many others of the best men in his country, he in the year 1360 first vigorously defended the rights of the University of Oxford against the sects which professed voluntary poverty, at the same time slightly censuring also the pontiffs who were their chief patrons; nor did any lover of his country consider him as criminal on this account. Afterwards when Simon Langham, archbishop of Canterbury, deprived him of the wardenship of Canter-

[1] See Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 150, 154, 196, &c.

[2] Richard Fitz-Ralph or Richard Radulphus was a native of Ireland, professor of theology at Oxford, much esteemed by king Richard III. of England, created by him dean of Lichfield, and A.D. 1333 chancellor of Oxford. In the year 1347, Clement VI. by his pontifical right of provision constituted him archbishop of Armagh in Ireland. He strenuously opposed the Mendicants both before and after his elevation to the see of Armagh. While at Oxford he exposed their vain and proud poverty in his public lectures, and when a bishop he came out still more powerfully against them. In 1356 he came to London, and there in his preaching published nine theses against them. They now accused him to the pope of heresy, and caused him to be cited to Avignon. He went there, and after three years' attendance, his cause not being yet decided, he was removed by death A.D. 1360. He has left us a number of sermons, a *Summa adversus Errores Armenorum*, and his defence against the Mendicants delivered at Avignon in 1357, besides several sermons and tracts never published. A little before his death, an Irish translation of the New Testament was found concealed in a wall of his church, which has been supposed to be his production.—*Mur.* [For a full account of this Irish forerunner of Wycliffe the reader is referred to Anderson's *Sketches of the Native Irish*, Edin. 1828, p. 13—18. The translation of the New Testament ascribed to him was found, according to Ussher, in the church of Armagh when under repair in the year 1530, but is not now extant.—*R.*

[3] See Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 181, 182, tom. ii. p. 61, 62; Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 338, 950; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 336; Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. viii. p. 126.

[4] See Simon's *Lettres Choisies*, tome i. p. 164, &c. I have before me in manuscript by Bartholomew de Brisaco (provincial of the Dominicans for Germany), *Solutiones oppositæ Richardi, Armachani Archiepiscopi, propositionibus contra Mendicantes in curia Romana coram Pontifice et Cardinalibus Factis*, A.D. 1360.

[5] See Launoi, *De Canone, Omnis Utriusque Sexus*, in his *Opp.* tom. i. par. i. p. 271, 274, 287, &c.; Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 10, and *Miscellanea*, tom. i. p. 253; D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. i. p. 112, &c.

[6] It was published by Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 1368. Add Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 132, 182, &c.

bury Hall in the University of Oxford A.D. 1367, and appointed a monk to succeed him, and the sovereign pontiff, Urban V. to whom he appealed, confirmed the decision of the archbishop, Wickliffe assailed with greater freedom, both in his writings and in his discourses, not only all the monks and their morals, but also the power of the pontiffs and some other things. From this he proceeded still farther, and in various treatises refuted a large part of the prevailing opinions on religious subjects, exhorted the people to read the sacred volume, translated the Scriptures into the English language [from the Vulgate] with his own hands, and expressed abhorrence of the prevailing grosser superstitions. It would be easy to show that neither the doctrines of Wickliffe were free from errors nor his life void of faults; and yet it is most certain that he advocated many things which were wise, true, and profitable.[1]

20. The monks whom Wickliffe had especially offended, commenced a great religious process against him in the pontifical court of Gregory XI. who in the year 1377 commanded Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, to try the cause in a council at London. From this imminent peril Wickliffe escaped unharmed, through the protection of the duke of Lancaster and other noblemen who were his friends. And as Gregory XI. died soon after, and the fatal schism in the Latin church ensued, one pontiff reigning at Rome and another at Avignon, this controversy remained long suspended. Upon a change in the state of affairs, William de Courtenay, archbishop of Canterbury, revived the controversy in 1385, and urged it on with great vehemence in two councils, the one held at London and the other at Oxford. The result was, that of the eighteen [twenty-four] opinions for which the monks accused him, nine were condemned as heresies and fifteen as errors; but Wickliffe returned in safety to Lutterworth, where he died in tranquillity, A.D. 1387. By what means he escaped this latter peril which was greater than the former, whether by the favour of the court or by denying and abjuring the opinions in controversy, does not appear.[2] He left a great number of followers both in England and out of it, who were denominated Wickliffites, and by a vulgar term of reproach

[1] His dialogues have lately been reprinted, Frankfort and Leipsic, 1753, 4to, from which may be learned not indeed all his opinions, but the general objects at which he aimed and the spirit of the man.

[2] A formal biography of this very eminent man was composed by John Lewis, *The History of the Life and Sufferings of John Wickliffe*, London, 1720, 8vo. He also published the *New Testament, in an English translation by John Wickliffe from the Latin version called the Vulgate*, London, 1731, fol. with a learned Preface, in which he treats of the life and sufferings of Wickliffe. [His life is also given in Gilpin's *Lives of the Reformers*, Lond. 1809. 2 vols. 8vo, in Middleton's *Biographia Evangelica*, vol. i. p. 1. &c. and in Milner's *History of the Church*, cent. xiv. ch. iii.—*Mur.*] The documents in relation to his trials are in Wilkins's *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 116, &c. 156, &c. Add Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 450, &c.; Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 183, &c. 186, &c. and in other places. [John Wickliffe or De Wickliffe, was born at the village of Wickliffe near Richmond in Yorkshire, about A.D. 1324, was sent early to Oxford where he was a commoner of Queen's College, and afterwards of Merton in which he became a fellow. Merton College about this time contained the following eminent men: Walter Burley, William Occam, Thomas Bradwardine, Simon Mepham, Simon Islip, and Geoffry Chaucer. Wickliffe was a hard student, a profound scholar, a sarcastic writer, and a subtle disputant. Philosophy, metaphysics, and theology were his favourite studies. In the year 1360 he distinguished himself by becoming the advocate of the university against the Mendicant monks, who infringed the laws of the university and enticed the students away to their monasteries. Wickliffe, whose English style was excellent for that age, wrote various tracts in opposition to them, and disputed against them with great success. In 1361 he was made master of Baliol College, and four years after warden of Canterbury Hall. In 1367, Langham, archbishop of Canterbury, ejected him from the wardenship, and he appealed to the pope, who delayed his decision three years, during which Wickliffe was severely lashing the monks and clergy, and did not spare the pontiff. In 1370 cardinal Andruynus, the papal commissioner, decided the cause against Wickliffe. Soon after he obtained the rectory of Lutterworth in the diocese of Lincoln, through the favour of the duke of Lancaster, which he held till his death, and in which he was a most active and faithful pastor. In 1372 he took his degree of D.D. and now read lectures on theology at Oxford with great applause. He here attacked not only the monks, but also the pope and the clergy, and confuted the prevailing errors of the day, both as to the doctrines of Christianity and the constitution of the Christian church. In 1374 the king appointed him one of his ambassadors to the pope, to remonstrate against the papal reservation of churches. After this he inveighed still more boldly against the pope in his lectures, calling him, "Antichrist, the proud, worldly priest of Rome, and the most cursed of clippers and purse-cutters." He also inveighed against the prelates. In 1376 the monks drew up nineteen articles, extracted from his public lectures and sermons, which they sent to the pope. The principal of these were: "That there is one only universal church, consisting of the whole body of the predestinate. That the eucharist after consecration was not the real body of Christ, but only an emblem or sign of it. That the church of Rome was no more the head of the universal church than any other church; and that St. Peter had no greater authority given him than the rest of the apostles.—That the pope had no more jurisdiction in the exercise of the keys than any other priest.—That if the church misbehaved, it was not only lawful but meritorious to dispossess her of her temporalities.—That when a prince or temporal lord was convinced that the church made an ill use of her endowments, he was bound under pain of damnation to take them away.—That the gospel was sufficient to direct a Christian in the conduct of his life.—That neither the pope nor any other prelate ought to have prisons for punishing offenders against the discipline of the church."—On the second of May, 1377, the pope issued five bulls addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London (who were directed to try the charges), to the king (who was desired to assist the bishops), and to the university of Oxford (ordering them to deliver up the accused). The king died before the bulls arrived, the university treated theirs with contempt, the prelates determined to proceed against him, and therefore summoned him to appear before them at London, within thirty days. During that interval parliament met and deliberated whether they might lawfully refuse to send treasure out of the kingdom when the pope required it to be sent. The resolution of this

brought from Belgium into England, Lollards; and these were everywhere grievously persecuted by the Inquisitors and other instruments of the pontiffs. Hence the council of Constance, A.D. 1415, condemned the memory and the opinions of Wickliffe in a solemn decree; in consequence of which, in the year 1428 his bones were dug up and publicly burned.

21. These numerous, talented, and influential adversaries, were utterly unable to bring the mendicant orders to give up their excessive pride and superstition, and to cease from deceiving the multitude with opinions injurious often to the divine character and to religion. The Franciscans especially in extolling the excellence of their institution, which they contended was the very gospel of Jesus Christ, and in eulogizing the founder of their order, whom they imprudently represented as another Christ, or as in all things like to Christ, exceeded all bounds of sobriety and reverence for the Saviour. Yet the Roman pontiffs patronized this madness by their letters and decrees, in which they declared the absurd fable of the *Stigmata* or five wounds impressed upon St. Franciss by the Saviour himself on Mount Alverno, to be highly credible, nay unquestionably true.[1] They also suffered to go abroad without censure, and even approved and commended an impious piece stuffed with monstrous and absurd tales, entitled, *The Book of the Conformities of St. Francis with Jesus Christ*, which was published in 1385 by Bartholomew Albizi, a Franciscan of Pisa, with the applause of his order. This infamous book, in which the Son of God is put upon a level with a vile and miserable man, is an eternal monument of the impious arrogance and religious stupidity of the Franciscan order.

doubt was referred by the king and parliament to Doctor Wickliffe, who answered that it was lawful, and undertook to prove it so by the principles of the law of Christ. He now appeared before his judges, attended by the duke of Lancaster, and the lord marshal, earl Percy. A vast concourse was assembled. Some altercations ensued between the bishops and the two noblemen, the assembly was in commotion, and Wickliffe was conducted off in safety by his patrons without having any trial. He was then summoned to appear at Lambeth. He did so, and presented a paper explanatory of the charges, which the bishops thought best to admit as satisfactory. The next year, 1378, the pope died, and the commission to the two English prelates to try the case of Wickliffe of course was at an end. Wickliffe, in his lectures, sermons, and writings, now embraced every opportunity of exposing the Romish court, and detecting the vices of the clergy and the monks. In 1381 he published sixteen Theses against transubstantiation, and in his lectures at Oxford expressly denied the doctrine of the real presence. The vice-chancellor and eleven doctors now condemned his doctrine. In 1378 William Courtney was translated from the see of London to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury; and now began another process against Wickliffe, whom he summoned to appear at London before commissioners appointed to try him. He was dissuaded by his friends from appearing; but the university sent a letter in his favour testifying fully to his learning, piety, and soundness in the faith. Notwithstanding this testimony and the arguments of his able counsellors, fourteen of his conclusions were pronounced heretical or erroneous. Soon after he left Oxford, in 1382, Wickliffe had a slight shock of the palsy, yet he continued to preach till 1384, when he was seized again in his pulpit at Lutterworth more violently, fell down, was carried home, and shortly after expired, aged sixty years. His works consist of a vast number of tracts on doctrinal and practical subjects in theology, against the prevailing errors and vices of the times, &c.—*Mur.* [The best life of Wickliffe is that by the Rev. Robert Vaughan, Lond. 1828 and 1831, 2 vols. 8vo. He was the first to compile an accurate list of the Reformer's writings, especially of those still remaining in manuscript. Of the latter, one has been recently printed from the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, entitled, *The Last Age of the Church*, Dublin, 1840. For an account of this tract, see Vaughan's *Life and Opinions of John de Wickliffe*, vol. 1, p. 241, &c.—*R*

[1] The fable of the *Stigmata*, impressed upon Francis by Jesus Christ is very well known; nor are the pontifical letters unknown by which belief in this fable is commanded, and which are published with great care, in particular by Wadding in his *Annales Minorum*, tom. viii. and ix. [The story of these *Stigmata*, as related by Bonaventura, the biographer of Francis, (*De Vita S. Patris Francisci*, cap. 13), is briefly this: that Francis two years before his death retired as was his custom to Mount Alverno, to keep a forty days' fast in the season of Quadragesima. While praying there, a seraph appeared flying in the heavens, and came near to him, having six wings, under which he saw distinctly the figure of Christ crucified. The seraph talked with him, but he would never retail the conversation. After the seraph departed he found on himself five wounds, one on each side of his feet and hands, and one on his side. On the insides of his hands, and on the upper sides of his feet, were hard, round, black substances, representing the heads of nails; and on the back of his hands, and on bottoms of his feet, projecting, acuminated substances, which bent round like clenched nails. In his side was a wound three fingers long. From all these, blood and a watery substance flowed occasionally, and he experienced continual and sometimes exquisite pain from them. When he descended from the mountain, with some hesitation he related the vision to a few trusty friends. His wounds he concealed as much as possible during his life. He languished two years and died. After his death more than fifty persons examined these wounds and found them real, among whom were some cardinals. Alexander IV. the Roman pontiff, in preaching before the brethren, when Bonaventura was present, declared that he had seen those wounds on Francis previously to his death.—*Mur.*] The Dominicians formerly opposed this fable openly; but being restrained by the bulls of the pontiffs, they now ridicule it only in private. The Franciscans on the contrary have not ceased to trumpet it. That St. Francis had these *Stigmata*, or appearances of the five wounds of Christ on his body, I do not doubt; for the fact is attested by witnesses sufficiently numerous and competent. But undoubtedly St. Francis himself, who was peculiarly superstitious, inflicted those wounds on his own person, in order to be like to Christ and to bear in his own body a perpetual memento of his sufferings. For it was customary in that age for those who wished to appear more holy and devout than common, to mark themselves with such *Stigmata*, so that they might always have before their eyes something like a picture of the death of Christ. The words of St. Paul, Gal. vi. 17 [I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus,] were understood in that ignorant age to have reference to such a custom. And from the *Acta Sanctorum*, and other monuments of this and the following century, a long catalogue of such branded saints might be drawn up. Nor is this superstition entirely done away in our own age. The Franciscan Friars, finding these marks upon the body of their deceased founder, and wishing to make him appear privileged above all men, invented this fable of Christ's miraculously transferring his wounds to St. Francis.

and of the extreme indiscretion of the pontiffs in extolling and recommending these friars.[1]

22. Not a whit wiser than these Franciscans who remained obedient to the pontiffs, were those other Franciscans who insisted on observing their rule perfectly, and who resisted the pontiffs that mitigated it; I refer to the Fratricelli, their Tertiarii or Beghards, and to the Spirituals who resided principally in France and embraced the opinions of Peter John Oliva. These Franciscans for a long time caused great disturbance both in church and state, and gave the pontiffs vast trouble and vexation. Near the beginning of the century, in the years 1306 and 1307, the less austere Franciscans in Italy raged violently against the more strict or the Fratricelli, who had withdrawn from the community.[2] Those of the latter who were able to escape the fury of their enemies fled, in the year 1307, into France, and connected themselves with the Spirituals or the followers of Peter John Oliva in Provence, who had likewise receded from the body. Soon after this the whole Franciscan order in France, Italy, and other countries, was divided into two parties; one of which being attached to the rigid poverty of St. Francis was called that of the Spirituals, the other which was disposed to have the rules of its founder mitigated, was called the Brethren of the Community. The latter was the largest and most powerful, and laboured to the utmost to suppress the former, which was yet weak and in its infancy. But the seceders chose to endure everything rather than abandon the injunctions of their founder, and return to the community. In the year 1310 the pontiff, Clement V. called the leaders of both parties to his court, and made great efforts to terminate the schism. But the business advanced very slowly in consequence of the inflexibility of the parties, and the great number of their mutual accusations. In the meanwhile the Spirituals of Tuscany, without waiting for the decision of the pontiff, chose for themselves a general with inferior officers; but the French, being nearer the pontiff, waited patiently for his determination.[3]

23. After various deliberations Clement V. in the general council of Vienne, A.D. 1312, published the celebrated law or bull called from its first words, *Exivi de Paradiso*;[4] in which he endeavoured to end the discord by taking a middle course. For he made a number of concessions to the Spirituals, and in particular commanded the Franciscans to profess, as their rule prescribed, the greatest and most perfect poverty, renouncing all property either common or personal, and allowing only the simple use and that also limited, meagre, and poor, of the necessaries of life. On the other hand he allowed the Franciscans, if they lived in places where it was very difficult to obtain subsistence by begging, to provide themselves with granaries and store-cellars, and to collect and lay up in them what they procured by begging; and the officers and overseers of the order were to judge when and where such granaries and cellars were necessary. Moreover, in order to satisfy the Brethren of the Community, he condemned some of the opinions of Peter de Oliva.[5] This decision quieted the commotions in France, though with difficulty and only for a short time; but it had no effect to allay the heated passions of the Tuscan and Italian Spirituals, many of whom not feeling themselves safe in Italy, in the year 1313 emigrated to Sicily, where they were kindly received by Frederick the king and by the nobles and bishops.[6]

24. After the death of Clement V. the tumult in France, which had been stilled by his authority, broke out anew. For in the year 1314, one hundred and twenty of the Spirituals drove the brethren of the Community out of the monasteries of Narbonne and Beziers by force of arms, elected new presiding officers, and (what

[1] Concerning Albizi and his book, see Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. ix. p. 158, &c.; Fabricius, *Biblioth. Latina Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 131; Schelhorn, *Amœnitates Literar.* tom. iii. p. 160; Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome ii. art. *François*; and *Nouveau Diction. Hist. Crit.* tome i. art. *Albizi*, 217. Extracts from this book, which is called the *Alcoran of the Franciscans*, were made by Erasmus Albertus, and have been often printed in Latin, French, and German; the second German edition was printed, Amsterd. 1734, 2 vols. 8vo. The French and Latin editions are ornamented with elegant engravings. [The conformities between Christ and St. Francis are carried to forty in the book of Albizi, but they are multiplied to 4,000 by a Spanish monk of the order of Observants, in a book published at Madrid in the year 1651 under the following title, *Prodigiosum Naturæ et Gratiæ Portentum.* The conformities mentioned by Pedro de Alvi Astorga, the austere author of this most ridiculous book, are whimsical beyond expression. See the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, tome iv. p. 318.—*Mael.*

[2] Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. vi. ad ann. 1307, p. 91.

[3] Wadding, *ubi supra*, tom. vi. ad. ann. 1310, p. 172; Eccard's *Corpus Histor. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 1480; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 129; Echard's *Scriptores Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 508, 509.

[4] This law is extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon.* among the *Clementinæ*, [lib. v.] tit. xi. *De Verbor. Significat.* tom. ii. p. 1098, ed. Boehmer.

[5] Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. vi. p. 194, 197, 199.

[6] Wadding, *ubi supra*, p. 213, 214; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 151, 165; Argentre, *Collectio Judicior. de Novis Error.* tom. i. p. 392, &c.

greatly enhanced the difficulty of this already inveterate contest) cast off their former garments, and assumed such as were short, narrow, and ill-shaped. Many others from the other provinces joined with them, and the citizens of Narbonne, among whom Oliva was buried, undertook to defend this company. John XXII. being placed at the head of the church, attempted in the year 1317 to apply a remedy to the inveterate evil. In the first place, by a special law he ordered the extirpation of the Fratricelli and their Tertiarii, or the Beguins or Beghards, who were distinct from the Spirituals.[1] Soon after he admonished the king of Sicily to expel all the Spirituals residing in his dominions.[2] And lastly, he called the French Spirituals before him at Avignon, and exhorted them to return to their duty, and in particular to lay aside their short, strait habits, and their small hoods. Most of them complied; but the head of the company, brother Bernard Delitiosi with twenty-four others, boldly refused to submit to the requisition. For these men affirmed, that the rule of St. Francis was the same as the gospel of Jesus Christ, and therefore that the power of the pontiffs was not adequate to change it. Consequently the pontiffs sinned by allowing the Franciscans to have granaries and cellars; and they sinned by prohibiting such garments as St. Francis had prescribed. Against these pertinacious men John directed [the Inquisitors] to proceed as against heretics. And truly they were the worst of heretics, for they opposed the supremacy and power of the Roman pontiff. The head of the party, Brother Delitiosi, who was sometimes called Delli Consi, was confined in a prison where he ended his days. Four others were, by order of the Inquisitors, burned at the stake, at Marseilles, in the year 1318.[3]

25. These unhappy monks, and afterwards many more who were cut off in this lamentable contest, were punished merely for disregarding the authority of the pontiffs; for they believed that the rule of their founder, St. Francis, being dictated by God himself and really the gospel of Christ, was not subject to the power of the pontiffs. The controversy, considered in itself, was rather ridiculous than a serious matter, and had no connexion with true religion. It related merely to two points; first, the form of the garments to be worn by Franciscans, and secondly, their granaries and cellars. The Brethren of the community, that is, the laxer Franciscans wore long, loose, and good habits, with ample hoods or coverings for their heads; but the Spirituals wore strait, short, sordid, and vile garments with small hoods, because such a dress they said was prescribed for the fraternity in the rule of St. Francis, which it was not lawful for any mortal to alter. In the next place, the Brethren of the community in the seasons of harvest and vintage, laid up corn in their granaries and wine in their cellars; but the Spirituals contended that this was inconsistent with genuine mendicity, or the profession made by poor Minorites. And hence John published in this very year a long epistle, in which he directs that both questions be left to the judgment and discretion of the superiors of the order.[4]

26. The effects of the epistle and of other decrees, were defeated by the unseasonable and impious severity of John XXII. which even his friends detested. For the Spirituals and their supporters, exasperated at the cruel death of their brethren, maintained that John XXII. had rendered himself unworthy of the pontifical office, and become a real antichrist by the slaughter of those holy men; they honoured the four brethren burned at Marseilles as martyrs, paying religious veneration to their bones and ashes; and they contended far more earnestly than before against the long garments, the large hoods, and the granaries and cellars. On the other hand, the Inquisitors by direction of the pontiff seized all the persons of this description on whom they could lay their hands, and committed them to the flames without mercy, immolating them to the pontifical indignation. From this time onward therefore not only in France, but also in Italy, Spain, and Germany, an immense number of the defenders of the rule of St. Francis, Fratricelli, Beghards, and Spirituals, were cruelly put to death.[5]

[1] This law is called *Sancta Romana*, &c. and is extant among the *Extravagantes Johannis XXII.* tit. vii. *De Religiosis domibus*; in the *Corpus Juris Canon.* tom. ii. p. 1112.

[2] Wadding, *ubi supra*, p. 265, &c.

[3] Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 116, tom. ii. p. 341, and *Miscellanea*, tom. i. p. 195, 272; Wadding, *Annales Minor.* tom. vi. p. 267, &c. 316, &c.; Martene, *Thesaurus Anecdot.* tom. v. p. 175; Martin of Fulda, in Eccard's *Corpus Histor. Medii Ævi*, tom. i p. 1725, and Coerner, ibid. tom. ii. p. 981: *Hist. Générale de Languedoc*, tome iv. p. 179, &c.; Argentre, *Collectio Judicior. de Novis Error.* tom. i. p. 294.

[4] It is extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon. Extravagant. Johannis* XXII. [tit. xiv.] cap. i. *De Verbor. Signif.* Add Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. vi. p. 273, and others.

[5] I have in my hands, in addition to the other documents serving to elucidate the difficult history of this persecution, the *Martyrology of the Spirituals and Fratricelli*, which was exhibited to the Inquisition at Carcassone, A.D. 1454, and which contains the names of one hundred and thirteen persons of both sexes, who from the year 1318 to the time of Innocent VI. [A. D.

27. This bloody conflict continued to spread wider and wider, and had involved the whole Franciscan order, when in the year 1321 to the former points of controversy a new one was added respecting the poverty of Christ and his apostles. A Beguin or monk of the third order of St. Francis being apprehended this year at Narbonne, taught among other things that Christ and his apostles possessed nothing by way of property or dominion, either in common or individually. This opinion, John de Belna, an Inquisitor belonging to the order of Dominicans, pronounced to be an error; but Berengarius Taloni, a Franciscan, maintained it to be sound and consonant to the epistle of Nicolaus III. *Exiit qui seminat*, &c. The judgment of the former was approved by the Dominicans, while the decision of the latter was maintained by the Franciscans. The subject being brought before the pontiff, he endeavoured to quiet the new controversy by a discreet procedure; and therefore called to his counsel Ubertinus de Casalis, a Franciscan of great reputation and a patron of the Spirituals. He answered equivocally and by making distinctions. Yet the pope and the cardinals thought his sentence was calculated to end the controversy. The pontiff therefore ordered both the parties to acquiesce in his decision, and to be silent and observe moderation.[1]

28. But the impassioned minds of the Dominicans and Franciscans could not be brought to submit to this mandate. John therefore in the year 1322, permitted the controversy to be again renewed; when he laid the following question before the most celebrated divines and especially those of Paris for their decision: Whether those were heretics who affirmed that Jesus Christ and his apostles held no property, either in common or as individuals? The Franciscans, who this year held their convention at Perugia, having had previous notice of the business, unanimously decided that persons making such an assertion were no heretics, but held a doctrine which was true and holy and accordant with the decisions of the pontiffs; and they appointed a man of distinguished learning belonging to their order, Brother Bonagratia of Bergamo, who was also called Boncortese,[2] to repair to Avignon, and there defend this decision of the whole order against all opposers. John XXII. was exceedingly offended at this, and published an ordinance in the month of November, in which he espoused the opposite doctrine to that of the Franciscans, and pronounced those to be heretics who should pertinaciously maintain that Christ and his apostles possessed no property, either in common or individually, and had not the right of selling and giving away what they possessed. A little after he proceeded still farther, and in an ordinance drawn up in the month of December he exposed the vanity and futility of the arguments commonly drawn from a bull of Nicolaus III. proving a transfer of the dominion of the Franciscan possessions to the church of Rome, leaving only the simple use without any ownership to the brethren; for it was utterly impossible in regard to things which are consumed by the use of them, to separate the right of use from the right of property or dominion. He also solemnly renounced all property in the Franciscan effects reserved by the former pontiffs to the Romish church, with the exception of their churches and some other things; and dismissed the officers or purveyors who had hitherto received the revenues and administered the affairs of the order in the name of the Romish church, and repealed all the laws and constitutions of his predecessors on this subject.[3]

29. The pontifical ordinances destroyed the very citadel of the Franciscan order, or that boasted expropriation in which Francis placed the highest glory of his fraternity. Hence the Franciscans most resolutely opposed the pontiff; and in particular Brother Bonagratia, the legate of the order, publicly maintained in the court of the pontiff A. D. 1323, that the last ordinance of John was repugnant both to human and divine law, and he appealed the case.[4] The pontiff on the other hand threw this bold defender of Franciscan poverty into prison; and by a new edict at the close of the year commanded that all persons should be ac-

1352—1362.] expiated in the flames their zeal for the poverty of St. Francis, in France and Italy. To these so many others might be added from the historians and documents printed and manuscript, that I suppose a catalogue of two thousand such martyrs might be made out. See the *Codex Inquis. Tolosanæ*, published by Limborch, p. 298, 302, 319, 327, &c.

[1] Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. vi. p. 361; Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. i. p. 307; Du Bois. *Hist. Eccles. Paris.* p. 611, &c.

[2] I notice this circumstance, because some valuable writers have made them *two* persons.

[3] These constitutions are inserted in the *Corpus Juris Canon.* among the *Extravagantes* [*Johannis* XXII.] tit. xiv. *de Verbor. Significat.* cap. ii. iii. p. 1121, &c. On the subject itself the most important writer to be consulted is the contemporary author, Alvarus Pelagius, *De Planctu Ecclesiæ*, lib. ii. c 60, &c. p. 145, &c. and next to him, Wadding, *Annales Minor.* tom. vi. p. 94, &c. Both censure John. Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 191, &c.

[4] Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. vii. p. 2, 22, &c.; Pelagius, *De Planctu Ecclesiæ*, lib. ii. p. 167; Trithemius, *Annales Hirsaug.* tom. ii p. 157; De Niem, in Eccard's *Corpus Histor. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 1491, &a.

counted heretics and corrupters of religion, who should teach that Christ and his apostles possessed no property, either in common or as individuals.[1] And as this edict did not terrify the Franciscans, and many of them poured forth reproaches and maledictions against John, another bull still more violent was issued towards the close of the year 1324, in which the pontiff defended his former decrees, and pronounced the doctrine of an expropriation by Christ and his apostles to be pestiferous, erroneous, damnable, blasphemous, and opposed to the catholic faith; and ordered that all who professed it should be accounted heretics, contumacious, and rebels against the church.[2] The effect of this edict was that many who continued to assert that Christ and his apostles were such mendicants as Francis required his brethren to be, were seized and committed to the flames by the Dominican Inquisitors, the enemies of the Franciscans. And the history of France, Spain, Italy, and Germany, shows that in this and the following century the examples of this shocking cruelty were not a few.

30. John prosecuted this business strenuously in the subsequent years. As the whole controversy seemed to originate from the books of Peter John Oliva, in the year 1325 he declared the *Postilla* and the other writings of Oliva to be heretical.[3] He next summoned to Avignon the more learned and eminent Franciscans whose tongues and pens he feared, and detained them at his court. And lastly, he employed his friends, the Dominicans, everywhere as sentinels, lest the Franciscans, who were full of indignation and wrath, should plot some mischief. The general of the order, Michael de Cæsenas, lived in Italy and did not disguise his hatred of the pontiff. Him therefore he summoned to Avignon in the year 1327, and deprived him of his office.[4]

This use of force tempered with policy only inflamed still more the minds of the Franciscans, who were contending for absolute poverty. And a fierce contest breaking out between John XXII. and the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, several of the leading Franciscans, among whom Marsilius of Padua and John of Jandunum or Genoa were pre-eminent, fled to the emperor and under his protection opposed most violently in their writings not only John himself but generally the power and authority of the Roman pontiffs.[5] Their example was followed by Michael Cæsenas, by William Occam, a very acute and discriminating man, and by Brother Bonagratia, who in the year 1321 proceeded by sea from Avignon first into Italy to the emperor, and thence to Munich. These were succeeded by others in great numbers, among whom were Berengarius, Francis de Esculo, and Henry de Halem, men eminent for erudition and talents.[6] All these, in treatises not

[1] Wadding, *ubi supra*, tom. vii. p. 36, the continuator of De Nangis, in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 83; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 205; the *Gallia Christiana* of the Benedictines, tom. ii. p. 1515, &c.

[2] This constitution as well as the two above mentioned is [in the *Corpus Jur. Canon.*] among the *Extravagantes* [*Johann.* XXII.] tit. xiv. *De Verbor. Signif.* [cap. v.] The last one is strenuously opposed, at great length, by Wadding, tom. vii. p. 36, which was not to be expected in a man so immoderately devoted to the pontiffs.

[3] Wadding, *ubi supra*, tom. vii. p. 47; Eccard's *Corpus Histor. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 592, and 1491. [And indeed Oliva has in his *Postilla* on the Revelation, propositions which the pope must have accounted worthy of condemnation. He understood by the whore of Babylon the Romish church, by Antichrist the pope, by the angel flying through the midst of heaven with the everlasting gospel, St. Francis, and by an evangelical life, a life void of all property, common or personal, and in which a person has the mere use of things.—*Schl.*

[4] See Wadding, *ubi supra*, tom. vii. p. 69, 74.

[5] D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 85, &c.; *Bullarium Roman.* tom. vi. p. 167; Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 695, 704; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 216. Particularly noted is the performance of Marsilius of Padua, a professor at Vienna, entitled, *Defensor Pacis pro Ludovico Bavaro adversus Usurpatam Romani Pontificis Jurisdictionem*, published with other works, and also separately, by Gomarus, Francf. 1592, 8vo.

[6] Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. vii. p. 81; Martene's *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 719, 757, &c.; Trithemius, *Annales Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 167; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 217; Eccard's *Corpus Hist. Medii Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 1034; Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. i. p. 293, 315, &c. Concerning these men the reader may consult the compilers of Catalogues and *Bibliothecæ* of the Ecclesiastical Writers. [Michael Cæsenas, D.D. was a native of Italy, a Franciscan of the province of Bologna, and created general of the order A.D. 1316. He strenuously enforced the discipline of the order, presided in the chapter held at Perugia A.D. 1322, was summoned to Avignon in 1327, imprisoned, and the next year ordered to be tried for the decision in the chapter at Perugia. He appealed from the sentence, and fearing the consequences privately escaped from Avignon. The pope now excommunicated him and deposed him from the generalship of his order, appointing cardinal Bertrand to succeed him. Michael appealed to a council, joined the emperor Lewis, and strenuously resisted the pontiff. In the year 1329 Bertrand called a chapter of the Franciscans at Paris, which deposed Michael and elected Gerard to succeed him. He now openly accused the pope of heresy, and the latter anathematised him in 1330; and the year following the convention of his order at Perpignan declared him a heretic. He died A.D. 1343, retaining his rancour against the pope to the last. His works are several tracts, letters, and protestations against John XXII. commentaries on Ezekiel, and on the four books of Sentences, and some sermons. Marsilius Patavinus was born at Padua, studied law at Orleans, was one of the most distinguished philosophers and jurists of his age, and became a counsellor of Lewis of Bavaria. He composed his celebrated *Defensor Pacis pro Ludovico*, &c. A.D. 1324, in which he asserts the superiority of the emperors over the popes, even in the external affairs of the church; depicts the pride, ambition, and luxury of the court of Rome in vivid colours; and shows that the bishops of Rome have no more authority by divine right over the whole church than any other bishops. In 1327 John XXII. excommunicated him, and he died the year following. Besides his *Defensor Pacis* he left tracts on the power of the emperors in matrimonial causes, and on the trans-

more fluent than caustic, vindicated the rule of their founder and depreciated the power and majesty of the pontiffs. Occam, whose Dialogues and other writings were eagerly read, excelled the rest; and being handed down to posterity, inflicted a mortal wound on the pontifical supremacy.

31. The emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, grateful to those his defenders, made the case of the Franciscans against John XXII. his own; and he not only espoused their cause, but likewise their opinion respecting the mendicity of Christ and the apostles. For among the pernicious errors for which he publicly accused John of heresy and removed him from the pontificate, the chief was his opinion respecting Christ's poverty or that he was not destitute of all property, than which as the emperor supposed there could be no worse heresy.[1] The emperor moreover afforded to all the Fratricelli, the Beghards, the Beguins, and the Spirituals, who were contending against the pontiff, a secure asylum in Germany against the Inquisitors. Hence during his reign Germany abounded in herds of Mendicants; and in nearly all the provinces and cities, houses were erected for Beghards and Beguins—that is, for persons professing what was called the third rule of St. Francis, and who placed the highest virtue of a Christian man in a voluntary destitution of all things or in mendicity.[2] On the contrary, the Dominicans who were the enemies of the Franciscans and the friends of the pontiff, the emperor treated with great severity, banishing them from many cities with disgrace.[3]

32. This great and, to the pontiffs, formidable controversy began to subside in the year 1329. For in this year the pope directed the convention of the Franciscan order to be held at Paris; and by means of cardinal Bertrand, who presided in the assembly and was assisted by the doctors of Paris, the pontiff so far soothed the majority of the brethren, that they ceased from supporting Michael Cæsenas and his followers, allowed another general to be chosen in his place, Gerard Odonis, acknowledged John to be the true and legitimate pontiff, and terminated the contest respecting the poverty of Christ in such a way as not to impeach the constitutions and decrees of Nicolaus III. and John XXII.[4] But great numbers in Germany, Spain, and Italy, could not be persuaded to admit this pacification. After the death of John, Benedict XII. and Clement VI. endeavoured to heal the schism by mildness and clemency towards those Franciscans who had greater veneration for the rule of their founder than for the decrees of the pontiffs; nor were they wholly unsuccessful. For many returned to the fraternity from which they had receded, and among these were some of the most inveterate opposers of John, as Francis de Esculo and others.[5] Those who would not return did not insult the pontiffs, but lived quietly in obedience to the laws of their founder; nor would they hold intercourse with the Fratricelli and their Tertiarii in Italy, Spain, and Germany, who openly contemned the authority of the pontiffs.[6]

33. The Germans whom the emperor Lewis protected resisted longer than the

fer of the empire.—John de Janduno or of Genoa was a doctor at Perugia and a distinguished theologian and philosopher, who was excommunicated at the same time with Marsilius. In the year 1338 he published his tract, *Pro Superioritate Imperatoris in Temporalibus*. He also wrote commentaries on various works of Aristotle.—William Occam was an Englishman, born [at Ockham] in Surrey, a disciple of Duns Scotus; was called *Doctor Singularis* [*et Invincibilis*] and *Venerabilis Inceptor*, and belonged to the order of Franciscans. In the beginning of this century he occupied a theological chair in the university of Paris, dissented from his master Scotus, and became the head of the sect of Nominalists. He espoused the cause of Philip the Fair against the pontiff in a tract on the point in controversy. In 1322 he was made provincial of his order for England, attended the general chapter of Perugia the same year, and embraced strongly the decision of that convention respecting the poverty of Christ and his apostles. This doctrine he now openly preached everywhere, and particularly at Bologna. The next year the pope commanded him to be silent on pain of excommunication. He retired to France, and remained secure in silence till 1328, when he drew his pen in favour of Lewis against the pope, espoused the cause of Peter Corbarius, the anti-pope, wrote keenly against the ambition and tyranny of John XXII. and maintained that the emperor was subject to none but God in temporal things. He was therefore excommunicated by John in 1330, and fled to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, who received him kindly, made him his privy counsellor, and he remained all the rest of his life at that court, strenuously and learnedly defending the emperor's cause against the pope. He said to the emperor: *Tu me defendas gladio, et ego te defendam calamo*. He died A.D. 1347, some say later. His works are numerous, partly philosophical, partly theological, and partly controversial.—*Mur.* [The most important of his theological works is his *Quæstiones super IV. libros Sententiarum*. He brought about, according to Gieseler, a great epoch in the history of scholastic philosophy, by reviving the already forgotten doctrines of the Nominalists; and Hampden calls him the second founder of the school of Nominalism. Of him and his works see Ritter, *Geschichte der Christl. Philos.* vol. iv. p. 574—604.—*R.*

[1] See the *Processus Ludovici contra Johannem*, A.D. 1328, *die* 12 *Dec. datus*, in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. ii. p. 522, &c. and his *Appellatio*, ibid. p. 494, &c.

[2] I have in my possession many proofs of this fact which were never published.

[3] Diefenbach, *De Mortis Genere, quo Henricus VII. obiit*, p. 145, and others; Eccard's *Corpus Histor. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 2103; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 220, &c.

[4] Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. vii. p. 94; D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 91.

[5] Argentre, *Collectio Judicior. de Novis Erroribus*, tom. i. p. 343; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 281; Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. vii. p. 313.

[6] Wadding, *ubi supra*, tom. vii. p. 116, 126; Argentre, *ubi supra*, tom. i. p. 343, &c.

others. But at his death A.D. 1348 the golden age of the Franciscan Spirituals, and of the Beghards or Tertiarii connected with them, expired in Germany. For his successor Charles IV. who had been created emperor by the influence of the pontiff in 1345, seconding the desires and wishes of the church, supported both by edicts and by arms the Inquisitors who were sent by the pontiff against his enemies, and allowed them to seize and put to death all they could lay hands on. They accordingly proceeded in the provinces of Magdeburg, Bremen, Thuringia, Saxony, and Hesse, to extirpate all the Beghards and Beguins, that is, the associates or Tertiarii of those Franciscans who maintained that Christ and his apostles had no property. On learning this Charles IV. then residing at Lucca in Italy, issued very severe mandates to all the princes in Germany in the year 1369, commanding them to expel and to aid the Inquisitors in extirpating as enemies to the church and to the Roman empire all Beghards and Beguins, or as the emperor interprets the name, the voluntary mendicants.[1] By another edict a little after, he gave the houses of the Beghards to the tribunal of the Inquisition, ordering them to be converted into prisons for heretics; but the houses of the Beguins he ordered to be sold and the proceeds to be distributed equally among the Inquisitors, the poor, and the magistrates of the towns.[2] The Beghards, being reduced to extremities by these mandates of the emperor and by the edicts of the pontiffs, fled into Switzerland, into the provinces along the Rhine, into Holland and Brabant, and also into Pomerania.[3] But there also the laws and mandates of the emperor, the decrees of the pontiffs and the Inquisitors followed them. And thus under Charles IV. the greatest part of Germany, with the exception of Switzerland and the provinces adjacent to Switzerland, was purged of the rebellious Franciscans, both the perfect monks and the imperfect or Beghards.

34. But neither edicts nor Inquisitors could entirely extirpate the inveterate evil and discord. For the wish to observe perfectly the rule of St. Francis was so deeply rooted in the minds of many of the brethren, that there were persons everywhere who either directly resisted the general of the order, or obeyed him with feelings of reluctance. In order therefore to satisfy both parties, the more lax and the more rigid, various measures having been tried in vain, recurrence was had to a division of the order. Accordingly in the year 1368, the general of the order gave liberty to Paulutius Fulginas, the leader of the more rigid Franciscans in Italy, and his associates who were considerably numerous, to live detached from the rest of the brethren, to follow their own customs and regulations, and to observe the rule of their founder more religiously and sacredly. To this party gradually came over such as remained, here and there, of the Spirituals and of the followers of Oliva. And the number of the lovers of the severer discipline being increased and the party extending itself over many provinces, the pontiffs sanctioned the association by their authority. Thus the Franciscan order was split into two large sects which have continued down to the present time, the one called the Conventual Brethren, and the other the Brethren of the Observation or regular Observantines. The first name is given to those who have deviated most from the literal sense of the rule of their founder, and who adopt the interpretation of it by the pontiffs; the latter name was given by the council of Constance to those who choose to follow the words of the rule, rather than the interpretation given to it. But this reconciliation was rejected by the Fratricelli and their Beghards who have been so often mentioned, and who in this and the following century did not cease to disturb the church in the marquisate of Ancona and in other places.[5]

[1] In the German, *Die wilgen Armen*.

[2] I have in my possession this edict with other laws of Charles IV. relating to this subject, and also many of the pontifical constitutions and other documents which illustrate this affair, and which in my judgment are not unworthy of publication. Charles IV. in his edicts and laws accurately describes the persons whom he calls Beghards and Beguins; so that there can be no doubt we are to understand them to be Franciscan Tertiaries of the class that disagreed with the pontiffs. "They are" (says the emperor, in his edict dated at Lucca on the 15th of the Kalends of June A.D. 1366) "a pernicious sect, who pretend to a sacrilegious and heretical poverty and make vows or professions that they will possess nothing and ought not to possess anything, either individually or in common" (this is the poverty of the Franciscan institute which John XXII. so strenuously opposed); "which they also exhibit externally by their vile garments." (Such was the practice of the Spirituals and of their associates.)

[3] This I learn from Raynald, *Annales Eccles.* ad ann. 1372, sec. 34, p. 513, and from the writings of Felix Malleolus composed in the following century against the Beghards in Switzerland.

[4] See Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, p. 59, 65, 78, &c. tom. viii. p. 209, 298, 326, 336, tom. ix.

[5] Mosheim has given undue prominence to these uninteresting squabbles of the popes and the Franciscans by devoting so large a space (no less than twelve sections, 22—34) to them. But he was the first among modern writers to study minutely this portion of ecclesiastical history, and he found so much to correct in the popular accounts of these controversies, that he compiled the elaborate work already mentioned; which was not published till after his death by Martini under the title of *De Beghardis et Beguinabis Commentarius*. Gieseler has followed nearly the same track; see sec. 110 of Cunningham's translation, vol. iii. p. 91, &c.—*R.*

35. In this century there were also new religious associations formed, of which however some were of short continuance and others acquired no great notoriety or fame. In the year 1367 John Colombinus, a nobleman of Siena, instituted the order of the Apostolic Clerks, who were afterwards called Jesuates because they pronounced so very frequently the name of Jesus. This order was confirmed by Urban V. in the year 1368, but it was abolished by Clement IX. in the seventeenth century or A.D. 1668. Its members followed the rule of St. Augustine; but they were not in holy orders and only gave themselves to prayer, to pious exercises, and relieving the poor, though themselves without property. They also prepared medicines and administered them gratis among the needy.[1] But these regulations had been nearly abandoned when Clement dissolved the order.

36. Not long after the commencement of the century, there arose at Antwerp the sect of the Cellite Brethren and Sisters, who were also called the Brethren and Sisters of Alexius, because they had St. Alexius for their patron saint. The name Cellites (*Cellitæ*) was derived from the cells in which they resided. As the priests in that age paid almost no attention to the sick and the dying, and wholly forsook and abandoned those infected by pestilential diseases, which were then very prevalent, certain pious persons at Antwerp formed themselves into an association for performing these pious offices. While the clergy therefore fled from the danger and hid themselves, these persons visited and comforted the sick, conversed and prayed with them when dying, attended to the burial of such as died with the plague, and accompanied their remains to the grave with funeral dirges. From the last of these offices they acquired among the people the common appellation of Lollhards.[2] The example of these good people was followed by many others; and hence in a short time, over the greater part of Germany

[1] Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tome iii. p. 411, &c.; Pagi, *Breviarium Pontif.* tom. iv. p. 189, &c.; Bonanni and the other writers on the monastic orders.

[2] Concerning the name and the sect of the Lollhards there are many disquisitions and narrations, but no one has written on the subject so as to deserve commendation either for good faith or for diligence and accuracy. On this subject I make assertions with the more confidence, because I have made special investigations respecting the Lollhards, and have collected copious materials from printed and unprinted documents, from which a history of them might be compiled. Very many writers both of the Lutheran and other communities tell us that the Lollhards were a peculiar sect, dissenting on many points of religion from the Romish church; and that Walter Lollhard, who was burned at Cologne in this century, was the father of it. From what source so many learned men could derive these facts, I confess myself unable to comprehend. They refer indeed to the authority of John Trithemius; but he certainly has left us nothing of the kind in his writings. I will endeavour, with all the brevity I can, to put the student of ecclesiastical history upon a right course of thinking on this subject.

The term Lollhardus or Lullhardus, or as the ancient Germans wrote it, Lollert or Lullert, is compounded of the old German word lullen, lollen, or lallen, and the well-known termination hard, which is subjoined to so many German words. Lollen or lullen signifies to sing with a low voice. It is still used in this sense by the English who say, to lull asleep, that is, to sing any one into a slumber with a sweet and slender voice. See Junius, *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, published by Edward Lye, Oxon. 1743, fol. on the word Lollard. The word is also used in the same sense by the Flemings, the Swedes, and other nations, as their dictionaries will show. Among the Germans both the signification and the sound have undergone some change. For they pronounce it lallen, and denote by it to utter indistinctly, to stammer. A Lollhard therefore is a singer, or one who sings much and often. But as the word beggen, which signified in general to beg earnestly for anything, was transferred to religious supplications or prayers addressed to God, and thus came to denote in its more limited sense, to pray earnestly to God; so also the verb lollen or lullen was transferred to sacred singing, and in its limited sense denoted, to sing sacred songs. In the vulgar language of the old Germans therefore, a Lollhard was a man who was continually praising God with sacred songs, or was singing hymns. The import of the word was most accurately apprehended and expressed by a writer of that age, named Hocsemius, a canon of Liege, in his *Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium*, lib. i. cap. 31 (in Chapeaville, *Gesta Pontificum Tungrensium et Leodiensium*, tom. ii. p. 350, &c.), who says: In the same year (1309), certain strolling hypocrites, who were called Lollhards, or praisers of God (qui Lollhardi, sivi Deum laudantes vocabantur), deceived some women of quality in Hainault and Brabant. And because those who praised God generally did it in verse, hence in the style of the middle ages, to praise God was the same as to sing; and the persons who praised God were religious singers, who continually celebrated the divine majesty and goodness in sacred hymns. Moreover, as praying and singing were the most manifest external indications of piety, therefore all who affected more than ordinary piety and devotion and of course praised God and prayed to him more than others, were in the popular language called Lollhards. Thus this term acquired the same import with the term Beghard, or denoted a person distinguished for piety. And these two words are used as synonymous in the ancient writings of the eleventh and following centuries; so that the same persons are at one time called Beghards and at another Lollhards. This might unanswerably be evinced by numerous examples, and is sufficiently manifest from the writings of Felix Malleolus alone against the Beghards. There were then as many species of Lollhards as there were of Beghards. Those whom the monks now call Lay Brothers were formerly called Lollhard Brothers; as is well observed by Schobinger, on Joach. Vadianus, *De Collegiis, Monasteriisque Germaniæ Veteris*, lib. i. p. 24. (in Goldast, *Scriptores Rerum Alemannicarum*, tom. iii.) The Brethren of the Free Spirit, of whom we have already spoken, were by some called Beghards and by others Lollhards. The disciples of Gerhard Groote or the priests of common life, were very often called the Lullhard brethren. The honest Walter who was burned at Cologne, and whom so many of the learned improperly regard as the founder of the sect of Lollhards, was by some called a Beghard, by others a Lollhard, and by others a Fatricellus. The Franciscan Tertiarii, who distinguished themselves above the common people by their prayers and other religious observances, are often designated by the term Lollhards. But especially the Cellite Brethren or the Alexians, whose piety was so conspicuous, as soon as they appeared in Belgium, near the beginning of this century, were designated by the common people with the familiar appellation of Lollhards. In this case however there was a special reason for the people to bestow on them this name. For they attended to their graves

and the Netherlands societies were formed of such Lollhards of both sexes, who were supported partly by their own labour, and partly by the munificence of those whom they served, or of other pious persons. By the magistrates and citizens of the places where they lived, these brethren and sisters were highly esteemed, on account of the kind offices they performed to the sick and distressed. But the priests, whose reputation they injured not a little, and the mendicant monks, whose resources they diminished, persecuted them violently, and accused them before the pontiffs of many faults and of very great errors; and in consequence of their exertions, the term Lollhard, which before implied no discredit, became a reproachful epithet, denoting one who conceals great vices and pernicious sentiments under the mask of piety. But the magistrates by their commendations and their testimony supported the Lollhards against their rivals, and procured for them various decrees of the pontiffs approving of their institution, exempting them from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, and subjecting them only to the bishops. Yet even this did not enable them to live in safety. Therefore Charles, duke of Burgundy, in the year 1472, obtained a decree from Sixtus IV. by which the Cellitæ or Lollhards were admitted among the religious orders, and were withdrawn even from the jurisdiction of the bishops; and Julius II. in the year 1506 conferred on them still greater privileges. Many societies of their kind still exist at Cologne and in the cities of the Netherlands, though they have essentially departed from their ancient manner of life.[1]

37. Among the Greek writers the following were the most distinguished. Nicephorus Callisti, whose Ecclesiastical History has already been mentioned;[2] Matthæus Blastares, who expounded and illustrated the ecclesiastical law of the Greek church;[3] Barlaam, a strenuous defender of the cause of the Greeks against the Latins;[4] Gregory Acindynus, who warmly opposed the sect of the Palamites of which notice will be taken hereafter;[5] John Cantacuzenus, distinguished for the history he composed and for his confutation of the Mohammedan faith;[6] Nicephorus Gregoras, who has left us a history of the Greek empire and some other

those who died of the pestilence, singing in a low voice solemn funeral dirges, and were therefore public singers. Out of many testimonies I will adduce only some from Gramaye, a man well versed in the history of his country. In his *Antwerpia*, lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 16, he says: The Alexians who employed themselves about funerals, had their rise at Antwerp; where soon after the year 1300 some honest and pious laymen associated together, and were called from their frugality and their unassuming and plain manner of life, Matemanni; and from their devotedness to funerals, Lollhards (a funerum obsequiis, Lollhardi); from their cells, Cellite Brethren. In his *Lovanium*, p. 18, b. which is in his *Antiquit. Belgicæ*, published splendidly in fol. Louvain, 1708, he says: The Alexians who took the charge of funerals as a business, began to appear. They were laymen who devoted themselves to works of mercy, and were then called Lollhards and Matemans. Their attention to the care of the sick, the delirious, and the dead, both in public and in private, was pleasing to all. This learned author tells that he transcribed a part of these facts from an ancient Flemish diary written in rhyme. Hence, in the *Annals of Holland and Utrecht*, in Matthæus, *Analecta Veter. Ævi*, tom. i. p. 431), we read: *Die Lollardtjes die brochten de dooden by een*, [*i.e.* the Lollards who collected the dead bodies.—*Mael.*] which Matthæus thus explains: The managers of funerals and carriers of the dead, of whom there was a regular body, were vile, worthless fellows, who usually spoke in mournful tones as if bewailing the dead. And hence the name of a street at Utrecht in which most of them lived, was called (De Lollestract) the Lollard street. Compare also the same *Analecta*, &c. tom. ii. p. 345, 643. The same cause which changed the reputable appellation of Beghard into a term of reproach, effected a similar change in the name of Lollhard; namely, the fact that among those persons who would be thought superior to others in piety, and who spent their time in prayer, and praise, and religious exercises, base hypocrites were found who pretended to piety, in order to conceal their vicious conduct and their absurd religious tenets. Especially after the rise of the Alexians or Cellites, the term Lollhard became reproachful and base. For the priests and monks being very inimical to this honest sort of people, studiously propagated injurious suspicions respecting them, and represented these Lollhards who appeared so spotless and so benevolent, as in reality vile characters, infected with abominable principles and addicted to vices and crimes. Thus gradually the term Lollhard in its common application, came to designate one who conceals either heretical principles or vicious conduct under the mask of piety. It is therefore certain that this appellation was not anciently appropriated to any one sect, but was common to all sects and persons, in whom impiety towards God and the church was supposed to be concealed under an external appearance of the contrary.

[1] Besides many others who cannot be here cited, see Gelenius, *De admiranda sacra et civili Magnitudine urbis Coloniæ*, lib. iii. syntagm. ii. p. 534, &c. 598, 603, &c.; Gramaye, *Antiq. Belgicæ*; Sanderus, *Brabantia et Flandria illustratæ*; Miræus, *Opera Diplomatica*, in many passages, and many other writers of those times. I will add that those who were called Lollhards were also called by many in German, *die Nollbrüder*, from the obsolete word *Nollen*.

[2] See above, p. 486, note 6.—*Mur.*

[3] Matthew Blastares was a Greek monk and jurist, who flourished about A.D. 1335. His *Alphabeticum Canonum Syntagma*, or Alphabetical synopsis of the matter contained in the sacred canons, was published, Gr. and Lat. in Beveridge's *Pandectæ Canonum*, Oxf. 1672, tom. ii. par. ii. p. 1. His tract on matrimonial causes and questions, is extant, Gr. and Lat. in Leunclavius, *Jus Gr. Rom.* lib. viii. p. 478. He also translated the fictitious donation of Constantine into Greek. —*Mur.*

[4] See above, p. 487, note 2.—*Mur.*

[5] Gregory Acindynus was a follower of Barlaam and assisted him in the council of Constantinople against Palamas and the Hesychists; and together with Barlaam was laid under censure by that council. Not ceasing to harass the Hesychists, he was arraigned by the patriarch A.D. 1341, and ordered to be still or he would be excommunicated. In 1347 he was actually excommunicated, and afterwards lived in obscurity. His Iambic poem on the heresy of Gregory Palamas is extant, Gr. and Lat. in Leo. Allatius, *Gr. Othod.* tom. i. p. 756—770, and his two books, *De Essentia et Operatione Dei*, against Palamas and others, was published, Gr. and Lat. by Gretser, Ingolst. 1616. 4to.—*Mur.*

[6] See above, p. 486, note 5.—*Mur.*

products of his genius;[1] Theophanes, bishop of Nice, who maintained the truth of Christianity against the Jews and other enemies of it; [2]Nilus Cabasilas, Nilus Rhodius, and Nilus Damyla, all of whom zealously supported the cause of the Greeks against the Latins;[3] Philotheus, who has left various tracts calculated to excite pious emotions;[4] Gregory Palamas, of whom more will be said hereafter.[5]

Of the vast host of Latin writers we shall select only the most eminent. Among the scholastic doctors who united theology with philosophy, John Duns Scotus, the great antagonist of Thomas and a Franciscan monk, holds the first rank; and if deficient in candour and ingenuousness of mind, he certainly was second to none of his age in subtilty.[6] After him the more distinguished

[1] See above, p. 486, note 1.—*Mur.*

[2] Theophanes, archbishop of Nice, flourished A.D. 1347, and wrote *Adversus Judæos*, also *Concordia Vet. et Novi Testam.* proving Jesus to be the Messiah; besides some Epistles. A full analysis of the two first works is given by Possevin, *Apparat.* tom. ii. p. 470.—*Mur.*

[3] Nilus Cabasilas was archbishop of Thessalonica under John Cantacuzenus about A.D. 1340. His tract *De Causis divisionum in Ecclesia*, and another *De Primatu Papæ*, have been repeatedly published, particularly by Salmasius, Gr. and Lat. with notes, subjoined to his work on the Primacy of the Pope, Leyden, 1645, 4to. He is reported to have written forty-nine books, *De Processione Sp. S. adversus Latinos.*—Nilus Rhodius was metropolitan of Rhodes, perhaps about A.D. 1360. He took sides with the Palamites against Barlaam, and wrote *Enarratio Synoptica de Sanctis et Œcumenicis Synodis IX.* which is extant in Justell's *Biblioth. Juris Canon.* tom. ii. p. 1155.—Nylus Damyla was a native of Italy, a monk in Crete, a violent opposer of the Latins, and flourished A.D. 1400. Only extracts from his works have been published.—*Mur.*

[4] Philotheus was a Greek monk, prior of the Laura of Mount Athos, metropolitan of Heraclea A.D. 1354, patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 1355, and died in 1371, greatly distinguished for reputed piety and for eloquence. His *Liturgia et Ordo instituendi Diaconum*, and his Eulogy on the hierarchs, Basil, Gregory Theologus, and John Chrysostom, are given in a Latin translation in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxvi. and the last, Greek and Latin, in Fronto le Duc's *Auctar. Patrum*, tom. ii. His *Oratio de Cruce* and *Oratio in tertiam jejunior. Dominicam*, Greek and Latin, are in Gretser, *De Cruce*, tom. ii. He wrote on Christ's transfiguration, in defence of Palamas against Barlaam, also discourses against Barlaam, a confession of faith, homilies on the Gospels for the year and on all the saints, and some other things which are preserved in manuscript.—*Mur.*

[5] Gregory Palamas, an Asiatic, educated at court, who renounced the world, gave up all his property, and became a monk. He spent ten years at Mount Athos, and ten more at Berrhœa; and then went to Thessalonica to recover his health injured by his austerities. He now became the successful leader of the monks against Barlaam for a series of years, and was much at court and in councils. In 1347 he was imprisoned by a faction, but soon after was liberated by another faction, and nominated but not ordained patriarch. About the year 1354, by order of the emperor Cantacuzenus, he was consecrated archbishop of Thessalonica, but the magistrates there would not admit him to his see, and he retired to Lemnos, where he was supported by the emperor's bounty. His works are two orations on the Procession of the Holy Spirit against the Latins, a refutation of the statements of John Veccus, *Prosopopœia*, or two judicial pleas of the body and the soul, each against the other, two orations on the transfiguration of Christ, besides some pieces never published.

Besides those hitherto mentioned, there were the following Greek writers in this century.

Haiton or Aiton, an Armenian prince, who served long in the wars of Palestine against the Saracens, and then about A.D. 1250 became a Premonstratensian monk in the island of Cyprus, and spent his life in retirement and devotion. About A.D. 1307, while resident at Poictiers in France, he dictated a history of the Tartars, their customs, and their wars, which Nicolaus Falconius translated from the French in which it was dictated into barbarous Latin, entitled *Itinerarium et Flos Historiarum Orientis*, with an appendix entitled *Passagium Terræ Sanctæ*. It was printed repeatedly; *e. g.* by Reineccius, Helmst. 1585; and in Italian, Venice, 1553.

Georgius Lecapenus, a monk who lived in Thessaly, was intimate with Gregory Palamas, and flourished about A.D. 1354. He wrote *De Constructione Verborum*, published in Gr. Venice and Florence, 1526, 8vo; also many epistles, and a number of grammatical works which exist in manuscript.

Callistus, a monk of Mount Athos, sent to court by his monastery, and made patriarch of Constantinople by Cantacuzenus A.D. 1354, retired after two years, again resumed the chair, and died on an embassy to the Servian princess Elizabeth. To him is ascribed a homily on the exaltation of the cross, in Gretser *De Cruce*, tom. ii. p. 1347, and some others which exist in manuscript.

Demetrius Cydonius, a native of Constantinople, and one of the principal counsellors and courtiers of the emperor Cantacuzenus. He retired with that emperor to a monastery; and afterwards leaving Greece, studied theology and the Latin writers at Milan, and then selling his property, spent his life in a monastery in Crete. He has left a tract on the execrable doctrines of Gregory Palamas, another on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, two orations on public political affairs, an oration on contempt of death, and an epistle to Barlaam against the procession of the Spirit from the Son; all of which have been printed, as also his Greek translation of Richard's confutation of the Alcoran. He also translated into Greek St. Thomas's *Summa Theologiæ*, and some other of St. Thomas's works, as well as some of St. Anselm of Canterbury, which exist in manuscript.

John the Wise, surnamed Cyparissiota, of an uncertain age, but supposed to have flourished about A.D. 1360. His *Expositio materiaria eorum, quæ de Deo a theologis dicuntur*, is extant in a Latin translation, *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxi. and two of his discourses, Gr. and Lat. in Combefis, *Auctarium novis mum.*

Manuel Caleca, a Greek who is reported to have become a Dominican monk, and who lived about A.D. 1360. His four books against the Greeks in regard to the Procession of the Holy Spirit, in a Latin translation, are in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxvi. and his two tracts, one against the Palamites and the other *De Principiis Fidei Christianæ*, Gr. and Lat. are in Combefis, *Auctarium.*

Isaac Argyrus, a Greek monk who flourished about A.D. 1373, whose *Computus* was published, Gr. and Lat. by Christmann, Heidelb. 1611, 4to, and by Petavius, *De Doctrina Temporum*, tom iii. p. 359.

Emanuel II. Palæologus, created Cæsar A.D. 1384, and emperor A.D. 1391—1425. His works were published, Gr. and Lat. by Leunclavius, Basil, 1578, 8vo; comprising one hundred precepts for the education of a prince, seven addresses to his son on virtues and vices and on learning, two prolix morning prayers, and several other tracts.

Joseph, called Alshaher Biltabib, a native of Alexandria in Egypt and curate of the catholic church of the Holy Virgin A.D. 1350, and ordained a presbyter A.D. 1398. He translated paraphrastically nearly all the canons received by the Greek church into Arabic. The whole work in manuscript is in the Bodleian library. The canons of the four first general councils, Arabic and Latin, were printed in Beveridge's *Pandectæ Canonum, Oxf.* 1671, tom. ii. p. 681.—*Mur.*

[6] The works of Scotus were first published accurately in the 17th century by Wadding, a very laborious man Lyons, 1639, in twelve volumes. See Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 86, &c. but especially Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. vi p. 40, 107; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 70, &c. [John Duns Scotus was

in this class were Durand of St. Porçain who attacked the received doctrine respecting the co-operation of God in human actions,[1] Antonius Andreas,[2] Hervæus Natalis,[3] Francis Mayron,[4] Thomas Bradwardine, an acute and ingenious man,[5] Peter Aureolus,[6] John Bacon,[7] William Occam,[8] Walter Burley,[9] Peter de Alliaco,[10] Thomas of Strasburg,[11] and Gregory de Rimini.[12] Among the mystics, John Tauler and John Ruysbrock excelled the others in wisdom

probably born about A.D. 1265, but whether in England, Scotland, or Ireland, is uncertain. He studied first in a Franciscan monastery in Newcastle, and then at Merton College, Oxford, where he became a fellow and A.D. 1301 a professor of theology. He greatly distinguished himself as a disputant and was learned in philosophy, mathematics, civil and canon law, and theology. His lectures on the Sentences of Lombard were greatly admired, and very fully attended by the 30,000 students then said to be at Oxford. They are since printed with notes and fill six folio volumes. In the year 1304 the general of his order commanded him to remove to Paris and there defend his doctrine of the immaculate conception of Mary, which he did with great success and applause. In 1308 his general sent him from Paris to Cologne to found a university there, and to defend his doctrine of Mary's sinless birth He died soon after his arrival, November 8, 1308, aged 43 years. His works embrace, besides his commentaries on Lombard's Sentences, commentaries on some works of Aristotle, and numerous tracts, theological, metaphysical, and philosophical.—*Mur.* [For an account of him and his works see Fabricius, *Biblio. Lat. Med. Ævi*, vol. iv. p. 407, &c. and for a full view of his philosophy see Ritter, *Geschichte der Christ. Philos.* vol. iv. p. 354—472 He was called Doctor Subtilis; his great opponent Thomas Aquinas being styled Doctor Angelicus.—*R.*

[1] See Launoi's tract, entitled *Syllabus Rationum, quibus Durandi causa defenditur*, in his *Opp.* tom. 1; *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 723. [Durand of St. Porçain was born in the village of St. Porçain in Auvergne, France, was a Dominican monk and a distinguished theologian at Paris, called Doctor Resolutissimus. In 1323 he went to Italy, became master of the pontifical palace, bishop of Meaux in 1326, and bishop of Le Puy in 1327, and died A.D. 1333. He wrote commentaries on the four books of Sentences, often printed, *De Origine Jurisdictionum seu de Ecclesiastica Jurisdictione*, and a tract *De Legibus*.—*Mur.* [See Fabricius, *Biblio. Lat. Med. Ævi*, vol. ii. p. 204, 205. For further information respecting him, his works, and system, see Ritter, *ubi supra*, vol. iv. p. 547—574.—*R.*

[2] Antonius Andreas was a Spaniard of Aragon, a disciple of John Duns Scotus, a Franciscan monk, flourished A.D. 1308, and died, it is said, A.D. 1320. His works are commentaries on the Sentences, and on the works of Gilbert Porretanus, Aristotle, and Boethius, with some law tracts.—*Mur.*

[3] Hervæus Natalis, a native of Brittany, a student and doctor at Paris, a Dominican monk, and, A.D. 1318, general of the order. He flourished A.D. 1312, and died A.D. 1323. He wrote commentaries on the Sentences, printed, Paris, 1647, fol. *Quodlibeta Majora et Minora*, tracts on the power of the popes, against the Franciscans, and on various theological, philosophical, and practical subjects, a commentary on St. Paul's Epistles, and a treatise on Logic.—*Mur.*

[4] Francis Mayron was born in Provence, studied under Duns Scotus at Paris, where he became a noted doctor. He was a Franciscan monk, and died at Placentia A.D. 1325. His commentaries on the Sentences, *Quodlibeta varia, de formalitatibus liber, de primo principio, de expositione divinorum nominum, et de univocatione entis*, were published at Venice, 1520, fol. and his sermons, and various theological tracts, Basil, 1498. He also wrote commentaries on the Ten Commandments, on Augustine's *Civitas Dei*, and on some books of Aristotle.—*Mur.*

[5] See Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tome iv. p. 232, and his *Critique de la Biblioth. Ecclésiast. de M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 360, and Souciet's notes on this passage, p. 703; *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. Critique*, tome ii. p. 500, &c. [also p. 488, above, and note 5, there.—*Mur.*

[6] Peter Aureolus was a Frenchman, born at Verberie on the Oise, a Dominican monk and theologian, became a public teacher in the university of Paris A.D. 1318, and lectured on the Sentences, became archbishop of Aix in Provence A.D. 1321, and died after A.D. 1345. He wrote commentaries on the four Books of Sentences, *Quodlibeta varia*, *Breviarium Bibliorum* or Epitome of the Scriptures, a tract on the immaculate conception of Mary besides other tracts and sermons.—*Mur.*

[7] John Bacon or Baconthorp, an Englishman, born at the obscure village of Baconthorp in Norfolk. He early became a Carmelite monk, was sent to Oxford and then to Paris to study became celebrated as a jurist and a theologian, returned to England and was soon after made provincial of his order for England A.D. 1329. Four years after he was called to Rome to give his opinion on some difficult matrimonial questions, and died at London A.D. 1346. He wrote commentaries on the Sentences, a Compendium of the law of Christ, *Quodlibeta*, on the rule of the Carmelites, and a historical defence of it, which have been published, also commentaries on the whole Bible, and on Augustine's *Civitas Dei*, a tract against the Jews, sermons, &c. never published.—*Mur.*

[8] See the note in p. 501, above.—*Mur.*

[9] Walter Burley, an English secular priest, or as some say a Franciscan monk, called *Doctor Planus et Perspicuus*. He was of Merton College, Oxford, and afterwards studied at Paris. In both he heard Duns Scotus, but on his return to Oxford he dissented from Scotus. He was preceptor to king Edward III. and flourished A.D. 1337, being then 62 years old. He wrote commentaries on the Sentences, and a great number of philosophical works, comments on Aristotle and others, lives of the philosophers, tracts on philosophical questions, &c. Only a part of his works have been printed.—*Mur.*

[10] Peter de Ailly or de Alliaco, born of poor parentage at Compeigne on the Oise, 48 miles N.E. of Paris, A.D. 1340; after a good previous education he was admitted a bursar in the College of Navarre, Paris, 1372, began to lecture on the Sentences and to preach in public in 1375, was created D.D. 1380, and head of the College of Navarre in 1384, pleaded the cause of the immaculate conception of Mary before the pope at Avignon in 1387, became chancellor of the university and confessor to the king in 1389, treasurer of the royal chapel and royal envoy to the pope in 1394, was appointed bishop of La Puy in 1395 and of Cambray in 1396, attended the council of Pisa in 1409, was made cardinal in 1411 and papal legate to Germany in 1414; at the close of which year he repaired to the council of Constance, presided in the third session, and was very active during the three years of the sitting of that council, and often preached in it to the fathers. He died at Cambray A.D. 1425 and was called the Eagle of France and the Maul of Errorists. He was strenuous for condemning John Huss, and also for restraining the ambition of the popes, and for reforming the church and preserving its liberties. His writings are very numerous and various, comprising commentaries on the Sentences of Lombard, on the study of the Scriptures, on the power of the popes, pious meditations, sermons, expositions of Scripture, the mode of electing popes, the authority of cardinals, the reformation of the church, the connexion of astrology with theology, on the calendar, comments on Aristotle, &c. many of which have been published.—*Mur.*

[11] Thomas of Strasburg was a German, born at Strasburg, an Augustinian eremite, a theologian of Paris, was made prior general of his order in 1345, and died at Vienne, A.D. 1357. He wrote commentaries on the four Books of Sentences, and has left us the constitution of his order and some other tracts.—*Mur.*

[12] Of all these [scholastic doctors] there is an account given in the *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tome xiv p. 11, 12, &c. [Gregory de Rimini was an Italian, born at Rimini, an Augustinian eremite, a Parisian doctor of theology, general of his order A.D. 1357, and died the year after at Vienne. He wrote on the first two books of the Sentences, commentaries on the epistles of Paul and on the epistle of James, a tract on usury, and some others.—*Mur*

and integrity though they were not free from all errors.[1] Of Raymund Lully we have already spoken[2]. Nicolaus Lyranus obtained great reputation by his concise exposition of the whole Bible.[3] Raynerius Pisanus is known for his *Summa Theologiæ*,[4] and Astesanus for his *Summa Casuum Conscientiæ*.[5]

[1] John Tauler was a German Dominican monk, and a popular preacher at Cologne and Strasburg. He died at the latter place A.D. 1360. Luther and Melancthon frequently quoted his writings, particularly his sermons. He left in German Postills or sermons for all the Sundays and festivals of the year (highly commended by Luther), Imitation of Christ in his Poverty, Marrow of the Soul or Perfection in all the Virtues, Spiritual Contemplations on the Life and Sufferings of Christ, the Noble Little Book or the Way to become in earnest, hearty, spiritual, and devout (the preceding were published, Francf. 1601 and 1703, 4to); also, the Soul-enlightening Mirror, with plates, 1713, 8vo. The other works ascribed to him are letters, hymns, prayers, dialogues and other tracts, several of which are not his.—John Ruysbrock was born at Ruysbrock in Brabant, A.D. 1293, was presbyter of the great church at Brussels, became a regular canon of St. Augustine, and established and presided over the convent of Grünthal two miles from Brussels, A.D. 1360, and died A.D. 1381, aged 88. He was at the head of the mystics and was called the Second Dionysius Arcopagita. His writings were all in Dutch, but Surius translated most of them into Latin, in which form they were published, Cologne, 1552, fol. 1609, 4to, and 1692, fol. These are, a Summary of the Spiritual Life, the Mirror of Salvation, Remarks on the Tabernacle of Moses and its Furniture, on the Principal Virtues, on Faith and the Judgment, on the Four Temptations, on the Seven Guards of the Spiritual School, on the Seven Degrees of Love, on Spiritual Nuptials, the Perfections of the Sons of God, the Kingdom of the Friends of God, on True Contemplation, Twelve Useful Epistles, two Spiritual Cautions, Samuel or Deep Contemplation, a Short Prayer. Several of the Protestants have commended his writings for their pious spirit. John Gerson accused him of heresy after his death, but Surius defends him. He was severe upon the vicious monks and clergy. See the *Unpartheyische Kirchenhistorie*, Jena, 1735, vol. i. p. 1329, 1331.—*Mur.*

[2] See p. 490, above.—*Mur.*

[3] Nicolaus Lyranus or de Lyra, was born at Lire in Normandy, and as some say of Jewish parentage. He became a Franciscan monk about A.D. 1292, was master in theology at Paris, A.D. 1320, expounded the Scriptures there in the Franciscan convent, and died A.D. 1340. His great work is, *Postillæ Perpetuæ sive Brevis Commentaria, in universa Biblia*, which he commenced A.D. 1293, and completed A.D. 1330. After several incorrect editions in six vols. fol. it was published at Lyons, 1590, Douay, 1617, and Antwerp, 1634, in the *Biblia Glossata*, and Paris, 1660, in the *Biblia Maxima*. His other works are, *Postillæ Minores seu Enarrationes in Epistolas, et Evang. Dominicalia totius Anni*, Venice, 1588, 8vo; *Tractatus de Idoneo Ministrante et Suscipiente S. Altaris Sacramentum, Disputatio contra Perfidiam Judæorum, Tractatus contra Judæum quendam*, and *Contemplatio de Vita et Gestis S. Francisci*. His exposition of the Scriptures far exceeded all others of that age, and contributed so much to advance the knowledge of the Bible that some have attributed the Reformation in no small degree to it; it was said,—

Si Lyra non lyrasset,
Lutherus non saltasset;

i.e. Lyra's lyre awaked Luther's dance.—*Mur.* [His title was *Doctor Planus et Utilis*. For further information respecting him and his works see Fabricius, *Biblio. Lat. Med. Ævi*, vol. v. p. 348, &c.: Wolfius, *Biblio. Hebr.* vol. i. Num. 1697, p. 912, &c. and vol. iii. p. 834, &c.—*R.*

[4] Rayner was a native of Pisa, a Dominican monk, and an eminent theologian and jurist. He lived in the former part of this century, but the precise time is not ascertained. His *Pantheologia* or *Summa Universæ Theologiæ*, alphabetically arranged, has been repeatedly printed, though greatly interpolated and altered.—*Mur.*

[5] Astesanus or Astensis, a Franciscan monk, born at Asti in the north of Italy, who died about A.D. 1330. His eight books entitled *Summa de Casibus Conscientiæ*, were printed at Venice, 1519, fol.

Besides those already mentioned, the following Latin writers lived in this century, according to Henry Wharton's continuation of Cave's *Historia Literaria*:—

Andrew, an English Dominican monk of Newcastle, and doctor of theology, A.D. 1301. He wrote a Commentary on the first book of the Sentences, Paris, 1514, fol. and a Commentary on Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*.

William of Nangis, a French Benedictine monk of St. Denys, Paris, who flourished A.D. 1301. He wrote a Chronology from the Creation to A.D. 1301, which others continued to A.D. 1368 (D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, tom. xi. p. 405); Chronicle of the Kings of France to A.D. 1301 (in Pithœus' *Scriptores Francici*), and History of St. Lewis, King of France, and of his sons, Philip and Robert, also in Pithœus, *ubi supra*.

William Mandagot, a French cardinal whom Boniface VIII. employed to compile the *Liber Sextus Decretalium*. He also wrote a tract on the election of new prelates, printed, Cologne, 1573, 8vo.

Henry Stero, a German Benedictine monk, who wrote about A.D. 1301 Annals of Germany, from A.D. 1152 to 1273 (in the *Scriptores Germanici*, and in Canisius' *Lectiones Antiq.* tom. i.), also History of Rudolph of Hapsburg, Adolphus of Nassau, and Albert of Austria, from A.D. 1266 to 1300 (extant in Freher's *Scriptores Germanici*.)

Dinus Mugellanus, an Italian jurist and professor at Bologna, A.D. 1301. He wrote several comments and tracts on different portions and subjects of the canon law.

Jacobus de Benedictis, an Italian Franciscan, A.D. 1301, renowned for courting contempt and abuse as the means of sanctification. He composed many uncouth religious poems in Italian, published, Venice, 1617, 4to.

John of Fribourg in the Brisgau, a Dominican and bishop of Ossuna in Hungary, distinguished A.D. 1302 for his eloquence in preaching. He wrote *Summa Prædicatorum* (Rantling. 1487), and *Summa Major seu Confessoriorum* (Lyons, 1518), and some other things.

Ptolemy of Lucca, disciple of Thomas Aquinas, a Dominican, confessor to the pope, and A.D. 1318 bishop of Torcello in the Venetian territory. He wrote Annals, Civil and Ecclesiastical, from A.D. 1060 to 1362, and a Chronicle of the Popes and Emperors (both printed, Lyons, 1619, and the Annals in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxv.) His *Hist. Eccles.* was never published.

Eberardus, a German Benedictine monk and archdeacon of Ratisbon. He wrote about A.D. 1305 Annals of the Dukes of Austria, Bavaria, and Swabia from A.D. 1273 to 1305, extant in Canisius, *Lect. Antiq.* tom. i.

Clement V. pope A.D. 1305—1314, author of the *Clementinæ* or *Liber Septimus Decretalium*, and of numerous epistles and bulls.

Thomas Joyce or Jorsius, D.D. a Dominican monk of London, who taught theology at Paris and London, was provincial of his order, confessor to the king, became a cardinal in 1305, was sent legate to the emperor of Germany in 1311, and died on the way to Lyons. He wrote Commentaries on Genesis, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, the Books of Maccabees, Lamentations, the canonical Epistles, the Apocalypse, and on Boethius, and on Aristotle's Logic, all of which are printed as the works of Thomas Aquinas. His work on twenty-seven Psalms and Explanations of Ovid's Metamorphoses have been published. Many others are in manuscript.

William of Paris, a Dominican monk, created general censor of the faith in France by the pope A.D. 1305, and commissioner to try the cause of the Templars, A.D. 1308. He was probably the author of the Dialogues on the Eight Sacraments published as the work of William of Auvergne, Paris, 1587.

Philip of Eichstadt, D.D. a native of Alsace, abbot of a Cistercian monastery at Paris, sent to Rome by the emperor of Austria A.D. 1305, and then made bishop of Eichstadt where he died A.D. 1322. At the request of Anna, queen of Hungary, he wrote the life of St. Walpergis, in Canisius, *Lect. Antiq.* tom. iv.

Siffrid, a presbyter of Meissen in Saxony, A.D. 1307. He wrote a Chronicle from the creation to A.D. 1307, a large part of which is in Pistorius, *Script. Germ.*

Nicolaus Trivet, an English Dominican monk, born in Norfolk, studied at London, Oxford, and Paris, and was a prior of his order in London where he died A.D. 1326, nearly 70 years old He wrote Annals of England from A.D. 1135 to 1307 (in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, tom. viii.), and commentaries on Augustine's *Civitas Dei*, published, Toulouse, 1488, and Venice, 1489.

Malachy, an Irish Franciscan monk and theologian of Oxford, A.D. 1310, and chaplain to the king. He wrote *De Veneno Peccatorum Mortalium deque Remediis ipsorum*, published, Paris, 1518.

William Durant, nephew to *Durandus Speculator*, bishop of Mende in France, by whom he was educated. He was distinguished as a theologian and jurist, and was made canon, archdeacon, and A.D. 1296 bishop of Mende. In the year 1311 he wrote his famous tract *De Modo celebrandi Generalis Concilii*, ed. Paris, 1535, 4to, and 1671, 8vo. He expelled the Jews from his diocese in 1312 and died in 1328.

Marinus Sanutus or Sanudo, surnamed Tursellus, a Venetian patrician. He first constructed a church organ called in Italian *Torsello*, whence his surname. He was a great traveller, and visited Cyprus, Armenia, Alexandria, Rhodes, Palestine, and was at various European courts. He wrote between A.D. 1306 and 1322 *Secreta Fidelium Crucis super Terræ Sanctæ Recuperatione et Conservatione*, in three parts; in the first he proposes means for subduing the Saracens, in the second, the manner in which the Christian crusaders should conduct the enterprise, and in the third, the way to preserve Palestine when conquered, and also gives the history and geography of that country. This work, with twenty-two epistles of Marinus, nearly fills the second volume of Bongarsius, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Hanov. 1611, fol.

Alexander de St. Elpidio, D.D. an Italian and Augustinian monk, general of his order from 1312 to 1325, when he was made archbishop of Ravenna. He wrote by order of the pope a tract *De Jurisdictione Imperii et Auctoritate Summi Pontificis*, published, Rimini, 1624.

Vitalis a Furno, a Frenchman, a Franciscan, cardinal A.D. 1312, died at Avignon, A.D. 1327. He opposed the Spirituals, and wrote mystical expositions of the Proverbs, the Gospels, the Apocalypse, and various portions of the whole Bible.

Hugo Pratensis or de Prato Florido, born near Florence, a Dominican and a celebrated preacher. He died A.D. 1322, and left sermons for the Sundays and others for the holy days through the year, also a Lent sermon.

Porchetus Salvaticus, a Carthusian monk of noble Italian birth, supposed to have lived about A.D. 1315. He wrote a confutation of the Jews, borrowing much from Raymund Martini's *Pugio Fidei*, Paris, 1520, fol.

Ubertinus de Casalis, an Italian Franciscan, leader of the Spirituals from A.D. 1312 to 1317, then became a Benedictine in Brabant, and at last it is said a Carthusian. In the year 1321 he gave to the pope his famous *Responsio circa Quæstionem de Paupertate Christi et Apostolorum*, namely, that to say Christ possessed any property in the common and worldly manner was heretical; but not so, to say he held possessions in the usual spiritual manner. It is extant in Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. iii. ad ann. 1321, and still better in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. i. p. 292, 307.

John of Naples, a Dominican divine, doctor of theology at Paris, and a zealous follower of Thomas Aquinas, A.D. 1315. His *Quæstiones variæ Philosophicæ et Theologicæ*, were printed at Naples, 1618, fol.

John XXII. pope A.D. 1316 to 1334, has left us more than 400 epistles and bulls, besides his *Extravagantes*, which are in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*.

Albert of Padua, an Augustinian eremite, teacher of theology, and preacher at Paris, where he died A.D. 1328. He has left many printed sermons, and extensive MS. commentaries on the Scriptures.

James of Lausanne, a French Dominican monk, theologian of Paris, A.D. 1317, provincial of his order for France, and bishop of Lausanne, a voluminous and diffuse writer. His twelve books of Morals and various sermons have been printed. His commentaries on the Scriptures remain in manuscript.

Bertrand de Turre, a French Franciscan monk, archbishop of Salerno 1319, a cardinal 1320, general of his order by papal appointment in 1328, died 1334. Several of his sermons were printed, but others, as well as his commentaries on the Sentences of Lombard, slumber in manuscript.

Thomas Morus or de la Moor, an English knight of the household of king Edward II. under whom he served in his Scotch wars. He flourished about A.D. 1320, and wrote a history of the reign of Edward II. from A.D. 1307 to 1326. He composed it in French and had it translated into Latin by Walter Baker. It is printed among the *Scriptores Anglici*, Lond. 1574, fol.

Albertinus Mussatus, an Italian historian and poet of Padua, who died A.D. 1320. He wrote *De Gestis Henrici VII. Germanor. Imperatoris*, and several poems, printed at Venice, 1635, fol.

John Bassolis, a Scotch Franciscan and disciple of Duns Scotus. He lectured on the Sentences at Rheims A.D. 1313, and at Mechlin A.D. 1322. His commentaries or lectures on the four books of Sentences and some miscellaneous pieces were printed. Paris, 1517, fol.

Bernard Guido, a French Dominican monk, born near Limoges, 1261, became a monk 1280, was successively prior of Albi 1294, of Carcassone 1297, of Castres 1299, and of Limoges 1303, was appointed Inquisitor against the Albigenses 1305, represented his order at the papal court 1312, was papal legate to Italy 1316, bishop of Tuy 1323, and of Lodeve 1324, and died 1331. He wrote a concise history of the establishment of the Grandimontensians and some others (in Labbe's *Biblioth. Nov. Manus.* tom. ii.); *Gesta Comitum Tholosanorum* (Toulouse, 1623, fol.) Lives of various saints, lives of popes, &c. never printed.

Peter Bertrand, a distinguished French jurist, counsellor, bishop, and cardinal, who died A.D. 1349. He composed a tract, *De Jurisdictione Ecclesiastica* (defending the rights of the Gallic church against Peter de Cunctis, ed. Paris, 1495, 4to), and another, *De Origine et Usu Jurisdictionum*. Both are in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxvi.

Peter of Duisberg, a priest and a Teutonic knight. He composed, A.D. 1326, his *Chronicon Prussiæ*, or history of the Teutonic order from its foundation A.D. 1190 to 1326, continued by another hand to A.D. 1435, edited with notes and dissertations by Hartknoch, Jena, 1679, 4to.

Gerhard Odonis, a French Franciscan, general of his order in 1329, died in 1349. He wrote commentaries on Aristotle's Ethics, and the *Officium de Stigmatibus S. Francisci*, still used by that fraternity.

John Canon or Canonicus, an English Franciscan theologian, who studied at Oxford and Paris under Scotus, and lectured at Oxford till his death. He flourished A.D. 1329, and wrote commentaries on the Sentences, *Lecturæ Magistrales*, *Quæstiones Disputatæ*, and on Aristotle's eight books of physics, all printed at Venice, 1492 and 1516.

Petrus Paludanus, a French Dominican theologian and preacher, became a licentiate at Paris 1314, was made titular patriarch of Jerusalem about A.D. 1330, and died in 1342. He wrote commentaries on the four books of Sentences, of which those on the third and fourth books were printed at Paris, 1530, 2 vols. folio; also sermons, a treatise on ecclesiastical power, and another on the right of the Franciscans to hold property, besides several works never published.

Guido de Perpiniano, D.D. a Spanish Carmelite, studied at Paris, became general of his order 1318, bishop of Majorca 1321 and afterwards of Perpignan. He wrote *Summa de Hæresibus Omnibus et earum Confutationibus* (ed. Paris, 1528, fol. and Cologne, 1631), a Harmony and Commentary on the four Gospels (ed. Cologne, 1631), besides a Commentary on the Decretum of Gratian, yet in manuscript.

Adamus Goddamus or Waddham, D.D. an English Franciscan of Norwich, professor at Oxford, died 1358. His commentary on the sentences was published, Paris, 1512.

Walter Hemmingford, an English regular Augustinian canon of Gisburn near Clives in Yorkshire, where he died A.D. 1358. He wrote History of the reigns of the Kings of England from A.D. 1066 to 1313, among the *Historiæ Anglicæ Scriptores Quinque*, Oxon. 1687, folio.

Ludolphus Saxo, of Saxon origin, a Dominican and then a Carthusian, a pious man and good writer, flourished A.D. 1340. His life of Christ has been often printed, *e.g.* Paris, 1589, and also his Commentary on the Psalms of David, in which he follows the spiritual sense; ed. Lyons. 1540.

Monaldus, a Dalmatian of Justinianople, a Franciscan and archbishop of Benevento, died about A.D. 1332. His *Summa Casuum Conscientiæ*, called Aurea and Monaldina was published, Lyons, 1516, 8vo.

Bartholomew of St. Concordia, a Dominican monk of Pisa, died 1347. His *Summa Casuum Conscientiæ* (written in 1318), and his *Sermones Quadrigesimales*, were both printed Lyons, 1519, 8vo.

Thos. Wallels, a Welchman, Dominican, and theologian of Oxford, often confounded with Thos. Jorsius, an Englishman and cardinal who died in 1311. He maintained before the papal court at Avignon A.D. 1332, that deceased saints are admitted to the immediate vision of God, and accused John XXII. of heresy on this subject. His *Articuli Hæreticales* and *Libellus De Theoris Prædicandi*, have been published.

Richard Buriensis, born at St. Edmundsbury, Suffolk, educated at Oxford, tutor to Edward III. bishop of Durham A.D. 1333, chancellor of England 1334, lord treasurer 1336, died 1345, aged 59. He founded a library at Oxford, and wrote A.D. 1344, *Philobiblion, seu Liber de Amore Librorum et Bibliothecarum Institutione*, frequently printed, *e.g.* Oxon. 1599, 4to.

Benedict XII. pope A.D. 1334–1342, has left us many epistles and bulls.

Simon Fidatus de Cassia, an Italian Augustinian monk, abbot at Florence A.D. 1335, till his death in 1348. Distinguished for sanctity, and as a preacher, he wrote *Enarrationes Evangelicæ Veritatis seu de Gestis Domini Salvatoris*, ed. Cologne, 1540, fol. a tract *De B. Virgine*, another *De Speculo Crucis*, and several epistles.

Guilelmus de Baldensel, a knight of Jerusalem, composed A.D. 1337 his *Hodoeporicon*, or Journal of his travels in the Holy Land, published by Canisius, *Lection. Antiq.* tom. v. par. ii. p. 96.

Arnaldus Cescomes, archbishop of Tarragona, A.D. 1337, wrote *Epistolæ Duæ de Saracenis ab Hispania pellendis*, extant in Baluze, *Miscell.* tom. ii.

Richard Hampolus, D.D. an Augustinian eremite of Yorkshire, who died A.D. 1349. He wrote a tract on Repentance, and brief expositions of the Psalter, the canticles of the Old Testament included in the public offices, on the 20th Psalm, on the Lord's prayer, the Apostles' and the Athanasian creeds, some parts of Solomon's Songs, the Lamentations, some chapters of Job, &c. which are in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxvi.

Robert Holkat of Northampton, a Dominican, and professor of theology at Oxford, died A.D. 1359. He wrote a commentary on the Sentences (ed. Lyons, 1497, fol. 1510, 4to), *Moralitates pulchræ Historiarum* (ed. Paris, 1510, 8vo), 213 Lectures on the Book of the Wisdom of Solomon (ed. Venice, 1509, 1586, fol.) Lectures on the Canticles and Seven Chapters of Ecclesiastes (ed. Venice, 1509), Commentaries on the Book of Proverbs (ed. Paris, 1515), a tract on the imputability of Sin, and Conferences on the Sentences, &c. (ed. Lyons, 1479, fol. 1518). Several other of his works are still in manuscript.

Philip de Monte Calerio, a Franciscan, first at Toulouse and then at Padua; flourished A.D. 1340. His *Conciones Dominicales totius anni* (abridged), and *Quadrigesimale, Conciones de Eucharistia*, and *Sermones de Sanctis*, were published, Lyons, 1515.

Henry de Urimaria or De Trimaria, a German Augustinian eremite, and doctor of theology at Paris, flourished A.D. 1340, and was distinguished for his piety and his liberality. He wrote additions to the Books of Sentences, on a Fourfold Instinct, and several sermons, published, Cologne, 1513, Paris, 1514.

Lupoldus Babenbergius, a noble German, a jurist, professor of civil and canon law, and bishop of Bamberg A.D. 1340. His tracts, *De Zelo Veterum Regum Galliæ et Germaniæ Principum*, and *De Juribus Regni et Imperii*, were published, Paris, 1540, Cologne, 1564, 8vo, &c. often.

Alvarus Pelagius or Pelagius Alvarus, a Spanish Franciscan, who studied at Bologna, Pisa, and Paris A.D. 1304, was papal penitentiary in 1332, and afterwards a bishop in Portugal. He wrote *De Planctu Ecclesiæ*, (ed. Venice, 1560), *Summa Theologiæ*, (ed. Ulm, 1474), and other works never printed.

Bartholomew of Urbino, an Italian Augustinian eremite, and bishop of Urbino, died A.D. 1350. He collected flowers of Augustine and of Ambrose, which he published, each under the title of *Milleloquium*. Both were printed at Lyons, the former in 1555 and the latter in 1556.

John Honsemius, a canon, and teacher at Liege, A.D. 1348. He continued Ægidius' History of the bishops of Liege, from A.D. 1247 to 1348.

John Becan, a canon of the church of Utrecht, A.D. 1350. He wrote a chronicle of the church and bishops of Utrecht, and of the counts of Holland, from St. Willibrord to A.D. 1346, which was continued by William Hedam, dean of Harlaem, to A.D. 1524, both printed, Utrecht, 1643, fol.

Albericus de Rosate, an Italian doctor of canon law, A.D. 1350. He wrote *Dictionarium Juris Civilis et Canonici*, ed. Venice, 1573, 1601, commentaries on the *Liber sextus Decretalium*, *De Testibus*, and other tracts.

Roger of Conway or Connovius, D.D. an English Franciscan, educated at Oxford, and provincial of his order for England. In the dispute between the mendicants and the regular clergy, respecting the right to hear confessions A.D. 1350, Roger appeared in behalf of his order in a work, *De Confessionibus per Regulares audiendis*, published by Goldast, *Monarch.* tom. ii.

Petrus de Columbario, cardinal bishop of Ostia, sent by the pope to anoint and crown the emperor Charles IV. at Rome; of which mission he wrote the history, entitled *Historia Itineris Romani*, in Labbé's *Biblioth. Nov. Manus.* tom. i. p. 354.

Nicolaus Eymericus, a Spanish Dominican, Inquisitor general for Aragon, 1356, chaplain and supreme judge at Avignon in 1371, died in 1399. His *Directorium Inquisitorum*, with the notes of Francis Pegna, was published, Venice, 1595, fol. Rome, 1578 and 1587.

Ranulph Higden or Hikeden, or of Chester, an English Benedictine monk of Chester, who died A.D. 1363, having been a monk 64 years. He compiled a universal history from the creation to A.D. 1357, entitled *Polychronicon*. This history John de Trevisa translated into English, A.D. 1387, and that translation, with some amendment of the style, was printed by William Caxton, Lond. 1482, fol.

Alphonsus Vargas, a Spanish Augustinian eremite, a doctor of Paris, bishop of Badajos and archbishop of Seville, where he died A.D. 1359. His commentary on the first book of the Sentences was printed, Venice, 1490, and his *Quæstiones in Aristotelis libros tres de Anima*, Venice, 1566.

Thomas Stubbs or Stobæus, D.D. an English Dominican monk of York, who flourished A.D. 1360, and died after 1373. He wrote the lives or a chronicle of the archbishops of York, from St. Paulinus, the first archbishop, to the year 1373, published among the *Scriptores Decem Angliæ*, Lond. 1652, fol.

John Calderinus, a famous canonist of Bologna, A.D. 1360, who wrote several works on canon law, published in the 16th century.

Peter Berchorius, a Benedictine monk, born at Poictiers, and abbot at Paris, where he died A.D. 1362. He wrote *Dictionarium seu Repertorium morale Bibliicum*, (containing numerous biblical words and phrases, alphabetically arranged and explained, for the use of practical religion), *Rectorium Morale Utriusque Testamenti*, (containing tropological and allegorical expositions of nearly the whole bible); and *Inductorium Morale*. The three works have been frequently printed, *e.g.* Cologne, 1620, 3 vols. fol.

Bartholomew de Glanvilla, an English Franciscan, who studied at Oxford, Paris, and Rome, flourished A.D. 1360, and wrote *Opus de Proprietatibus Rerum seu Allegoriarum ac Tropologiarum in Utramque Testamentum* (on the figurative language of the bible), published with some other pieces frequently, *e.g.* Paris, 1574, 4to.

Nicolaus Oresmius or Orem, the coryphæus of the Parisian doctors in his time, tutor to the dauphin, rector of the Gymnasium of Navarre, dean of Rouen in 1361, and bishop of Lisieux in 1377. He died about A.D. 1384. In the year 1363 he preached a sermon before the pope and cardinals, in which he boldly attacked their vices (ed. by Flaccus Illyricus, *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, p. 512). He wrote *De Mutatione Monetæ, de Sphæra*, and translated the Scriptures into French, and also Aristotle's *Ethics*, some works of Cicero, and some of Petrarch.

Hainricus, a German monk of Rebdorf about A.D. 1362, wrote Annals of Germany from A.D. 1295 to 1363, published by Freher, *Histor. German.* Francf. 1600, tom. i.

Saint Brigitta, a Swedish lady who had visions from

her childhood. She persuaded her husband to become a monk, while she became a nun in Spain and established the new order of St. Saviour. She had many visions and revelations. These led her to Rome, to Palestine, Sicily, &c. She died A.D. 1373, and was canonized A.D. 1391. She wrote *Revelationes*, a Rule for her order, dictated by Christ himself, several discourses and orations, besides additional revelations, all printed frequently, *e.g.* Cologne, 1628, 2 vols. fol.

St. Catharina, an Italian lady, who early became a Dominican nun, was famed for her visions and revelations, by which she guided even popes and cardinals whom she addressed with freedom. She died A.D. 1380, aged 33, and was canonized A.D. 1461. She wrote Dialogues on Providence (ed. Venice, 1611, 8vo), 364 epistles (printed in Italian, Venice, 1506, fol. and in French, Paris, 1644, 4to), several orations, translated into Latin, published, Ingolst 1583, and *Divina Doctrina Data per Personam Æterni Patris Intellectui Loquentis*, translated into Latin by Raymund de Vineis, and published, Cologne, 1553, fol.

Philip Ribotus, a Spanish Carmelite monk, who flourished A.D. 1368, was provincial of his order for Catalonia, and died A.D. 1391. He wrote *Speculum Carmelitarum*, in which he describes the establishment, progress, privileges, and history of his order, printed Antw. 1680, fol. He also wrote sermons and epistles.

Philip de Leidis, a Dutch jurist, counsellor to the count of Holland, vicar to the bishop of Utrecht, died 1386, wrote *Tractatus de Reipublicæ cura et sorte Principantium*, printed, Leyden, 1516, fol

Gerhard Magnus or Groot in his native language, born at Daventer, studied theology at Paris, was a canon of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle, became a regular canon, and established several houses of that order. He died A.D. 1370, aged 44. His three tracts, *Protestatio de Veridica Prædicatione*, *Conclusa et proposita*, and *De Studio Sacror. Librorum*, are usually published with the works of Thomas à Kempis.

Philotheus Achillanus, a fictitious name assumed by some pious counsellor of Charles V. king of France, A.D. 1370, who wrote against the ambition and tyranny of the pope a work entitled, *Somnium Viridarii* or *De Potestate Regia et Sacerdotali*, in form of a dialogue between a clergyman and a soldier, printed in Goldastus, *Monarchiæ*, tom. i. p. 58.

Gallus, a German Cistercian, abbot of a monastery near Prague, A.D. 1370. He wrote a prolix work for the edification of his monks, entitled *Malogranatum*, printed 1481, 4to, and 1487, fol.

Bartholomew Albizi or Albicus, a native of Pisa, and a Franciscan monk, who flourished A.D. 1372, and died very aged. A.D. 1401. His book, entitled *The Conformities of St. Francis with the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ*, was presented to the general convention of the Franciscans at Assisi, A.D. 1399, and approved by a unanimous vote; and the author was rewarded with the entire wardrobe of St. Francis. The work was printed at Bologna, 1590, fol. He also wrote *The Conformities of the Blessed Virgin with our Lord Jesus Christ*, on her life and praises, printed, Venice, 1596, fol. Likewise *Sermones Quadragesimales*, Milan, 1488, 4to.

Bonaventura Baduarius, an Italian of Padua, who studied at Paris, became an Augustinian eremite, general of his order in 1377, a cardinal in 1378, was often a papal legate, and was murdered at Rome A.D. 1386, or somewhat later. He wrote *Speculum Beatæ Mariæ*, printed, Augsburg, 1476, 4 vols.; also commentaries on the four books of Sentences, Meditations on the life of Christ, &c.

Matthew called Florilegus, a Benedictine monk of Westminster, A.D. 1377, who wrote *Historiarum Flores*, or Annals from the Creation to A.D. 1307, taken much from Matthew Paris, printed, Lond. 1567, fol.

Albertus de Argentina or of Strasburg, where he was a doctor of divinity and perhaps a presbyter, and the bishop's legate to the pope. He wrote a Chronicle from A.D. 1270 to 1378, published (imperfect at Basil) entire by Urstisius, among the *Scriptores Germanici*, Francf. 1585 and 1670, tom. ii. p. 97; also the Life of Berthold, Bishop of Strasburg, from A.D. 1318 to 1353, printed with his Chronicle.

William Thorn, an English Benedictine monk of Canterbury, A.D. 1380. He wrote a Chronicle of the abbots of Canterbury from St. Augustine to A.D. 1397, printed with the *Scriptores Decem Historiæ Anglicanæ*, Lond. 1652, fol.

Michael Ancrianus, a Carmelite of Bologna, who studied at Paris, was general of his order from A.D. 1381 to 1386, and died at Bologna A.D. 1416. He wrote a tolerable commentary on the Psalms, often printed, *e.g.* Lyons, 1673, also Commentaries on the Sentences, and some other works.

Raymund Jordan, a regular Augustinian canon in the diocese of Bourges, who concealed himself under the name of Idiotes. He flourished A.D. 1381, and wrote seven books of contemplations (devotional), and several ascetic tracts, published, Paris, 1654, 4to.

John Tambacus, a German Dominican monk and abbot of Strasburg, and then rector of the school at Prague, master of the palace to the pope A.D. 1386, died at the age of 80, the year unknown. He wrote *Speculum Patientiæ*, or *De Consolatione Theologiæ*, printed Paris, 1493, &c. often.

Marsilius ab Ingen, doctor at Paris, a canon at Cologne, and founder and first rector of the gymnasium of Heidelberg, flourished A.D. 1384, and died in 1394. He wrote commentaries on the Sentences, printed at Strasburg, A.D. 1501.

John de Burgo, D.D. chancellor of the university of Cambridge, flourished A.D. 1345. He wrote *Pupilla Oculi*, a book of instructions for clergymen in their functions; printed, Paris, 1510, and elsewhere repeatedly.

Peter Herentalius or De Herentalls, a canon and prior of a Præmonstratensian convent in Brabant, flourished A.D. 1390. He compiled a Catena on the Psalms, printed, Rouen, 1504, 4to, and elsewhere repeatedly, also a prolix commentary on the four gospels, never printed.

Radulphus de Rivo, of Breda in Brabant, dean of Tungres, flourished A.D. 1390, and died at Rome A.D. 1401. He wrote *De Canonum Observantia* (in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxvi.) and *Historia de Rebus Gestis Trium Pontificum Leodiensium* (from A.D. 1347 to 1386), in Chapeaville's *Rerum Leodiens. Historia*, Liege, 1616, 4to, tom. iii.

Gerhard of Zutphen, a regular clerk of St. Jerome, and distinguished for his piety, died A.D. 1398, aged 31, leaving two ascetic tracts, *De Reformatione Interiori*, and *De Spiritualibus Ascensionibus*, in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxvi.

William Wodford or Wilford, an English Franciscan, appointed by the council of London, A.D. 1396, to answer Wickliffe's *Trialogus*, which he did in his *Liber ad Thomam Archiep. Cantuariensem adversus Articulos* xviii. *ex Wicklefi Trialogo excerptos*; extant in the *Fasciculus Rerum Expetend.* Cologne, 1535, fol. p. 96. Several other tracts of his exist in manuscript.

John Bromyard of Hertfordshire, an English Dominican, theologian, and jurist, a doctor at Oxford, and professor of theology at Cambridge. He strenuously opposed Wickliffe in the council of London A.D. 1382, flourished A.D. 1390, and died after A.D. 1419. His *Summa Prædicatorum* treats of nearly every subject in ecclesiastical discipline in alphabetic order, printed, Venice, 1586, 4to. Several other works of his exist in manuscript.

Henry Knighton, an English canon regular of Leicester, who flourished A.D. 1395. His *Chronicon de Eventibus Angliæ*, from A.D. 950 to 1395 (the second, third, and fourth books, from A.D. 1066 to 1377, are copied from Higden's *Polychronicon*), and his History of the Deposition of King Henry II. A.D. 1399, are extant among the *Scriptores Decem Historiæ Anglicanæ*, Lond. 1652.

Antonius de Butrio, a famous Italian jurist of Bologna and Ferrara, who flourished A.D. 1398, and died at Bologna A.D. 1408. He wrote commentaries on the five books of the Decretals (ed. Venice, 1578, vii. vol. fol.) and several other works on canon and civil law.

Nicolas de Gorham of Hertfordshire, studied at Merton College, Oxford, became a Dominican, went to Paris, was eminent for both learning and piety, and was provincial of his order for France. He probably lived about A.D. 1400. He wrote commentaries on all the books of the New Testament, and sermons for the whole year, all printed by John Koerberg, Antw. 1617, 1620, in two vols. fol.

Jacobus Magni, a Spanish Augustinian eremite of Toledo, distinguished for his knowledge of the scriptures and of the ancient theologians, confessor to Charles VII. king of France; he refused the archbishopric of Bourdeaux. He flourished about A.D. 1400. His *Sophologium seu Opus de Sermone et Inquisitione Divinæ Sapientiæ* was printed, Lyons, 1495, 8vo.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

1. ALL who acquaint themselves with the history of these times must acknowledge the corrupt state of religion, both as theoretically taught in the schools and as practically inculcated on the people. Almost no part of the Christian doctrine retained its native form and comeliness. And hence the Waldenses and all those who desired a reformation in religion and who separated from the Roman pontiff, though nowhere safe from the fury of the Inquisitors and the monks, yet could not by any means be suppressed. Many of these people, after witnessing the destruction of an immense number of their brethren at the stake and by other forms of execution, fled from Italy, France, and Germany, into Bohemia and the neighbouring countries, and afterwards became amalgamated with the Hussites and other dissentients from the Romish community.

2. At the head of the expositors of the Bible stands Nicolaus De Lyra, who explained the books of both the Old Testament and the New far better than was usual in that age; yet he succeeded better on the Old Testament than on the New, because he was familiar with Hebrew but not with Greek.[1] The others who undertook this office were servile imitators of their predecessors. For they either collected flowers from the ancient doctors, or neglecting the literal import of the Scriptures drew from them by forced interpretations occult spiritual meanings. Those who desire to become acquainted with this exegetical art may consult the Moral Mirror of the whole Scriptures by Vitalis a Furno, or the Psalter spiritualized by Ludolphus Saxo. The philosophic divines who commented on the Scriptures often proposed and scientifically resolved questions of the most profound erudition, according to the views of that age.

3. In explaining and inculcating the doctrines of religion, most of the Greeks and Latins followed the principles of the Peripatetic philosophy. And the Greeks, by their intercourse with the Latins, seem to have acquired some knowledge of the modes of teaching adopted in the schools of the Latins. The Greeks at the present day read in their own language[2] Thomas Aquinas and other distinguished scholastics, whom Demetrius Cydonius and others of this century had translated from Latin into Greek. The Latins who adopted this mode of theologizing were immensely numerous; the most distinguished of them for acumen were John Scotus, Durand of St. Porçain, William Occam, and a few others. Here and there an individual also applied the light of Scripture and of tradition to the explanation of divine truth, but these were overpowered and nearly silenced by the immense throng of the dialecticians.

4. Yet there were not wanting pious and good men not only among the mystics but others likewise, who censured this bold manner of philosophizing on religious subjects, and who endeavoured to draw the attention of students in theology to the Holy Scriptures, and to the writings of the ancient fathers. Hence there were fierce disputes everywhere, but especially in the more distinguished universities, as those of Paris and Oxford, between the biblical theologians and the philosophical. The biblical party, though greatly inferior in numbers, sometimes gained the victory. For the philosophical divines, the most eminent of whom were mendicant monks, Dominicans, and Franciscans, by philosophizing indiscreetly not unfrequently so distorted and misrepresented the principal doctrines of revealed religion, as to subvert them and to advance opinions manifestly impious and absurd. The consequence was that some had to abjure their errors, others sought their safety by flight, the books of some were publicly burned, and others were thrown into prison.[3] But as soon as the

Franciscus Ximenes of Catalonia, bishop of Perpignan, and titular patriarch of Jerusalem, A.D. 1400. He wrote several works of mystic divinity which have been published.

Franciscus Zabarella, an Italian of Padua, LL.D. a man of great respectability. He rejected two bishoprics and one rich abbacy, but was made cardinal A.D. 1411, presided through the council of Constance, and died at its close, A.D. 1417. He wrote comments on the Decretals, and several other works on canon law, and a tract *De Schismatibus Authoritate Imperatoris Tollendis*, which the *Index Expurgatorius* prohibits being read till it is expurgated.—*Mur.*

[1] Simon, *Hist. des Principaux Commentateurs du N. T.* p. 477.; and *Critique de la Biblioth. Ecclés. de M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 352; Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. v. p. 264, &c. [For his character as a biblical expositor see Conybeare's *Bampton Lectures for* 1834, p. 210, &c.; and Davidson's *Hermeneutics*, p. 175, &c.—*R.*

[2] Simon, *Créance de l'Eglise Orientale sur la Transubstantiation*, p. 166.

[3] See Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. in many passages. In the year 1340 various opinions of the scholastic tribe respecting the Trinity and other subjects were condemned: p. 266, A.D. 1347, Jo. de Mercuria and Nic. de Ultricuria had to abjure their opinions, p. 298, 308; A.D. 1348, one Simon was convicted of very great errors, p. 322; A.D. 1354, Guido, an Augustinian, shared the same fate, p. 329; and likewise A.D. 1362, one Lewis, p. 374, and Jo. de Calore, p. 377; and A.D. 1366, Dionys. Soullechat, p. 38. The same scenes took place at Oxford. See Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 153, 183, &c. [The student would do well to read, though with caution, the third of Hampden's *Bampton Lectures* on the influence of scholasticism in the treatment of the Trinitarian controversies.—*R.*

storm subsided, most of them now rendered more cautious returned to their former views, and oppressed their adversaries by various arts, depriving them of their influence, their profits, and their number of pupils.

5. Moreover, the scholastic doctors or the philosophical divines had great controversies among themselves on various subjects. Abundant matter for these contests was supplied by that very acute English Franciscan John Duns Scotus, who being envious of the Dominicans attacked certain doctrines of Thomas Aquinas, contending that they were untrue. The Dominicans united to defend the brother of their order, who was the oracle of the schools; and on the other hand, the Franciscans gathered around Scotus as a doctor descended from heaven. Thus the two most powerful orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans, were again pitted against each other; and those famous sects of the Scotists and Thomists were produced, which still divide the schools of the Latins. These schools disagree respecting the nature of divine co-operation, the measure of divine grace necessary to a man's salvation, the unity of form in man [or personal identity], and many other subjects which cannot be here enumerated. But nothing procured Scotus greater glory than his defence and demonstration, in opposition to the Dominicans, of what is called the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary.[1]

6. In nearly every country of Europe lived and taught a great multitude of those called mystics. Some of them were good men and lovers of piety, who laboured to withdraw the minds of people from ceremonies and to guide them to real virtue and the love of God. Such were (though not all equally wise) John Tauler, John Ruysbrock, Henry Suso, and Gerhard of Zutphen,[2] who must be acknowledged to have left us a considerable number of writings, suited to awaken pious emotions and to draw forth the soul towards God; though they all laboured under some infirmity of judgment, and were inclined to indulge their imaginations too far. But there were other mystics everywhere active, who were really beside themselves and actual fanatics; who dreamed of an unintelligible extinction of all the powers and faculties of the soul, and a transition of the mind into the divine nature; and who led away their adherents into a senseless kind of piety which bordered on licentiousness. So great was the extravagance of these people, that the more sober mystics themselves detested their doctrine and warned their followers against it.[3]

7. Concerning those who gave particular attention to moral theology, it is not necessary to say much, since their merit is nearly the same as that of those already mentioned. Yet two things may be noticed as illustrative of the state of this branch of theology. First, in this century a greater number than before collected and discussed what are called cases of conscience. The most noted of this class were Astesanus, an Italian, Monaldus, and Bartholomew of St. Concordia. This species of writing accorded well with the education given in the schools, which taught men not so much what to believe and how to live, as to question, to dispute, and to wrangle. Secondly, those who treated of the duties men owe to themselves and others, and who exhorted to the practice of them, were accustomed to derive arguments and illustrations from the brutes. For they first explained the prominent characteristics of some animal, and then applied them to the life and conduct of men. Of this description are John Nieder's *Formicarius*, Thomas of Brabant's treatise *De Apibus*, Hugo of S. Victor's *Bestiarium*, Thomas Walleis' *De Natura Bestiarum cum Moralizatione*, and some others.[4]

8. In most of the defenders of Christianity we find nothing perspicuous, elegant, and praiseworthy. Yet Thomas Bradwardine, in his Book *De Providentia*, advances many ingenious and pertinent arguments in confirmation of the truth of religion in general. *The Eye-salve of Faith against*

[1] See Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. vi. p. 52, &c. [The doctrine of the immaculate conception of Mary was, that she herself was miraculously conceived and born out of the course of nature, so as not to be a partaker of original sin.—*Mur.*

[2] Concerning these the reader may consult Poiret's *Biblioth. Mysticorum* [p. 108, 111, 146.—*Schl.*], and Arnold's *History and Description of Mystic Theology* [written in German, p. 395, 404, 414, 421]. Of Tauler and Suso, Echard treats particularly, *Scriptores Prædic.* tom. i. p. 653, 677. See also the *Acta Sanctor.* Januar. tom. ii. p. 654.

[3] John Ruysbrock inveighs strongly against them, in his works published by Surius, p. 50, 378; and *De Vera Contemplat.* cap. xviii. p. 608.

[4] John Nieder belonged to the following century. He was a German of Suabia, a Dominican, a prior of Basle, an Inquisitor, and rector of the gymnasium of Vienne. He flourished A.D. 1431, and died A.D. 1438. His works are, *Consolatorium timoratæ Conscientiæ* (ed. Rome, 1604, 8vo); *Formicarius, seu Dialogus ad Vitam Christianam exemplo conditionum Formicæ Incitativus* (ed. Douay, 1604, 8vo); *Præceptorium* (on the ten commandments, ed. Douay, 1614, 8vo); *Alphabetum Divini Amoris, De Modo bene Vivendi* (ed. Rome, 1604, 8vo); *De Reformatione Religiosorum* (Antwerp, 1611, 8vo); *De Contractibus, Mercatorum*, and Sermons for the year. For Thomas of Brabant or Cantipratensis, see above p. 466, note 1. He flourished about the middle of the preceding century. Hugo de S. Victor lived in the 12th century. See p. 412, note 1. His work, *De Bestiis*, is in his *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 418 (ed. Rouen, 1648, fol.) Thomas Walleis is noticed among the writers of this century, above, p. 512.—*Mur.*

the Heretics (Collyrium Fidei contra Hæreticos), by Alvarus Pelagius, does not equal the magnitude of the subject, though it shows him to be an honest and well-disposed man. The Jews were assailed by Porchetus Salvaticus in his Victory of the Faith, transcribed in great measure from Raymond Martini, and also Nicolaus Lyra. But they were both excelled by Theophanes, a Greek, in whose Books against the Jews and in his Agreement between the Old Testament and the New, are many things which are not contemptible.

9. The contests between the Greeks and the Latins seemed at times to approach to an adjustment. For the Greeks, finding themselves to need the aid of the Latins in repelling the continually increasing power of the Turks, at times made a pretence of willingness to subject themselves to the demands of the Latins. In the year 1339 Andronicus Junior sent Barlaam into the West to negotiate a peace in his name. In the year 1349 other Greek envoys came to Clement VI. to negotiate a treaty. In 1356 a similar Greek embassy was sent to Innocent VI. at Avignon. In the year 1367 the Grecian patriarch came in person to Rome to press the business; and in the year 1369 the emperor, John Palæologus, came himself into Italy, published a confession of faith accordant with the views of the pontiff, and laboured to conciliate the friendship of the Latins. But the majority of the Greeks could never be persuaded to be silent and to submit themselves to the Romans, though some from interested motives manifested a disposition to yield to the terms imposed on them. Hence this century was spent amidst strifes and vain negotiations for peace.[1]

10. In the year 1384 a violent contest arose at Paris between the university and the Dominican fraternity. John de Montesono, a native of Aragon, a Dominican and professor of theology, by direction and in the name of his order, publicly denied that the Virgin Mary was conceived without sin or stain, and maintained that such as believed in her immaculate conception sinned against religion and the faith. The commotions which arose from this transaction would doubtless have subsided, if John had not renewed his asseverations in stronger and bolder language in a public discussion A.D. 1387. The consequence was, that first the college of theologians and then the whole university, condemned both this and some other opinions of Montesono. For the university of Paris, influenced especially by the arguments of John Duns Scotus, had almost from the beginning of the century publicly adopted the doctrine of the sinless conception of the Holy Virgin.[2] The Dominicans with Montesono appealed from the decision of the university to Clement VII. resident at Avignon; for they maintained that St. Thomas himself was condemned in the person of his fellow-Dominican. But before the pontiff had passed sentence the accused fled from the court of Avignon, and revolted to the party of the rival pontiff, Urban VI. who resided at Rome; and he was therefore excommunicated in his absence. Whether the pontiff approved the judgment of the university of Paris is uncertain. The Dominicans deny it, and maintain that Montesono was excluded from the church merely on account of his flight;[3] though there are many who assert that his sentiments were also condemned. As the Dominicans would not abide by the decision of the university respecting their companion, they were in the year 1389 excluded from the university, and were not restored to their former standing till the year 1404.[4]

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

1. THE alterations and enlargements of the sacred rites will be dispatched in a few words, because the subject affords matter far too extensive to be compressed into the narrow space here allotted to it. The first thing worthy of notice is that Clement VI. in the year 1350, in compliance with the request of the citizens of Rome, reduced the period of the Jubilee to fifty years, which Boniface VIII. had directed to be kept only every hundredth year.[5] He could give a plausible reason to such as might ask one. For the Jews it is well known kept every fiftieth year as a sacred jubilee; and the Roman pontiffs were always willing to copy after them in whatever related to the hierarchy and to magnificence. But Urban VI. Sixtus VII. and others, who subse-

[1] Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 369; Leo Allatius, *De Perpetua Consensione Eccles. Orient. et Occident.* lib. ii. cap. xvi. xvii. p. 784, &c.; Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. viii. p. 29, 40, 107, 201, 289, 303, 312; Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 348, 380, 388, 403, 407, 410, 772.

[2] See Wadding, *ubi supra*, tom. vi. p. 52, &c.

[3] See Echard's *Scriptores Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 691.

[4] Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 599, 618, 638; Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 521, tom. ii. p. 992, &c.; Argentre, *Collectio Judicior. de Novis Erroribus.* tom. i. p. 61; Longueval, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tome xiv. p. 347, &c.

[5] Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 247, 287, 312, 887; Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 344, 481, &c. [Clement alleged that few persons lived so long as a hundred years, and of course quite too many Christians had to forego the great privilege of this full indulgence.—*Von Ein.*

quently assigned a much shorter period for the recurrence of this salutary and gainful year, would have found more difficulty in satisfying the demand for sufficient reasons for such inconstancy.[1]

2. Innocent V. commanded Christians to observe festal days in memory of the spear which pierced the Saviour's side, of the nails which fastened him to the cross, and of the crown of thorns which he wore at his death.[2] This was indeed absurd, yet it may in some measure be overlooked considering the ignorance of the times. But no honest and well-informed man can readily excuse the conduct of Benedict XII. in giving his sanction to the senseless fable of the Franciscans, respecting the impressing of the marks of the wounds of Christ upon the body of their chief and founder by the almighty power of God, by ordaining a festival to commemorate the event. John XXII. besides sanctioning many other superstitious things, ordered Christians to annex to their prayers the words in which Gabriel saluted the Virgin Mary.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

1. THE Hesychasts, or as they may be called in Latin the Quietists, gave the Greeks much employment. Barlaam, a native of Calabria, a monk of the order of St. Basil and afterwards bishop of Geraci in Calabria, travelling over Greece to inspect the conduct of the monks, found not a few things among them which were reprehensible; but in none of them more than in the Hesychasts at Mount Athos in Thessaly, who were mystics or more perfect monks, who sought for tranquillity of mind and the extinction of all the passions by means of contemplation. For these Quietists, in accordance with the prescription of their early teachers, who said there was a divine light hid in the soul, seated themselves daily in some retired corner, and fixed their eyes steadfastly for a considerable time upon the middle of their belly or navel; and in that situation they boasted that a sort of divine light beamed forth upon them from the mind itself, which diffused through their souls wonderful delight.[3] When asked what kind of light this was, they answered that it was the glory of God; and they appealed for illustration to the light which appeared at the transfiguration of Christ. Barlaam, who was ignorant of the customs of mystics, regarded this as absurd and fanatical; and to the monks who followed this practice he applied the names of Massalians and Euchites, and also the new name of Ὀμφαλόψυχοι, Navel-souls. On the other hand Gregory Palamas, archbishop of Thessalonica, defended the cause of the monks against Barlaam.[4]

2. To put an end to this contest a council was held at Constantinople A.D. 1314, in which the emperor Andronicus junior and the patriarch presided. Here the monks

[1] Manifestly the pontiffs could offer no adequate reason for their limitations of the period, yet they could frame some excuse. The real cause, which they wisely conceal, was their own emolument. But a centennial jubilee, how few popes could it make happy! Even one of fifty fears few could live to see. Gregory XI. therefore thought of shortening the period still more, notwithstanding the anathema pronounced by his predecessors against such as should make innovations upon it. He wished to limit the jubilee to every thirty-third year, but death frustrated his purpose. Urban VI. intended to execute this design, but he also died before he had accomplished it. Boniface IX. first attained the object. The concourse of people however was not great at this jubilee, because the adherents of his rival pope would not go to Rome. But he devised a remedy. He first instituted the secondary jubilee, and also sent out hawkers of indulgences everywhere, offering his indulgences cheap to those who were unable to come to Rome. The regular jubilee was fixed to every 33d year, on the ostensible ground that Christ in making atonement for the human race lived thirty-three years on the earth. But the period of thirty-three years was still a long time. Paul II. therefore ordered that the festival should be kept every twenty-five years. Yet the benefit of his alteration he was compelled by death to resign to his successor, Sixtus IV. A more frequent recurrence of the jubilee no one has ventured to ordain. See Cramer's *Fortsetzung der Bossuet*, &c. vol. v. p. 426, &c.—*Von Ein.*

[2] See Seelen's *Diss. de Festo Lanceæ et Clavorum Christi*; Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 328, and his *Miscellanea*, tom. i. p. 417.

[3] There is no reason to be surprised at this account or to question its correctness. For among the precepts or rules of all those in the East who teach men how to withdraw the mind from the body and to unite it with God, or inculcate what the Latins call a contemplative and mystic life, whether they are Christians or Mohammedans or Pagans, there is this precept, viz. that the eyes must be steadily fixed every day for some hours upon some particular object; and that whoever does this will be rapt into a kind of ecstasy, and being thus united to God will see wonderful things, and will enjoy pleasures which words cannot express. See what Kaempfer states concerning the monks and mystics of Siam, in his *Historiæ Japonicæ*, tom. i. p. 30; and the account of those of India by Bernier, *Voyages*, tome ii. p. 127. Indeed I can easily believe that those who continue long in such a posture of the body, will see and perceive what no sane and sober person can see and feel. For they must necessarily fall into a disordered and bewildered state of mind; and the images represented by the imagination in this unnatural state will form strange combinations. And this will be the more certain effect, because the same injunction which requires the eyes to be long fixed immoveably on one object forbids those people who wish to behold God all use of their reason during the time. I have said that those in the eastern countries who seek such intercourse with God enjoin upon themselves this singular suspension of intellect and reason; but I might add that very many of the Latins of the mystic class observe the same, and enjoin the observance of it on their disciples. And hence it is that persons of this description sometimes relate to us so many visions, destitute of all rationality and truth. But this is not the place to enlarge on these prodigies.

[4] Concerning both of these famous men, Barlaam and Gregory Palamas, see, besides others, Fabricus, *Biblioth. Græca*, tom. x. p. 247, &c. and 454, &c. See notices above, p. 487, note 2, and p. 508, note 5.—*Mur.*

with Palamas at their head were victorious; Barlaam was condemned, and leaving Greece he returned to Italy. Not long after another monk, Gregory Acindynus, renewed the controversy, for he denied what Palamas had maintained, namely, that God dwells in an eternal light distinct from his essence, and that this was the light seen by the disciples on Mount Tabor. The dispute was now no longer concerning the monks [or the Hesychasts], but concerning the Taboritic light and the nature of God. This Gregory [Acindynus] was also condemned as a follower of Barlaam in another council at Constantinople. There were several subsequent councils on this subject, among which was the distinguished one held in 1351, in which the Barlaamites and their friends were so severely censured that they gradually became silent, and left Palamas victorious. It was the opinion of Palamas, who came off conqueror in this combat, that God is surrounded by an eternal light which is distinct from his nature or essence, and which he called God's ἐνέργεια or operation, and that it was this light which he permitted the three disciples to behold on Mount Tabor. Hence he concluded that the divine operation is really distinct from his substance, and he added that no one can become a partaker of the divine essence or substance itself; but it is possible for finite natures to become partakers of this divine light or operation. Those called Barlaamites on the contrary denied these positions, and maintained that the divine operations or attributes do not differ from the divine essence; and that there is no difference in fact, but only in our modes of conceiving them or in our thoughts, among all the things which are said to be in God.[1]

3. In the Latin church those papal ministers and judges, the Inquisitors, most industriously hunted out everywhere the remains of the sects which opposed the Romish religion, namely, the Waldenses, the Cathari, the Apostoli, and many others. Hence innumerable examples occur in the monuments of those times, of persons who were burned or otherwise cruelly put to death by them. But none of these opposers of the church gave more trouble to the Inquisitors and the bishops than the Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit, who in Germany and the Low Countries went by the common name of Beghardi and Beghinæ, and in other countries were called by other names. For this class of people professing a sublime and austere kind of piety, and calling off men's attention from all external and sensible objects to an internal worship of God, easily gained the confidence of the honest, simple, and devout, and everywhere brought over multitudes to their views. And hence it was that so many persons of this character perished in the flames of persecution in Italy, France, and Germany, during this century.

4. In no part of Germany was this sect more numerous than in the cities on the Rhine, and especially in Cologne. Therefore Henry I. archbishop of Cologne, published a severe ordinance against them, A.D. 1306;[2] and his example was followed by the prelates of Mentz, Treves, Worms, and Strasburg.[3] And as there were clever and subtle men among this class of people, the very acute John Duns Scotus was sent to Cologne in the year 1308, to dispute against them and confute them.[4] In the year 1310 Margaret Porretta, a celebrated leader of this sect, was burned at Paris with one of the brethren. She had undertaken to demonstrate in a book she published, that the soul, when absorbed in the love of God is free from all laws, and may gratify every natural propensity without guilt.[5] Influenced by these and numerous other examples, the sovereign pontiff, Clement V. in the general council of Vienne, A.D. 1311, published a special decree against the Beghardi and Beghinæ of Germany; in which he states the opinions held by this party, imperfectly indeed, yet so far as to render it clear they were mystics and Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit.[6] Clement published another decree in the

[1] See Cantacuzenus, *Historia*, lib. ii. c. 39, &c. p. 263, &c. and the notes there of Gregory [James] Pontanus; Nic. Gregoras, *Historia Byzantina*, lib. xi. c. 10, p. 277, and in various other passages. But these two writers differ in many particulars. Many documents relating to this controversy remain unpublished. See Montfaucon's *Biblioth. Coisliniana*, p. 150, 174, 404. Nor have we as yet a well-digested and accurate history of this controversy. Till we have the following may be consulted, Leo Allatius, *De Perpetua Consensione Orient. et Occident. Ecclesiæ*, lib. ii. cap. xxii. p. 824; Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 361; Petavius, *Dogmat. Theol.* tom. i. lib. i. c. 12, p. 76; Steph. de Altimura, *Panoplia contra Schisma Græcor.* p. 381, &c. and others. [Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxxiv. p. 431, &c.—*Mur.*

[2] See the *Statuta Coloniensia*, Colon. 1554, 4to, p. 58. [Harzheim, *Concilia German.* tom. iv. p. 99.—*Schl.*

[3] Johannis, *Scriptores Rerum Moguntinar.* tom. iii. p. 289; Marteno's *Thesaurus Anecd.* tom. iv. p. 250, &c. [Harzheim, *Concil. German.* tom. iv. p. 139, 200, 234, 235, 407, 436, 438, 482, &c.—*Schl.*

[4] Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. vi. p. 108, &c.

[5] D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 63; Bale, *De Scriptoribus Britannicis*, cent. iv. No. 88, p. 367, Basil. 1557, fol.

[6] It is extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon.* among the *Clementinæ*, lib. v. tit. iii. *De Hæreticis*, cap. iii. p. 1088.

same council, in which he suppressed the Beghinæ of a far different class, namely, those who had previously been approved and who lived every where in established houses.[1] For the Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit had crept into most of the convents of the Beguinæ, and inculcated their mysterious and sublime views on those women who being captivated with these novelties, prated absurdly and impiously about the mysteries and the true worship of God.[2]

5. The Brethren of the Free Spirit, oppressed by so many decrees and ordinances, endeavoured to descend from upper to lower Germany, and they actually migrated to several provinces of the latter. Westphalia alone they were not able to disquiet. For Henry, the archbishop of Cologne, assembled a council in 1322, and warned the bishops in his province of the impending danger; and they, by their great vigilance, prevented the entrance of any of these people into Westphalia.[3] About the same time too, Walter, an eloquent man and distinguished for his writings, the leader and champion of the Beghardi (as they were called) living on the Rhine, having come from Mentz to Cologne, was there seized and burned.[4] The death of this man was a great loss to the Brethren of the Free Spirit, yet it by no means effected their ruin. For it appears from numerous testimonies that this class of people held clandestine meetings for a long time at Cologne, and in other provinces of Germany; and that there were men among them distinguished for their learning and weight of character, among whom, besides others, was the celebrated Henry Aycard or Eccard, a Saxon Dominican, and provincial of his order for Saxony, an acute man, who taught theology at Paris with applause.[5] John XXII. in the year 1330, sought to remedy this evil by a new and severe ordinance, in which the errors of the sect of the Free Spirit were more distinctly and precisely stated than in the ordinance of Clement;[6] but he could not by any means extirpate it. Both the inquisitors and the bishops over the greater part of Europe fought against it to the very end of the century.

6. From the ordinance of Clement or of the council of Vienne against the Beguins, or those females who associated in regular houses for united prayer and labour, originated that great persecution which continued down to the time of the reformation by Luther, and which proved ruinous to both Beguins and Beghards in several countries. For although the pontiff, at the close of that ordinance, had allowed pious females to lead a life of celibacy whether under a vow or not, and had forbidden only the toleration of such females as were corrupted with the opinions of the Brethren of the Free Spirit, yet the enemies of the Beguins and Beghards, who were very numerous among the mechanics especially the weavers, and among the priests and monks, took occasion from that ordinance of Clement to expel the Beguins from their houses, to seize and carry off their goods, and to offer them many other insults and injuries. Nor were the Beghards treated with more indulgence. John XXII. first gave relief to the Beguins in the year 1324 by a special ordinance, in which he explained that

[1] In the *Corpus Juris Canon. Clementinæ*, Lib. iii. tit. xi. *De Religiosis Domibus*, cap. i. p. 1075, ed. Boehmer.

[2] Hence in the German monuments of this age, we may often notice a distinction made between the reputable and approved Beguinæ, and the Beguinæ of the sublime or free spirit, the former of whom adhered to the public religion, and the latter were corrupted by mystical opinions.

[3] Schatten's *Annales Paderbornenses*, tom. ii. p. 249.

[4] Trithemius, *Annales Hirsaugens.* tom. ii. p. 155; Schatten's *Annales Paderborn.* tom. ii. p. 350. This was the celebrated Walter, who so many ecclesiastical historians tell us was the founder of the sect of Lollhards, and a distinguished witness for the truth. These and other conclusions the learned writers deduce from the language of Trithemius; *Lohareus* (thus it reads in my copy; but I believe the true reading to be Lollhardus, which term Trithemius often uses in the manner common in his age, while treating of the sects which dissented from the church) *autem iste Waltherus, natione Hollandinus, Latini sermonis parvam habebat notitiam.* From these words I say those learned men infer that the name of the man was Walter, and his surname Lolhard; and hence they infer farther, that the sect of the Lollhards derived its name from him as its founder. But it is clear from this and other passages of Trithemius, that Lolhardus was not his surname but an epithet of reproach, which was applied to all heretics who concealed the poison of error under the cloak of piety. This same Walter is called by Trithemius, a little before, Fratricellorum princeps. Yet the name Fratricelli he uses in a broader sense, or to include various sects. This Walter was a man devoted to mystic views, and a principal teacher among the Brethren of the Free Spirit along the Rhine.

[5] See Echard's *Scriptores Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 507; Raynald's *Annales Eccles.* tom. xv. ad ann. 1329, sec. 70, p. 389, [and Harzheim's *Concilia German.* tom. iv. in the *Digressio ad Sæcul.* xiv. p. 635, &c. where we find the bull of pope John XXII. which he sent to the archbishop of Cologne, and in which the 26 articles which Eccard taught but afterwards had to retract, are stated and are, almost word for word, the same as those propositions quoted in the history of the preceding century, (part ii. ch. v. sec. 11, p. 481, above), from the book *De Novem Rupibus.—Schl.*

[6] This new constitution of John XXII. has never been published entire. Its first words were, *In agro Domini*, and its inscription was, *Contra singularia, dubia, suspecta et temeraria, quæ Beghardi et Beghinæ prædicant et observant.* A summary of it is given in Coerner's *Chronicon*, Eccard's *Corpus Histor. Medii Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 1035, 1036. It is also mentioned by Langius, *Chronicon Citizense*, in Pistorius' *Scriptores Rerum German.* tom. i. p. 1206.

of Clement, and commanded their houses and goods to be left to them unmolested. And other pontiffs afterwards extended to them relief. Moreover the Beguins themselves, in order to escape more easily the machinations and violence of their enemies, embraced in many places the third rule of St. Francis and of the Augustinians. But all these guards could not prevent them from suffering great injury, both as to character and property, from this time onward; and in many places they were oppressed both by the magistrates and by the monks and clergy, who were greedy of their property.[1]

7. Some years before the middle of the century, while Germany, France, and other countries of Europe were afflicted with various calamities, the Flagellants, a sect which had long been forgotten especially in Germany, again appeared, and roaming through various countries produced excitement among the people. But these new Flagellants who were of every order, sex, and age, were worse than the old ones. For they not only supposed that the compassion of God might be excited by self-inflicted pains, but also circulated other doctrines opposed to religion; for example, that flagellation was of equal efficacy with baptism and the other sacraments, that by it might be obtained from God the forgiveness of all sins without the merits of Christ, that the old law of Christ was soon to be abolished, and a new law (of baptism with blood by flagellation), was to be substituted in its place, and other doctrines, some worse and some not so bad. Clement VII. therefore anathematised these flagellants, and the Inquisitors burned some of them in one place and another. But they were as difficult to be suppressed as the other sects of errorists.[2]

8. Directly the opposite of this doleful sect was the merry one of the Dancers, which originated in the year 1373 at Aix-la-Chapelle, and thence spread through the district of Liege, Hainault, and other parts of Belgium. Persons of both sexes, both publicly and in private houses, suddenly broke into a dance, and holding each other by the hand danced with great violence till they fell down nearly suffocated. Amidst those violent movements they said they were favoured with wonderful visions. These also wandered about like the Flagellants, and lived by begging; they esteemed the public worship of the church and of the priesthood of little value, and held secret assemblies. This appears to have been a singular species of disease; but the ignorant priests of that age supposed that those people were possessed by some evil spirit, and at Liege they endeavoured to cast him out of their bodies by hymns and incense. And it is reported that the evil spirit was dislodged by these means.[3]

9. The Knights Templars established near 200 years before this in Palestine, were far worse than all the heretics, and were the enemies and deriders of all religion, if the crimes and enormities charged upon them were real. Their accuser before the pontiff, Clement V. was no less than the king of France, Philip the Fair, an avaricious prince extremely vindictive and fiery. The pontiff had to yield to the wishes of the king, although at first he made some resistance. Therefore in the year 1307 and afterwards, all the Knights dispersed over the whole of Europe, while apprehending no such thing, were seized on a day appointed; many who refused to confess the crimes and enormities charged upon them were put to death; others who being compelled by tortures and allured by promises confessed their crimes, were dismissed. The whole order in the year 1311 was extinguished by the council of Vienne. Their very ample possessions were in part transferred to other orders, especially to the Knights of St. John now of Malta, and were in part confiscated by the reigning sovereigns.

10. The Knights Templars, if we may believe their judges, were a society of men who ridiculed God and Christ and everything sacred, and trampled upon all law and decency. Candidates for admission to the order were required to renounce Christ and to spit upon his image; and when initiated they paid divine honours to a gilded head of wood or to a cat, were required to practise sodomy, committed to the flames

[1] I have made very extensive collections respecting this long and eventful conflict of the Beguins. The most copious of all the printed histories of it and especially of the conflict at Basle, and of that most bitter enemy of the Beguins, John Mülberg, a priest of Basle, is that of Christian Wurstisen or Urstisius, in his Chronicle of Basle written in German, lib. iv. c. ix. p. 201, &c. Basil, 1580. fol. The writings of Mülberg, so famous in the following century for his assaults on the Beguins, are before me in manuscript, and are preserved in many old libraries.

[2] See Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 160, 316, 319, and *Miscellanea*, tom. i. p. 50.; Matthæus, *Analecta Veteris Ævi*, tom. i. p. 50, tom. iii. p. 241, tom. iv. p. 145; Gyges, *Flores Tempor.* p. 139.

[3] See Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 485; Matthæus, *Analecta Veter. Ævi*, tom. i. p. 51, where the *Chronicon Belgicum*, ad ann. 1374, obscurely says, These people fell down if unexorcised, but the sign of the cross restored them. These Dancing Brothers and Sisters were very much like the French Convulsionists [or Prophets] who in our age have produced so much disturbance.

such children as happened to be the fruit of their commerce with women, and committed other crimes too horrid to be mentioned or even thought of. That there were impious and flagitious men in this, as well as in all the other religious [or monastic] orders, no one will deny. But that this whole order was so abominably corrupt, is so far from being proved by the records of the trial which are now publicly extant, that the contrary rather is manifest from them. And if to this we add that the accusations are evidently contradictory; and that many of these unhappy people most firmly attested their own innocence and that of their order amidst the severest tortures, and even with their dying breath, it will appear most probable that king Philip set on foot this bloody tragedy to gratify his hatred against the order, and particularly against its general who had offended him, as well as to satisfy his avarice.[1]

[1] We have Peter du Puy's [or Puteanus] *Histoire de la Condemnation des Templiers*, with the records of the trial annexed, which with his other writings relating to the history of France, was published at Paris, 1654, 4to. A second edition of the work appeared at Paris, 1685, 8vo, and a third at Brussels, 1713, 2 vols. 8vo.—The fourth and most ample was printed at Brussels, 1751, 4to, to which a great number of documents of different kinds were added. Any one by candidly examining the records and documents annexed to this book will clearly perceive that injustice was done to the Templars. There is also Nicolaus Gürtler's *Historia Templariorum*, Amsterdam, 1703, 8vo; and the reader may likewise consult Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 8, 11, 12, &c.; Du Bois, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Paris*, tome ii. p. 510. The principal cause of king Philip's implacable hatred of the Templars was that in his war with Boniface VIII. these knights sided with the pontiff, and furnished him with money to carry on the war. This was an offence which Philip could never overlook. More cannot be added in the present work. [The Abbé Barruel, in his *History of Jacobinism*, vol. ii. chap. xii. judges less favourably of the Templars.—*Mur.* [The most recent work on this subject is Wilcke, *Geschichte des Tempelherrenordens*, 2 vols. Leip. 1826, 27, 8vo.—*R.*

CENTURY FIFTEENTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

1. THE new members added to the kingdom of Christ were altogether unworthy the name of Christians, unless we apply the appellation to all who make any kind of profession of Christianity. Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Spain, by the conquest of Granada in 1492, entirely subverted the dominion of the Moors or Saracens in Spain. Not long after he ordered an immense multitude of Jews into banishment, and to escape this evil a great number of them made an insincere profession of Christianity.[1] It is generally known that to this present time Spain and Portugal are full of Jews who pretend to be Christians. The Saracens who remained in vast numbers, were at first solicited by exhortations and discourses to embrace the Christian religion. But as few would yield to these efforts, the great Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo and prime minister of the kingdom, deemed it necessary to employ civil penalties. But even this severity induced only a small part of the nation to renounce Mohammed.[2]

2. The light of Christianity was also carried among the inhabitants of Samogitia and the neighbouring provinces, but with very little success.[3] Near the end of the century the Portuguese navigators penetrated to India and Ethiopia, and soon after A.D. 1492, Christopher Columbus opened a passage to America and discovered the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and some others.[4] Amerigo Vespucci, a citizen of Florence, now reached the [American] continent.[5] These modern Argonauts thought it their duty to impart the light of Christian truth to the inhabitants of these regions previously unknown to the Europeans. The first attempt of the kind was made by the Portuguese among the Africans of the kingdom of Congo, whose king with all his subjects in the year 1491, received the Romish religion without hesitation.[6] But all good and considerate men

[1] Jo. de Ferreras, *Hist. Générale d'Espagne*, tome viii. p. 123, &c. p. 132, *et alibi*.

[2] Flechier, *Hist. du Cardinal Ximenes*, p. 89, &c.; Mich. Geddes, *History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 8, &c.—Prescott's *History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, respecting the *Jews* in vol. i. chap. vii. vol. ii. chap. xvii.; respecting the *Moors* in vol. i. chap. viii. vol. ii. chap. vi. of the 2d edition, London, 1839.—*Mur.* [See also M'Crie's *Reformation in Spain*, p. 70—73, and particularly p. 89—105; and what is still more striking, see a brief notice of the persecutions of the Moors in Valencia by Charles V. in 1524, to compel them to become Christians, in Ranke's *Hist. of the Reformation*, Mrs. Austin's translation, vol. iii. p. 120.—*R.*

[3] Hottinger's *Hist. Eccles.* sæc. xv. p. 856. [In these countries the Teutonic Knights distinguished themselves by their zeal to convert pagans; but their zeal was neither so pure nor so disinterested as it should be to deserve commendation. We have in Von der Hardt's *Acta Concil. Constant.* tom. iii. p. 9, &c. [a curious paper entitled] "*Pauli Volodimini de Cracovia, Academ. Cracov. rectoris, legati regis ad concilium, Demonstratio, Crucifferis de Prussia opposita; Infideles Armis et Bello non esse ad Christianam fidem Convertendos, nec eorum bona Invadenda, in Constant. concil.* 1415, *die* 6 *Julii proposita.*" In the first chapter of this paper is a confutation of the opinion, that since the advent of Christ the unbelieving have no rights, no honours, and no legitimate dominion over their lands. The second chapter treats of the devices and pretexts of the Teutonic order for subjecting to themselves various countries, under the plea of religion. And the writer says: "The pagans have now ceased to invade us; but these twice a year invade the territories of the infidels, whom they call Reisas (giants). The most powerful of the pagan princes have received baptism through the ministry of the Poles, and a great multitude are still receiving it; yet the Crossbearers invade still the new converts lest the object of their inroads should fail."—*Schl.* [Ranke, *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 245, Mrs. Austin's transl. tells us that "in Lithuania [or Samogitia, now Wilna in Russia] the ancient worship of the serpent endured through the whole of the 15th and 16th centuries, and was even invested with a political significancy. Æneas Silvius, *De Statu Europæ*, cap. xx.; Alexander Guagninus, in *Resp. Polonicæ*, Elz. p. 276." This last reference ought probably to be to Guagnini's *Compendium Rerum Polonicarum.*—*R.*

[4] See Charlevoix, *Hist. de l'Isle de St. Domingo*, tome i. p. 64, &c.

[5] See Bandini's *Life of Americus Vespuccius*, written in Italian but translated into German. [See also Washington Irvine's *Life and Voyages of Columbus*, App. no. 10, vol. ii. p. 246, &c. where it is shown that Amerigo Vespucci was not the first discoverer of the American continent.—*Mur.*

[6] Labat's *Relation de l'Ethiopie Occidentale*, tome ii. p. 366; Lafitau's *Hist. des Découvertes et conquêtes des Portugais dans le Nouveau Monde*, tome i. p. 72, &c

must necessarily smile or rather be grieved at an abandonment of long-established errors so sudden as this. Afterwards when the sovereign pontiff Alexander VI. divided America between the Spaniards and the Portuguese, he strongly exhorted both nations not to suffer the inhabitants of the islands and the continent to continue longer in ignorance of the true religion.[1] And many of the Franciscans and Dominicans were sent to those countries to convert the natives to Christ. With what degree of zeal and success they performed the service is very generally known.[2]

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

1. IN the countries of the East, Christianity daily suffered a diminution of its influence and extent by the inroads of the Mohammedans, Turks and Tartars, both of whom had embraced the Koran. In Asiatic Tartary, among the Moguls, the inhabitants of Tangut, and the adjacent nations, the ground which had long been occupied by the religion of Christ was now the seat of the vilest superstitions. Nor were even the vestiges of Christianity anywhere visible in those vast countries, except in China, where some feeble remains of the Nestorians glimmered faintly amid the thick surrounding darkness. For it appears that so late as this century, the Nestorian patriarch in Chaldea sent certain men to Cathay and China, to preside as bishops over the churches existing or rather lying concealed in the more remote provinces of that country.[3] Yet even this little handful of Christians must have become wholly extinct in the course of the century.

2. The lamentable overthrow of the Greek empire brought incalculable evils upon the Christians in a large part of both Asia and Europe. For after the Turks under Mahomet II. (a great prince, religion only excepted) had captured Constantinople in the year 1453, the glory of the Greek church was at an end; nor had the Christians any protection against the daily oppressions and wrongs of their victors, or any means of resisting the torrent of ignorance and barbarism which rushed in upon them. One part of the city of Constantinople the Turks took by storm, but another part of it surrendered upon terms of capitulation.[4] Hence in the former all public profession of Christianity was at once suppressed; but in the latter during the whole century, the Christians retained all their temples and freely worshipped in them according to their usages. This liberty however was taken away in the time of Selim I. and Christian worship was confined within very narrow limits.[5] The outward form and organization of the Christian church was indeed left untouched by the Turks, but in everything else the Greek church was gradually so weakened, that from this time onward it gradually lost all its vigour and efficiency under them. The Roman pontiff Pius II. addressed a letter to Mahumet II. exhorting him to embrace Christianity, but his communication was equally destitute of piety and of prudence.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

1. THE tyranny of the Mohammedans almost silenced the Grecian and Oriental muses. Among the Latins on the contrary, literature and the liberal arts regained under most favourable auspices their long lost lustre and glory. Some of the pontiffs themselves encouraged them, among whom

[1] See the bull in the *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. i. p. 466.

[2] See Mamachius, *Origines et Antiquit. Christianæ*, tom. ii. p. 326, &c. where the gradual introduction of Christianity into America is described. Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. xv. p. 1, 10, &c.

[3] This is from the letters of Theoph. Sigfr. Bayer, which he addressed to me.

[4] In this account Mosheim has followed the Turkish writers. And indeed their account is much more probable than that of the Latin and Greek historians, who suppose that the whole city was taken by force and not by capitulation. The Turkish relation diminishes the glory of their conquest, and therefore probably would not have been adopted had it not been true.—*Mael.*

[5] Cantemir, *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, tome i. p. 11, 46. 54, 55.

[6] Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome iii. p. 1872. [Article *Mahomet II.* The letter is the 396th of the printed letters of Pius II. and occasioned a debate between the French Protestants and French Catholics as to its piety and discretion. The pope promised to confirm the dominion of the Sultan over the Greek empire, and assured him of the respect and esteem of the Christian world, by which he would become the greatest prince on earth, if he would only be baptized and make a profession of Christianity.—*Mur.*

Nicolaus V. stood prominent.[1] Many of the kings and princes also aided literary men by their protection and extraordinary munificence; among whom the illustrious family of Medici in Italy,[2] Alphonsus VI. king of Naples, and the other Neapolitan sovereigns of the house of Aragon,[3] acquired permanent fame by their liberality and attachment to learning. Hence universities were erected in Germany, France, and Italy; libraries were collected at great expense, and young men were excited to study by proffered rewards and honours. To all these means was added the incomparable advantage resulting from the art of printing, first with wooden blocks and then with metal types, which was invented at Mentz about the year 1440 by John Gutenberg. For in consequence of this art, the works of the best Greek and Latin authors, which before had lain concealed in the libraries of the monks, were now put into the hands of the people; and while they awakened in very many a laudable desire of emulating their excellencies, they purified the taste of innumerable individuals of a literary turn.[4]

2. The fall of the Greek empire likewise contributed much to the promotion of learning in the West. For the most learned men of that nation, after the capture of Constantinople, emigrated to Italy; and thence a part of them were dispersed into the other countries of Europe. These men faithfully taught the Greek language and Grecian learning everywhere for their own support; and they diffused a taste for literature and science over nearly the whole Latin world. Hence there was no considerable city or university in which some one or more of the Greeks were not employed in this century as teachers of the liberal arts.[5] But they were nowhere more numerous than in Italy, where they were encouraged and honoured by the munificence and the ardent zeal for useful learning of the Medicean family, and by several Italian cities; and hence those who thirsted for knowledge in other countries were accustomed to repair to that country for study.[6]

3. The greater part of the learned men in Italy, which was the chief seat of learning, were engaged in publishing, correcting, and elucidating the Greek and Latin authors, in forming both a prose and poetic style after their model, and in illustrating antiquities. And in these departments many attained such eminence that it is very difficult to come up to their standard. Nor were the other languages and sciences neglected. In the university of Paris a public teacher of the Greek and Hebrew languages was now established.[7] In Spain and Italy there were many who were eminent for their knowledge of Hebrew and oriental literature.[8] Germany was renowned for John Reuchlin or Capnio, John Trithemius, and others, eminent

[1] Gibbon has done justice to the character and claims of this pope, as an encourager of learning and a patron of learned men, by which "he sharpened those weapons which were soon pointed against the Roman church," *Decl. and Fall.* vol. xii. p. 131—2. See Georgius, *Vita Nicolai Quinti*, Rom. 1742, 4to, and Hallam's *Intro. to the Hist. of Liter.* 1st edit. vol. i. p. 196, &c. There are also some interesting notices of this enlightened pope in Shepherd's *Life of Poggio Bracciolini*, 4to, p. 381, and especially chap. x. p. 405, &c.—*R.*

[2] A treatise expressly on the great merits of the house of Medici, in regard to all the liberal arts and sciences, is given us by Joseph Bianchini de Prato, *Dei Gran Duchi di Toscana della reale Casa de Medici, Protettori delle Lettere et delle Belle Arti, Ragionamenti Historici*, Venice, 1741, fol. [In addition to the several Italian works on the literary merits of this princely family, the English reader may consult Roscoe's well-known *Lives of Lorenzo de Medici* and of *Leo X.*—*R.*

[3] See Giannone, *Hist. de Naples*, tome iii. p. 590, 628, &c.; Anton. Panormit. *Dicta et Facta Memorabilia Alphonsi I.* second ed. by Menschen, *Vitæ Eruditor. Viror.* tom. ii. p. 1, &c.

[4] Maittaire's *Annales Typographici*; Marchand's *Histoire de l'Imprimerie*, Hague, 1740, 4to, &c. [Schöpflin's *Vindiciæ Typographicæ*, Strasb. 1760, 4to; Meerman's *Origines Typographicæ*, Hague, 1763, 2 vols. 4to; Breitkopf, *über die Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst*, Lips. 1779, 4to. There has been much debate where and by whom printing was first executed. Haerlem, Mentz, and Strasburg, each claim the honour of being the first seat of the art; and Laurence Coster, John Gensfleisch or Gutenberg, and John Faust, besides others, have been honoured as inventors of the art. The probability is that Coster first printed at Haerlem with carved wooden blocks (much in the Chinese manner), on or before the year 1430; that Gutenberg invented forged metal types at Strasburg, A.D. 1436 or later; and that afterwards forming a partnership with Faust and others at Mentz, Faust invented the cast types, one Peter Schoeffer having devised the iron matrices and punches to facilitate the casting of the types, and the company began to print in 1450, and in 1459 printed Durand's *Rationale Divinor. Officior.* at Mentz. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxx. p. 175, and Rees' *Cyclopædia*, art. *Printing.*—*Mur.* [A luminous and correct summary of this controversy may be seen in Hallam's *Intro. to the Hist. of Liter.* vol. i. p. 206, &c. Some additional facts have been recently furnished by M. Léon de Laborde in his *Debuts de l'Imprimerie a Mayence et Bamberg*, Paris, 1840, 4to, in which he brings to light several printed Letters of indulgence, with blanks for the insertion of the purchasers' names, which were issued by pope Nicolas V. in 1454. In page ii. of the preface, the reader will find a pretty full catalogue of the best works on the origin of this invaluable art. See also his *Debuts de l'Imprimerie à Strasbourg*, Paris, 1840, 8vo, in which he refers the first attempts of Gutenberg in that city to the year 1436.—*R.*

[5] Maius, *Vita Reuchlini*, p. 11, 13, 19, 28, 152, 153, 165, &c.; Barth on *Statius*, tom. ii. p. 1008; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. v. p. 691.

[6] Happily illustrative of these facts is Humphrey Hody's book, *De Græcis Illustribus Literarum Instauratoribus*, edited by Jebb, Lond. 1742. 8vo. Very interesting and accurate is Boerner, *De Doctis Hominibus Græcis Literarum Græcarum in Italia Instauratoribus*, Lips. 1750. 8vo; Battier, *Oratio de Instauratoribus Græcar. Literarum*, in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. iv. p. 163, &c.

[7] Simon, *Crit. de la Biblio. Eccles. par M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 502, 512, &c.; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. v. p. 852, &c.

[8] Colomesius, *Italia Orientalis*, p. 4, &c. and *Hispania Orientalis*, p. 212.

both in those languages and in other branches of knowledge.[1] Latin poetry was revived, especially by Anthony Panormitanus who had many followers.[2] The principal collector of ancient monuments, coins, gems, and inscriptions, among the Italians, was Cyriacus of Ancona, whose example prompted others to do the same.[3]

4. It is not necessary to speak particularly of the other branches of learning, but the state of philosophy deserves a brief notice. Before the Greeks came to Italy Aristotle alone was in repute with all; he was extolled so immoderately that many were not ashamed to compare him absurdly with the precursor of Jesus Christ.[4] But about the time of the council of Florence some of the Greeks, and especially the celebrated Gemistius Pletho, recommended to certain great men of Italy, instead of the contentious philosophy of the Peripatetics, what they called the divine and mild wisdom of Plato. And these Italians, being charmed with it, took pains to have a number of noble youths imbued with it. The most distinguished among them was Cosmo de Medicis, who after hearing Pletho formed the design of establishing a Platonic school at Florence.[5] For this purpose he caused Marsilius Ficinus, the son of his physician, to be carefully educated and instructed, in order to translate the works of Plato from the Greek into Latin. He therefore first published a Latin version of Hermes Trismegistus, and then of Plotinus, and finally of Plato. This same Cosmo prompted other learned men, as Ambrose of Camalduli, Leonardo Bruno, Poggio, and others, to engage in similar labours, that is, to translate Greek authors into Latin. In consequence of these efforts there soon appeared two schools of philosophy in Italy, which for a long time contended zealously with each other, whether Plato or Aristotle ought to hold the pre-eminence in philosophy.[6]

5. A middle course between the two parties was taken by certain eminent men among both the Greeks and Latins, such as John Francis Picus, Bessarion, Hermolaus Barbarus, and others, who indeed honoured Plato as a kind of oracle in philosophy, yet did not wish to see Aristotle trodden under foot and despised, but rather contemplated a union of the two. Both in their manner of teaching and in their doctrines or principles, these teachers followed the later Platonic school which originated with Ammonius.[7] This kind of philosophy was for a long time held in high estimation, and was especially prized by the mystic theologians; but the scholastic and disputatious divines were better pleased with the Peripatetic school. Yet these Platonists were not truly wise, for they were not only infected with anile superstition, but they abandoned themselves wholly to the guidance of a wanton imagination.

6. These Platonists however were not so bad as their opponents, the Aristotelians, who had the upper hand in Italy and instructed the youth in all the universities. For these, and especially the followers of Averroes, by maintaining (according to the opinion of Averroes) that all men have one common soul, cunningly subverted the foundations of all religion, both natural and revealed, and approximated very near to the impious tenets of the pantheists, who hold that the universe, as consisting of infinite matter and infinite power of thought, is the deity. The most noted among this class was Peter Pomponatius, a philosopher of Mantua, a crafty and arrogant man, who has left us many writings prejudicial to religion;[8] yet nearly all the professors of philosophy in the Italian universities coincided with him in sentiment. When pressed by the Inquisitors, these philosophers craftily discriminated between philosophical truth and

[1] Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tome i. p. 262, tome iv. p. 131, &c. p. 140, and in other passages.

[2] Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Panormita*. tome iii. p. 2162. [His name was Antonius Beccatellus of Palermo, or Panormitanus. Mosheim has overrated him as the reviver of Latin poetry. This honour belongs rather to Petrarch in the preceding century, and among the Latin poets of the fifteenth century Politian must be preferred to Beccatellus, who was his contemporary.—*R.*

[3] See the *Itinerarium* of Cyriacus Anconitanus, published from a manuscript with a preface, notes, and the epistles of this first antiquary, by Mehus, Florence, 1742, 8vo.—Add Leonard Aretin's *Epistolæ*, tom. ii. lib. ix. p. 149, recent edition, Florence. [On all these interesting topics the reader should again refer to Hallam's *Intro. to the Liter. of Eur.* vol. i. chap. iii.—*R.*

[4] See Heumann's *Acta Philosophorum*, in German, tom. iii. p. 345.

[5] On this subject see Sieveking, *Geschichte d. Platonischen Akademie zu Florentz*. Götting. 1812.—*It.*

[6] Bovin, in the *Hist. de l' Acad. des Inscript. et des Belles Lettres*, tome iv. p. 381; Launoi, *De Varia Fortuna Aristotelis*, p. 225; Leo. Allatius, *De Georgiis*, p. 391; La Croze, *Entretiens sur Divers Sujets*, p. 384, &c. Joseph Bianchini, in his preface to his *Dei Gran Duchi di Toscana*, &c. quoted in a previous note. Brücker's *Hist. Critica Philos.* tom. iv. p. 62, &c. [It was not only the respective merits of these two philosophers which was debated in this controversy; the principal question was, which of their systems was most conformable to the doctrines of Christianity, and here the Platonic most certainly deserved the preference, as was abundantly proved by Pletho and others. It is well known that many of the opinions of Aristotle lead directly to atheism.—*Mael.* [On the character of Pletho and on this controversy, see also Hallam, *ubi supra*, vol. i. p. 203.—*It.*

[7] See Bessarion's Letter, in the *Hist. de l' Acad. des Inscript. et des Bell. Lett.* tome v. p. 456; Thomasius, *De Syncretismo Peripatetico*, in his *Orationes*, p. 340. [See Tenneman's *Manual of the Hist. of Phil.* Johnson's transl. p. 273, &c.—*R.*

[8] See Brücker's *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. iv. p. 158, &c.

theological; and said their doctrines were only philosophically true, that is, accordant with sound reason; but they would not deny that they ought, when viewed theologically, to be accounted false. On this impudent subterfuge, Leo X. in the Lateran council held in the following century, at length laid restrictions.

7. In France and Germany the philosophical sects of Realists and Nominalists had everywhere fierce contests with each other, in which they employed not only ratiocination and argument, but also accusations, penal laws, and the force of arms. There was scarcely a university which was undisturbed by this war. In most places however the Realists were more powerful than the Nominalists, or the Terminists as they were also called.[1] In the university of Paris, so long as John Gerson and his immediate pupils lived, the Nominalists were in high authority; but when these were dead, A.D. 1473, Lewis XI. the king of France, at the instigation of the bishop of Avranches who was his confessor, prohibited the doctrine of the Nominalists by a severe edict, and ordered all books composed by men of that sect to be seized and locked up from the public.[2] But he mitigated his decree in the year 1474, and allowed some books of the Nominalists to be let out of prison.[3] And in the year 1481 he restored all the books of the Nominalists to liberty, and reinstated the sect in its former privileges and honours in the university.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

1. No teacher or writer of any eminence in this century can be named who does not plainly and greatly lament the miserable state of the Christian church, and anticipate its ruin unless God should interpose for its rescue. The vices and faults both of the prelates and of the other clerical orders were so manifest, that no one dared to censure such complaints. And even prelates of the highest rank, who spent their lives in idleness and vice of every kind, were obliged to hear with a placid countenance, and even to commend those bold orators who publicly maintained that there was nothing sound in either the head or the members of the church, and who called for the amputation of the infected parts. And indeed he only was accounted an honest and useful man who, fearlessly and vehemently, declaimed against the court of Rome, the pontiff, and all his adherents.[5]

2. At the commencement of the century, the Latin church had two heads or pontiffs, Boniface IX. at Rome, and Benedict XIII. resident at Avignon. On the death of Boniface the cardinals of his party elected, A.D. 1404, Cosmat de Meliorati, who took the name of Innocent VII.[6] And he dying after two years, or A.D. 1406, his place was filled by Angelo Corrari, a Venetian, who assumed the name of Gregory XII. Both of them promised under oath that they would voluntarily resign the pontificate if the interests of the church should require it, and they both violated their promise. Benedict XIII. being besieged at Avignon by the king of France, A.D. 1408, fled into Catalonia, his native province, and thence removed to Perpignan. Hence eight or nine cardinals of his party, finding themselves deserted by their pontiff, joined the cardinals of the party of Gregory XII. and in conjunction with them, in order to put

[1] See Brücker, *ubi supra*, tom. v. p. 904; Salabert's *Philosophia Nominalium Vindicata*, cap. i.; Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. iv. p. 531, &c.; Argentre, *Collectio Documentor. de Novis Erroribus*, tom. i. p. 220, &c.

[2] Naude, *Additions à l'Hist. de Louis XI.* p. 203; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. v. p. 678, 705, 708, &c.; Launoi, *Hist. Gymnasii Navarr.* in his *Opp.* tom. iv. par. i. p. 201, 378.

[3] Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. v. p. 710.

[4] The documents are published by Salabert, *Philosophia Nominal. Vindicata*, cap. i. p. 104. Add Bulæus, *ubi supra*, tom. v. p. 739, 747.

[5] Flacius, in his valuable *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, has collected many such testimonies. Still more may be found in Peter de Alliaco's tract *De Reformatione Ecclesiæ*, and in the tract of Matthew of Cracovia, bishop of Worms, *De Squaloribus Romanæ Curiæ*, both of which tracts were published by Weissemburg, at Basil, 1551; likewise in the same Weissemburg's *Antilogia Romana*, Basil, 1555, 8vo; in Wolf's *Lectiones Memorabiles*, tom. i. and especially in the *Monumenta Medii Ævi*, by Walch, where we have, tom. i. fascic. i. p. 1, the tracts *De Squaloribus Curiæ Romanæ*, and p. 101, the *Gravamina Nationis German. adversus Curiam Romanam, Joanni Cardinali S. Angeli, Nicolai V. Pontificis Rom. Legato, exhibita*; and p. 156, Junterberg's tract, *De Negligentia Prælatorum*, besides many of the speeches made in the council of Constance, which are in the second *fasciculus*, and are of a similar import. Even at the council of Constance itself, which assembled to reform the church and in which so many testimonies were exhibited of its corrupt state, there were present a great number of buffoons, prostitutes, and public girls (joculatores, meretrices, and virgines publicæ). See the *Diarium Belli Hussitici*, in Ludwig's *Reliquiæ Manuscript.* tom. vi. p. 127.—*Schl.* [and Von der Hardt's *Concilium Constantiense*, vol. v. par. ii. p. 50, Geb. Dacherius closes his enumeration of the persons present at the council, taken by order of the Elector of Saxony, with this notice—"Mulieres communes quas reperi in domibus, et ultra et non minus, exceptis aliis, DCC."—*R.*

[6] Besides the common writers see especially, in regard to Innocent VII. Aretinus, *Epistolæ*, lib. i. ep. iv. v. p. 6, 19, 21, lib. ii. ep. ii. p. 30, and Calluccius Salutatus, *Epistolæ*, lib. ii. ep. i. p. 1, or p. 18, ed. Florence; in regard to Gregory, the same Aretinus, *Epistolæ*, lib. ii. ep. iii. p. 32, ep. vii. p. 39, 41, 51, lib. ii. ep. xvii. p. 54, 56, 59; Laml, *Deliciæ Eruditor.* tom. x. p. 494.

an end to the protracted schism, appointed a council of the whole church to be held at Pisa, on the 25th of March, A.D. 1409. But this council, which was designed to heal the wounds of the divided church, unexpectedly inflicted a new wound. On the fifth of June it passed a heavy sentence on each of the pontiffs; for it declared both of them to be heretical, perjured, obstinate, and unworthy of any honours, and excommunicated them from the church. And in their place, on the 26th of June the council created Peter de Candia sovereign pontiff, who assumed the name of Alexander V.[1] But the two pontiffs spurned the decrees of this council, and continued still to perform their functions. Benedict held a council at Perpignan, and Gregory assembled another at Austria [Cividad di Frioul],[2] near Aquileia; but fearing the resentments of the Venetians, he went first to Cajeta, where he threw himself upon the protection of Ladislaus, king of Naples, and then fled A.D. 1412 to Rimini.

3. The church was thus divided between three pontiffs, who fiercely assailed each other with reciprocal excommunications, reproaches, and maledictions. Alexander V. who was elected in the council of Pisa, died at Bologna A.D. 1410.[3] The sixteen cardinals who were present in the city immediately filled his place with Balthasar Cossa, a Neapolitan, who took the name of John XXIII. a man destitute of principle and of piety.[4] From this war of the pontiffs vast evils arose, which affected both the church and the state. Hence the emperor Sigismund, the king of France, and other kings and princes of Europe, spared no pains or expense to restore harmony and bring the church again under one head. The pontiffs could not be persuaded at all to prefer the peace of the church before their own glory, so that no course remained but to assemble a general council of the whole church to take cognizance of this great controversy. Such a council, John XXIII. being prevailed on by the entreaties of Sigismund and hoping that it would favour his cause, appointed to be held at Constance A.D. 1414. In this council were present the pontiff John, the emperor Sigismund, many princes of Germany, and the ambassadors of the other kings and princes of Europe and of the republics.[5]

4. The principal object of this great council was to extinguish the discord between the pontiffs, and this they successfully accomplished. For having established by two solemn decrees in the fourth and fifth sessions, that a pontiff is subject to a council of the whole church, and having most carefully vindicated the authority of councils,[6] they on the 29th of May, A.D.

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[1] See Lenfant's *Hist. du Concile de Pise*, Amsterd. 1724, 4to; Pagi, *Breviarium Pontif. Romanor.* tom. iv. p. 350; Bossuet, *Defensio Decreti Cleri Gallicani de Potestate Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 17, &c. and elsewhere.—[The Italian Romanists generally hold that this council was not an œcumenical one; and the French as generally hold or at least held the opposite view, that it was a general council and the pope elected by it the true pope. That the French clergy of the present day do not entertain these views and have no sympathy with the well-known school of Bossuet on this and on kindred questions, seems more than probable from what the Rev. Dr. Wordsworth has related in his *Diary in France*, Lond. 1845. According to him there is now no party in the national church of France in favour of the once boasted "Gallican liberties," for which so keen a contest was waged by the French ecclesiastics of the 17th century against the ultramontane party.—*R.*

[2] Lenfant (*Hist. du Concile de Pise*, tome i. p. 295) says, the place of this council was Cividad di Frioul and Udine, towns two miles apart in the diocese of Aquileia, in the Venetian states.—*Mur.*

[3] Alexander committed two faults which very much injured his cause. He published a bull for the advantage of the Mendicants in regard to hearing confessions, which was so offensive to the secular clergy and particularly to the university of Paris, that under the countenance of the king they set themselves against it; and his successor, John XXII. found it necessary to repeal it. In the next place, by the advice of the cardinal legate of Bologna, Balthasar of Cossa, he ventured to go to Rome, which prepared the way for Lewis, king of Naples, to gain the victory over his enemy, king Ladislaus. Under him likewise a cardinal was allowed to hold many benefices, three or four deaconries, as many presbyterships, besides several bishoprics.—*Schl.*

[4] History represents him as a great villain, and in the council of Constance he was accused, among other crimes, of procuring the death of his predecessor with poison. His persecution of Ladislaus, whom he very unseasonably excommunicated, and offended still more by proclaiming a crusade against him, obliged him to court the friendship of the emperor Sigismund, who by a master-piece of policy induced him to call the council of Constance.—*Schl.*

[5] The Acts of this celebrated council were published in six volumes, fol. by Von der Hardt, Francfort, 1700, an elaborate work yet imperfect; for very many Acts are wanting in it, while many Acts are inserted which might have been omitted. Lenfant composed an elegant history of this council in French, which was printed, 2d ed. Amsterd. 1728, 4to [also in English, 2 vols. 4to.—*Mur.*] A Supplement to it, composed however with little judgment, was added by Bourgeois du Chastenet, an advocate of Paris, entitled *Nouvelle Histoire du Concile de Constance, où l'on fait voir combien la France a contribué à l'Extinction du Schisme*, Paris, 1718, 4to. [The student should also read carefully the admirable summary of the proceedings of this council and the relative extracts from the original sources, in sec. 130 of Gieseler's *Lehrbuch*, &c. Cunningham's transl. vol. iii. p. 167, &c.—*R.*

[6] Concerning these two celebrated decrees which are extremely hateful to the pontiffs, see Natalis Alexander's *Hist. Eccles.* sæc. xv. diss. iv.; Bossuet's *Defensio Sententiæ Cleri Gallicani de Potestate Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 2, 23, &c. and Lenfant's *Diss. Historique et Apologétique pour Jean Gerson et Concile de Constance*, annexed to his History of that council. [The second decree of the 6th of April repeats the most essential parts of the first, or that of the 30th of March, and is as follows: "Hæc sancta synodus Constantiensis generale concilium faciens, pro extirpatione ipsius schismatis, et unione et reformatione ecclesiæ Dei in capito et in membris, &c. ordinat, definit, decernit, et declarat, ut sequitur. Et primo declarat, quod ipsa in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata, concilium generale faciens, et ecclesiam catholicam repræsentans, potestatem a Christo immediate habet, cui quilibet cujuscunque status vel dignitatis etiam si papalis, existat, obedire

1415, removed John XXIII. from the pontificate on account of various offences and crimes;[1] for he had pledged himself to the council to resign the pontificate and yet had withdrawn himself by flight. Gregory XII. voluntarily resigned his pontificate on the 4th of July in the same year, through Charles de Malatesta. And Benedict XIII. on the 26th of July, 1417, was deprived of his rank as pontiff by a solemn decree of the council. After these transactions, on the 11th of November, A.D. 1417, Otto de Colonna was elected pontiff by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals, and assumed the name of Martin V. Benedict XIII. who resided at Perpignan resisted indeed, and claimed the rights and the dignity of a pontiff till his death A.D. 1423; and after the death of this obstinate man, under the auspices of Alphonsus, king of Sicily, Ægidius Mugnos, a Spaniard, was appointed by only two cardinals to succeed him. He assumed the name of Clement VIII. and wished to be regarded as the legitimate pontiff; but in the year 1429 he was persuaded to resign the government of the church entirely to Martin V.

5. The acts passed in this council for the suppression and extirpation of heretics are not equally commendable, and some of them are wholly inexcusable. Before the meeting of the council great religious commotions had arisen in several countries, and especially in Bohemia. At Prague lived and taught with much applause John Huss, an eloquent and learned man, who performed the duties of a professor of theology in the university, and those of a minister of the Gospel in the church. He preached vehemently against the vices of the clergy of all ranks; and numerous others did so in that age, nor did any good man disapprove of it. He likewise endeavoured, after the year 1408, to detach the university from the interests of Gregory XII. whom Bohemia acknowledged as pontiff. This gave great offence to the archbishop of Prague and to the rest of the clergy who adhered to the interests of Gregory. Hence arose great hostility between Huss and the archbishop, which the former sustained and increased by his discourses against the Romish court and the vices of the clergy.

6. To these first causes of hatred against Huss, which might easily have been surmounted, others were added of greater magnitude. First, he took the side of the Realists in philosophy, and therefore in accordance with the habits of the age goaded and pressed the Nominalists to the utmost of his power; yet their number was very considerable in the university of Prague, and their influence was not small.[2] Afterwards in the year 1408, it was by his influence that in the controversy between the Germans and Bohemians, respecting the number of votes [each was to have in the university], the decision was in favour of the Bohemians. By the laws of the university it was ordained that in the academic discussions the Bohemians should have three votes, and the other three nations but one. The university was then divided into four nations, three of which, the Bavarian, Polish, and Saxon, were comprehended under the general name of the German nation. The usage had been that the Germans, who far exceeded the Bohemians in numbers, gave three votes and the Bohemians but one. Huss therefore either from partiality to his country or from his hatred to the Nominalists, whom the greatest part of the Germans preferred before the Realists, obtained, by means of the vast influence at court which his eloquence gave him, a decree that the Germans should be deprived of the privilege of three votes and should content themselves with one.[3] This result of a long contest so offended the Germans that a great multitude of them with the rector of the university, John Hoffman, at their

tenetur in his quæ pertinent ad fidem et extirpationem dicti schismatis, et reformationem dictæ ecclesiæ in capite et in membris. Item declarat, quod quicunque cujuscunque conditionis, status, dignitatis, etiam si papalis, qui mandatis, statutis seu ordinationibus, aut præceptis hujus sacræ synodi et cujuscunque alterius concilii generalis legitime congregati, super præmissis, seu ad ea pertinentibus, factis, vel faciendis, obedire contumaciter contempserit, nisi resipuerit, condignæ pœnitentiæ subjiciatur, et debito puniatur, etiam ad alia juris subsidia (si opus fuerit) recurrendo."

The decree then goes on to forbid Pope John from dissolving or removing the council to any other place without its consent, or from withdrawing any of his officers and servants from attending on the council so long as it shall remain at Constance. It further declares null and void all censures, deprivations of office, &c. passed, or that might be passed by the said pope, upon any persons whatever to the prejudice of the council. See Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. viii. p. 258, 259. —*Mur.*

[1] The crimes of this pope are laid down in certain articles in Von der Hardt's *Acta Concilii Constant.* tom. iv. p. 196, among which are the following: Simony, extortion, poisoning, adultery, incest, the sale of ecclesiastical offices and bulls, &c.—*Schl.* [See the articles at large in Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. viii. p. 343, &c. and the judgment of the council upon them, ibid. p. 376. —*Mur.*

[2] There is a letter of the Nominalists to Lewis VI. king of France, in Baluze's *Miscellanea*, tom. iv. p. 534, which says:—"Legimus Nominales expulsos de Bohemia eo tempore, quo hæretici voluerunt Bohemicum regnum suis hæresibus inficere. Quum dicti hæretici non possent disputando superare, impetraverunt ab Abisseslao (Wenceslao) principe Bohemiæ, ut gubernarentur studia Pragensia ritu Parisiensium. Quo edicto coacti sunt supradicti Nominales Pragam civitatem relinquere, et se transtulerunt ad Lipzicam civitatem, et ibidem Universitatem erexerunt solemnissimam."

[3] According to some statements, by the royal ordinance of Jan. 18, 1409, "*three* votes were given to the Bohemians instead of *one*, and to the Germans *three*, as had hitherto been." See Gieseler's *Text-book* by Cunningham, vol. iii. p. 344. note 7.—*Mur*

head, left the university of Prague and retired to Leipsic, where Frederick the Wise, the elector of Saxony [or rather Frederick the Warlike, margrave of Meissen],[1] founded a university on their account in the year 1409. This event contributed much to increase the odium against Huss and to work his ruin. The Germans being ejected from Prague, Huss inveighed more freely than before against the vices of the clergy, and also publicly preached and recommended the opinions and the books of John Wickliffe, the Englishman. Being accused before John XXIII. in the year 1410, he was excommunicated by the pontiff. But he despised this thunder, and both orally and afterwards in various writings continued to chastise the corruptions of the Romish church and of the whole clerical order, with the applause of great numbers.[2]

7. He was a good man and a lover of real piety, though perhaps sometimes over ardent and not sufficiently prudent. Being summoned to the council of Constance and being protected by a safe conduct from the emperor Sigismund, he went thither for the purpose of demonstrating his innocence, and of proving the falsehood of the charge that he had apostatized from the Roman church. And certainly he had not departed in things of any moment from the religion of his time, but had only inveighed severely against the pontiffs, the court of Rome, the bishops and clergy, and the monks, which was a common practice at that day and was daily done in the council of Constance itself. Yet his enemies, who were numerous both in Bohemia and in the council, managed the procedure against him so artfully and successfully, that in violation of the public faith he was cast into prison; and when he would not at the command of the council confess guilt, he was adjudged a heretic and burned alive on the 6th day of July, A.D. 1415. Full of faith and the love of God he sustained this punishment with admirable constancy.[3] The same unions or in his life and conduct. Hence they concluded that he was unrighteously oppressed by his enemies And the conclusion of these excellent men is most just; for it is not difficult to show whence arose the readiness of the Fathers assembled at Constance to inflict the punishment of a heretic on this good man, who by no means merited it. I. By his discourses and his writings Huss had produced very great commotion in Bohemia, and had excited vast odium against the whole sacred order, among the people. And the bishops, the priests, and the monks, could readily see that if this man should return to his country, and should go on to write and to teach, they must lose their honours, influence, and emoluments. And therefore they strove to the utmost, and spared neither money nor pains nor labour with his judges, to persuade them to destroy so dangerous an enemy. Byzinius, in his *Diarium Husiticum*, p. 135 (in Ludwig's *Reliquiæ*, tom. vi.) says:— "Clerus perversus præcipue in regno Boemiæ et marchionatu Moraviæ condemnationem ipsius (Hussi), contributione pecuniarum et modis aliis diversis procuravit, et ad ipsius consensit interitum." And in page 150 he says: "Clerus perversus regni Bohemiæ et marchionatus Moraviæ, et precipue Episcopi, Abbates, Canonici, plebani et religiosi, ipsius fideles ac salutiferas admonitiones, adhortationes, ipsorum pompam, symoniam, avaritiam, fornicationem vitæque detestandæ abominationem detegentes, ferre non valendo, pecuniarum contributiones ad ipsius extinctionem faciendo procurarunt." II. In the council itself there were many individuals of influence and power who thought themselves greatly injured by Huss, and who were willing to avenge those injuries by the death of the good man. Huss, being a Realist, had rendered himself extremely odious to the Nominalists. And unfortunately for him, his principal judges were Nominalists, and especially the oracle of the council, John Gerson, was the great champion of the Nominalists and an enemy of Huss. These rejoiced to have, in the person of Huss, a man on whom they could take revenge more sweet than life itself. The Nominalists in their letter to Lewis, king of France (in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. iv. p. 534), do not disguise the fact that Huss fell by the hand and efforts of their sect. "Suscitavit Deus doctores Catholicos, Petrum de Allyaco, Johannem de Gersonno, et alios quamplures doctissimos viros Nominales, qui convocati ad concilium Constantiense, ad quod citati fuerant hæretici, et nominatim, Hieronymus et Johannes, —— dictos hæreticos per quadraginta dies disputando superaverunt." That it was really so, the history of the council of Constance shows. The hostility at that time between the Realists and the Nominalists was deadly. Each sect on every occasion that offered, accused the other of heresy and impiety and inflicted punishment accordingly. The Nominalists at Constance condemned Huss a Realist; and on the other hand, the Realists condemned John de Wesalia a Nominalist, in the year 1479. See the *Examen Magistrale ac Theologicale Mag. Joh. de Wesalia*, in Ortuinus Gratius, *Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum et Fugiendar.* Colon. 1535, p. 163. I will transcribe from this *Examen* a memorable passage, illustrative of the deadly feud between the Nominalists and the Realists, p. 166, b.: — "Quis nisi ipse diabolus seminavit illam zizaniam inter philosophos et inter theologos, ut tanta sit dissensio, etiam animorum, inter diversa opinantes? Adeo ut si universalia quisquam realia negaverit, existimetur in Spiritum Sanctum peccavisse, immo summo et maximo peccato plenus creditur contra Deum, contra religionem, contra justitiam, contra omnem politiam graviter deliquisse. Unde hæc cæcitas mentis, nisi a diabolo, qui phantasias nostras illudit." III. These in other respects excellent and devout men, Huss and Jerome, burned with hatred against the Germans. This hatred they publicly confessed at Prague, it accompanied them to Constance, and they did not disguise it before the council. Theod. de Niem, *Invectiva in Johan. XXIII.* (in Hardt's *Acta Concilii Constant.* tom. ii. p. 450):—"Improperabat etiam in publico Alemannis dicendo, quod essent præsumptuosi et vellent ubique per orbem dominari. Sicque factum fuisset sæpe in Boemia, ubi volentes etiam dominari Alemanni, violenter exinde repulsi et male tractati fuissent." On the other hand, the Germans, mindful of the injuries they had received at Prague, conceived the most violent hatred against these men. Yet the influence of the Germans was very great in the council. And who can doubt that they exerted that influence against their

[1] Mosheim says that *Fredericus Sapiens, Saxoniæ Septemvir*, established the university of Leipsic in the year 1409. This was certainly a slip of memory in the venerable old man. It was not Frederick the Wise but Frederick the Warlike who established the university of Leipsic; and when he instituted it he was only Margrave of Meissen and Landgrave of Thuringia, not Elector, to which dignity he did not attain till the death of Albrecht III. duke of Wittemburg, without issue, A.D. 1423.—*Schl.* [Historians differ much in their accounts of the number of Germans who retired from the university of Prague upon this occasion. Æneas Sylvius reckons 5,000, Trithemius and others 2,000, Dubravius 24,000, Lupacius 44,000, Lauda, a contemporary writer, 36,000.—*Macl.*

[2] See Byzinius, *Diarium Belli Hussitici*, in Ludwig's *Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum*, tom. vi. p. 127, &c.

[3] Learned men have searched for the causes of so cruel a sentence being passed upon John Huss and his companions, nor do they find them either in his opi-

happy fate was borne with the same pious fortitude and constancy by Jerome of Prague, the companion of John Huss, who had come to Constance to support and aid his friend. He at first through fear of death yielded to the mandates of the council, and renounced those opinions which the council had condemned in him; but being retained still in prison he resumed courage, again avowed those opinions, and was therefore committed to the flames on the 30th of May, A.D. 1416.[1]

8. Before Huss and Jerome were condemned by the council, John Wickliffe, who was considered and not unjustly as their teacher, was pronounced infamous and condemned by a decree of these fathers. For on the 4th day of May A.D. 1415, the council declared a number of opinions extracted from his writings to be abominable, and ordered all his books to be destroyed and his bones to be burned.[2] Not long after, on the 14th of June they passed the famous decree that the sacred supper should be administered to the laity in the element of bread alone, forbidding communion in both the elements. For in the preceding year 1414, Jacobellus de Misa, curate of the parish of St. Michael at Prague, by the instigation of a Parisian doctor, Peter of Dresden, had begun to celebrate the communion in both elements at Prague, and a number of other parishes had followed his example.[3] The subject being brought before the council by one of the Bohemian bishops, they deemed this heresy deserving of rebuke. By this decree of the council of Constance, the communion of the laity in one element obtained the force and authority of a law in the Romish church.

9. In the same year the council included in the list of execrable errors or heresies, the opinion of John Petit, a Parisian theologian, of the lawfulness even in any private person of killing a tyrant; but they did not name the author of the opinion because he was supported by very powerful patrons. John, duke of Burgundy, employed assassins in the year 1407 to murder Lewis, the duke of Orleans. A great contest ensued, and Petit, an eloquent and ingenious man, pleaded the cause of the duke of Burgundy at Paris; and in order to justify his conduct, he maintained that it is no sin to destroy a tyrant without a trial of his cause, by force or fraud or in any other manner, and even if the persons doing it are bound to him by an oath or covenant.

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adversaries? IV. Finally, the very rector of the university of Prague, John Hoffman, who together with the German nation had been driven from Prague by Huss, and who was his principal enemy, was made bishop of Misnia 1413, and held a high place among the representatives of the German church in this council; and undoubtedly he was an unlucky star to Huss in it.

Although these were the real causes of the condemnation of Huss, yet it must be confessed there appeared one mark of a heretic in him, for which in the judgment of that age he might with some colour of justice be condemned. I refer to his inflexible obstinacy, which the Romish church usually regards, even in those who err very little, as the most grievous heresy. Huss was commanded by this council, which was supposed to represent the whole church, to confess his faults and to abjure his errors. He most pertinaciously refused to do this unless first convinced of error. Thus he resisted the Catholic church; he wished the church to show a reason for the sentence passed upon him, and he not obscurely signified that the church might be in an error. This indeed was a great crime and intolerable heresy. For a true son of the church ought to subject his own judgment and pleasure without reserve to the will of his mother, and to believe firmly that she could not possibly err. The Romish church indeed had for many ages followed Pliny's principle: *Epist.* lib. x. ep. xcvii. p. 495, where he says:—"Perseverantes, duci jussi. Neque enim dubitabam, qualecunque esset quod faterentur, pervicaciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri." [For the Life of Huss see Gilpin's *Lives of the Reformers*, vol. i.; Middleton's *Biographia Evangelica*, vol. i. p. 29, &c.—*Mur.* [The student should read with care sec. 149 of Gieseler's *Lehrbuch*, &c. Cunningham's transl. vol. iii. p. 341, &c. which presents a concise view of these transactions. See also *The Reformers before the Reformation*, by Emile de Bonnechose, translated from the French by C. Mackenzie, Edin. 1844, 2 vols. This interesting work treats exclusively of Huss and Jerome and the council of Constance, and will amply repay a perusal. The evangelical author followed it up by publishing a French version from the Latin of Huss's Letters, amounting to above seventy, which has also been translated into English by Mr. Mackenzie, entitled, *Letters of John Huss, written during his Exile and Imprisonment, with Luther's Preface*, Edin. 1846. But the most satisfactory source of information respecting this venerable martyr and his companion in suffering must ever be, his own writings with the contemporary documents, as they have been carefully collected in that valuable work.—*Historia et Monumenta Jo. Huss atque Hier. Pragensis*, &c. Nuremb. 1558, and again, with considerable additions, in 1715, 2 vols. fol.—*R.*

[1] For the history of Jerome of Prague, see Gilpin's *Lives of the Reformers*, vol. i. and Middleton's *Biographia Evangel.* vol. i. p. 47, &c.—*Mur.* [The name of this celebrated martyr was Jerome Faulfisch; for information respecting him see the works referred to in the preceding note.—*R.*

[2] The forty-five articles extracted from Wickliffe's writings and condemned by the council, may be seen in all the collections of councils; *e.g.* Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. viii. p. 229, &c.—*Mur.* [They are also to be found with several other documents relative to Huss, in a very curious and valuable collection of public papers, showing the necessity of a reformation in the church, and demanding such a reform, prior to the time of Luther. It is entitled, *Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum et Fugiendarum*, &c. and was published at Cologne in 1535, fol. by Ortuinus Gratius. But a greatly enlarged edition, containing a number of pieces never before printed, was published at London in 1690 by the Rev. Edward Brown, in two volumes, fol.—*R.*

[3] Byzinius, *Diarium Belli Hussit.* p. 124. [Peter of Dresden had studied at Prague, and had been driven thence with the other Germans. He was afterwards expelled from Saxony, on account of his embracing and disseminating Waldensian doctrines, and now returned again to Prague. He acted the part of a schoolmaster there, and was the friend of Huss and Jerome. The proper name of Jacobellus was Jacobus, the first being a nick-name. The opposition made to his administering the communion in both elements, only rendered him more zealous; so that his party increased and had numerous adherents, not only at Prague but throughout Bohemia. Yet he was more fortunate than Huss and Jerome, and lived till A.D. 1429. His writings are in Von der Hardt's *Acta Concilii Constant.* tom. iii.—*Mur.*

By a tyrant however Petit did not understand the sovereign of a nation, but a powerful citizen who abuses his resources to the ruin of his king and country.[1] The university of Paris passed a stern and severe sentence upon the author of so dangerous an opinion. The council after several consultations passed sentence, without naming the author of the opinion. But the new pontiff, Martin V. through fear of the house of Burgundy, would not ratify even this mild sentence of the council.[2]

10. After these and some other transactions, the council proceeded avowedly to the subject of reforming the pontiffs and the whole sacred order, or a reformation of the church in its head and members, as the language of that age was. For all Europe saw the need of such a reformation, and most ardently wished for it. Nor did the council deny that it was chiefly for this important object they had been called together. But the cardinals and principal men of the Romish court, for whose interest especially it was that the disorders of the church should remain untouched, craftily urged and brought the majority to believe, that a business of such magnitude could not be managed advantageously without first electing a new pontiff. But the new head of the church, Martin V. abused his power to elude the design of reforming the church, and manifested by his commands and edicts that he did not wish the church to be purged and restored to a sound state. Therefore on the 22d of April A.D. 1418, the council after deliberating three years and six months broke up, leaving their business unfinished, and assigned the reformation of the church, which all men devoutly prayed for, to a council to be called at the end of five years.

11. Martin V. being admonished on the subject, after a long delay appointed this other council to be held at Pavia, and afterwards removed it to Siena and lastly to Basil. But in the very commencement of it, on the 21st of Feb. 1431 he died, and was succeeded in the month of March by Gabriel Condolmerus, a Venetian and bishop of Siena, who took the name of Eugene IV. He sanctioned all that Martin had decreed respecting the council to be held at Basil; and thence on the 23d of July, 1431, it commenced under the presidency of cardinal Julian, as representative of the pontiff. Two objects especially were assigned to this celebrated council; first, a union between the Greeks and the Latins, and secondly, the reformation of the church both in its head and its members, according to the resolution adopted in the council of Constance. And that the head, that is, the sovereign pontiffs and likewise all the members of the church, that is, the bishops, priests, and monks, had become very corrupt, no one hesitated to admit. But when these fathers by the form of the council,[3] by their method of proceeding, and by their first decrees, showed that they intended to perform in earnest what they were bidden to do, Eugene IV. being afraid of these reformers of a corrupt church, twice attempted to dissolve the council. This the fathers most firmly resisted, and they showed by the decrees of the council of Constance and by other arguments, that the council was superior in authority to a pontiff. This first contest between the pontiff and the council was brought to a close in the month of November A.D. 1433; for the pontiff silently gave up the point, and in the month of December by letters

[1] This is manifest from the oration of Petit which Lenfant has subjoined to his *Hist. du Concile de Pise*, tome ii. p. 303, &c. See Lyserus, *Dissert. qua memoriam Joh. Burgundi et Doctrinam Joh. Parvi de Cæde Perduellium Vindicat.* Wittemb. 1735, 4to.

[2] See Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. v. p. 113, &c. and many other passages; Argentre, *Collectio Judicior. de Novis Erroribus*, tom. i. par. ii. p. 184, &c.; the *Opera* of Jo. Gerson, published by Du Pin, tom. v.; Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome iii. p. 2268, &c. [article *Petit.*] and nearly all the historians of France: [*e.g.* Gifford's *Hist. of France*, vol. ii. p. 377 — *Mur.*

[3] By the "form of the council," Mosheim undoubtedly means the division of the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, &c. into four equal classes, without any regard to the nation or province by which they were sent. This prudent arrangement prevented the cabals and intrigues of the Italians, whose bishops were much more numerous than those of other nations, and who by their number might have had it in their power to retard or defeat the laudable purpose the council had in view, had things been otherwise ordered.—*Macl.* [The organization of this council and its mode of doing business were these. The members of the council were distributed into four equal bodies, each consisting of about the same number of high dignitaries and low, and each completely organized with its president, secretaries, and other officers. Each of the four was especially charged with the investigation of a particular class of subjects, such as articles of faith, peace, reformation, or miscellaneous affairs. These bodies met separately in their respective halls at the same hour, thrice a week; but they never discussed any subject on the first day of its coming before them. Their first care was to appoint three of the most competent members in each body, to unite in a grand committee of overtures for all the four bodies. One-third of this committee was changed every month, and others chosen by their respective bodies. All business was first to pass the committee of overtures, and if they saw fit, they sent it to the body which had charge of such subjects. That body discussed it fully, and then sent their decision together with the reasons for it to each of the other bodies, or if they were not agreed, they sent the opinions both of the majority and the minority with their respective arguments. The other bodies now discussed the subject, and passed their judgment upon it. When the question had been thus discussed in all the four bodies, if three of them were found to be agreed respecting it, the subject was at last brought before the whole council for a general discussion and a final decision. See Mansi, *Concilia*, tom. xxix. p. 377; also Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles.* sæc. 15, 16, diss. viii. art. ii. sect. 4, tom. xviii. p. 457, &c.—*Mur.*

sent from Rome approved of the proceedings of the council.[1]

12. After this, the council prosecuted with energy the business which they had entered upon. The legates of the Roman pontiff were now admitted into the council, but not till they had promised under oath to obey the decrees of the council, and particularly the decrees of the council of Constance, asserting the dominion and jurisdiction of councils over the pontiffs. These decrees of Constance, so odious to the pontiffs, were renewed in a public meeting of the fathers on the 26th of June, 1434, and the 9th of June, 1435. Annats as they were called were abolished, the pontifical legates in vain opposing it. On the 25th of March, 1436, a profession of faith was read which pontiffs must assent to on the day of their election, the number of cardinals was reduced to twenty-four, and expectatives, reservations, and provisions were abolished. As they were proceeding to other things very unacceptable to the pontiff, Eugene concluded that this very audacious and troublesome council must either be removed to Italy, or be curbed by another council in opposition to it. Therefore, when these fathers decreed, May 7, 1437, that on account of the Greeks the council should be held either at Basil or Avignon or in some city of Savoy, the pontiff on the contrary by his legates decided that the council should be held in Italy. Neither party would revoke its decision. Hence a violent conflict from this time onward existed between the pontiff and the council. On the 26th of July, 1437, the council ordered the pontiff to appear before them at Basil, and give account of his conduct. The pontiff on the other hand dissolved the council, and appointed another at Ferrara. But the fathers, with the approbation of the emperor, the king of France, and other princes, continued their deliberations at Basil, and on the 28th of September of the same year pronounced the pontiff contumacious for not obeying the council.

13. On the 10th of January of the next year, A.D. 1438, Eugene IV. in person opened the council which he had summoned to meet at Ferrara, and in the second session of it excommunicated the fathers assembled at Basil. The chief business of this council was to negotiate a union between the Greeks and Latins. The Greek emperor John Palæologus, the patriarch of Constantinople Joseph, and the principal theologians and bishops of the nation came personally to Italy, in order to facilitate the success of this important negotiation. For the Greeks, now reduced to extremities by the Turks, indulged the hope that if their disagreements with the Roman pontiffs were removed, the Latins would afford them succour. The business proceeded tardily and with little success at Ferrara, but afterwards with better success at Florence. For Eugene, in the beginning of the year 1439, on account of the pestilence at Ferrara, had ordered the council to remove to Florence. The fathers at Basil, provoked by these and other acts of Eugene, proceeded on the 25th of June, 1439, to deprive him of the pontificate; but this bold procedure did not meet the approbation of the kings and princes of Europe. Eugene, by a very severe bull, on the 4th of September anathematized the Basilian fathers and rescinded all their acts. Despising these thunders, on the 17th of September 1439, they elected a new pontiff, Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who then led a retired life at Ripailles on the Leman Lake. He assumed the name of Felix V.

14. Thus the lamentable schism, which had been extinguished after so much labour and toil at Constance, returned with new and greater misfortunes. For there were not only two pontiffs mutually condemning each other, but likewise two opposing councils, of Basil and of Florence. The greater part of the church indeed adhered to Eugene; but most of the universities, and particularly the first among them, that of Paris, as well as some kingdoms and pro-

[1] A history of this great council, which is so worthy of everlasting remembrance, is wanting. One was contemplated by Baluze. See the *Hist. de l' Acad. des Inscript. et des Belles Lettres*, tome vi. p. 544. After him by Lenfant also. But neither of them fulfilled his promise. Its acts were collected by Von der Hardt with vast labour, at the expense of Rudolph Augustus, Duke of Brunswick, out of various archives and libraries and put into many volumes, and they are said still to exist in the Wolfenbuttle library and to be most worthy of publication. Till they appear, the more brief *Acta Concilii* may be consulted, which were published in various places and among others, Paris, 1512, 8vo (which is the edition I have used in this history), also Æneas Sylvius, *De Concilio Basiliensi*; Richer's *Hist. Concilior. Generalium*, lib. iii. c. i.; Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 447, and others. [We have indeed Lenfant's *Hist. de la Guerre des Hussites et du Concile de Basle*, in two volumes, 4to, Amsterd. 1713. But the larger work expected from him has not appeared. It is also known that the entire acts of this council still lie concealed in various libraries: *e.g.* in that of the College of Navarre at Paris See Schöpflin's *Comment. Hist. et Crit.* p. 541. Imperfect Acts may be found in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. viii. p. 1103, &c. and in Mansi, *Supplem. Concil.* tom. iv. p. 159, &c. tom. v. p. 192, and tom. vi. p. 573. Extracts from these Acts are given in Semler's *Selecta Hist. Eccl. Capita*, tom. iii. sæc. xv. p. 101—140.—*Schl.* [See references to additional and more recent works on this council, in Gieseler, *Lehrbuch*, &c. Cunningham's transl. vol. iii. p. 184, &c. He gives a pretty full account of its proceedings and reforms, and of the circumstances which enabled the popes to defeat its good intentions and retain the church in bondage to their authority. Some further insight into its proceedings may be gleaned from Shepherd's *Life of Poggio Bracciolini*. Liverp. 1802, 4to.—*R.*

vinces, chose to follow Felix V. The council of Basil continued to deliberate and to pass laws and decrees till the year 1443, notwithstanding all the opposition of Eugene and his adherents. And although the council separated in the year 1443, yet they publicly declared that the council was not at an end, but would assemble again at a proper time either at Basil, or Lyons, or Lausanne. The council of Florence under Eugene was chiefly occupied in settling the disputes between the Latins and the Greeks. This great business was committed to select individuals of both parties. The most distinguished of the Greeks was Bessarion, a very learned man, who was afterwards a cardinal in the Romish church. This man, being gained by the favours bestowed on him by the pontiff, exerted his influence, and the pontiff employed rewards, threats, and promises, to induce the other Greeks to accede to the proposed terms of accommodation, and to acknowledge that the Holy Spirit proceeded also from the Son, that departed souls undergo a purgation by fire before they are admitted to the vision of God, that unleavened bread may be used in the sacred supper, and lastly, what was the most important of all, that the Roman pontiff is the head and the judge of the church universal. One of the Greeks, Mark of Ephesus, could not be persuaded by entreaties or by bribes to give his assent. After all, this peace, which was extorted by various artifices, was not stable. For the Greeks on their return to Constantinople stated to their fellow-citizens, that everything had been carried at Florence by artifice and fraud, and they resumed their hostility. The council of Florence closed its deliberations on the 26th of April A.D. 1442.[1] There were also negociations in this council for bringing the Armenians and the Jacobites, but especially the Abyssinians, into union with the Romish church, which were attended with the same result as those respecting the Greeks.

15. The author of this new pontifical schism, Eugene IV. died in the month of February, 1447, and was succeeded in the month of March by Nicolaus V. who was previously Thomas de Sarzano, bishop of Bologna, a man of learning and a great patron of learning, and likewise a man of moderation and disposed for peace.[2] Under him, by means of the persevering labours and efforts of the kings and princes of Europe, especially of the king of France, tranquillity was restored to the Latin church. For Felix V. on the 9th of April, 1449, resigned the supremacy of the church, and retired to his former quiet at Ripailles; and the fathers of Basil assembled on the 16th of April at Lausanne ratified the abdication of Felix, and by a solemn decree directed the whole church to obey Nicolaus only. On the 18th of June Nicolaus promulgated this pacification, and at the same time confirmed by his sanction the acts and decrees of the council of Basil. This Nicolaus was particularly distinguished for his love of literature and the arts, which he laudably exerted himself to advance and encourage in Italy, especially by means of Greeks who came from Constantinople.[3] He died on the 24th of March, 1445, principally from grief occasioned by the capture of Constantinople by the Turks.

16. His successor, Alphonsus Borgia, a Spaniard, whose pontifical name was Calixtus III. performed nothing great or splendid, except showing himself very zealous in urging Christian princes to war against the Turks. He died in the year 1458. Much more celebrated was his successor, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, bishop of Siena, who ascended the papal throne A.D. 1458 and took the name of Pius II. a man of superior genius, and renowned both for his achievements and for his various writings and publications. Yet posterity would have accounted him a much greater man if he had not been guilty of gross inconsistency. For after strenuously maintaining the rights of councils against the pontiffs, and boldly

[1] A history of this council and of its base artifices was composed by a Greek, Sylvester Sgyropulus, and was published with a Latin version, apparatus, and notes, by Robert Creighton, an Englishman, at the Hague, 1660, fol. In opposition to this, Leo Allatius wrote his *Exercitationes in Creightoni Apparatum, Versionem, et Notas ad Historiam Concilii Florentini scriptam a Sguropulo*, Rome, 1674, 4to. See also his *De Perpetua Consensione Ecclesiæ Orientalis et Occidentalis*, lib. iii. cap. i. p. 875, &c. And compare Mabillon's *Museum Italicum*, tom. i. p. 243; Spanheim, *De Perpetua Dissensione Eccles. Orien. et Occiden. Opp.* tom. ii. p. 491, &c.; Hermann's *Hist. Concertat. de Pane Azymo*, par. ii. c. v. p. 124, &c. [The acts of the council are in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. ix. p. 533, &c.; and in Mansi's *Concilia*, tom. v. p. 197, &c. The most essential things in these acts are concisely stated in Selmer's *Selecta Hist. Eccles. Capita*, tom. iii. sæcul. xv. p. 140—163.—*Schl*

[2] Peace-loving as this pope may have been, he did what the official usages of those times required, and issued a bull to all the faithful in the year 1447 (Harduin, tom. ix. p. 1313), in which he calls Felix *iniquitatis alumnus*, transfers the duchy of Savoy to the French king, exhorts that monarch or his dauphin to a crusade against his rival pontiff, and denies forgiveness and eternal salvation to all who co-operate with him. Notwithstanding this, he created this same Felix in the year 1449, bishop of Sabina, cardinal and vicar of the apostolic see in Savoy, and confirmed all the judicial sentences and acts of grace passed by him; nay, he revoked all that he had angrily written or spoken against Felix and the council of Basil.—*Schl.*

[3] See Georgius, *Vita Nicolai V. ad Fidem Veterum Monumentorum*, to which is annexed, *Disquisitio de Nicolai V. erga Literas et Literatos Viros Patrocinio*, Rome, 1742, 4to.

defending the cause of the council of Basil against Eugene IV. upon being made pontiff he apostatized from himself; and on the 18th January, 1460, denied that a council is superior to a pontiff, and severely prohibited appeals to councils; and in the year 1461 obtained from Lewis XI. king of France, the abrogation of the pragmatic sanction, which was favourable to councils;[1] and finally, April 26th, 1463, he publicly disapproved of all that he had himself written in favour of the council of Basil, and decreed that Pius II. was to be heard and obeyed, but that Æneas Sylvius was to be condemned. After making this declaration he died in the month of July A.D. 1464.[2]

17. Paul II. previously Peter Barbo, a Venetian, who was raised to the chair of St. Peter in 1464 and died in 1471, performed some acts not unworthy of commendation, at least according to the views of this century; but he also did many things which are scarcely if at all excusable; among which his fixing the recurrence of the jubilee to every 25th year is one of the smallest. Hence his reputation with posterity is equivocal.[3] The two subsequent pontiffs, Sixtus IV. previously Francis d' Albescola, who died in 1484, and Innocent VIII. previously John Baptist Cibo, a Genoese, who died A.D. 1492, were of moderate characters, distinguished neither for great virtues nor for great faults. Each being anxious for the safety of Italy and all Europe on account of the power of the Turks, made preparations to withstand them, and very earnestly urged the kings of Europe to make war upon them. But each met with obstacles which disappointed his most ardent wishes. Their other achievements were of no great importance.[4]

18. The last in the series of pontiffs of this century was Alexander VI. a Spaniard, whose true name was Roderic Borgia. He may not improperly be called the Nero of the pontiffs. For so many and so great villanies, crimes, and enormities are recorded of him, that it must be certain he was destitute not only of all religion but even of all decency and shame. Among the things charged upon him, though some may be false and others overstated by his enemies, yet so many remain which are placed beyond all dispute, as are sufficient to render the memory of Alexander execrable in the view of all who have even a moderate share of virtue. A large part of his crimes, however, originated from his excessive partiality for his children. For he had four sons by a concubine, among whom was the notorious Cæsar Borgia, infamous for his enormous vices, and likewise one daughter named Lucretia; and he was in-

[1] Lewis IX. or St. Lewis, A.D. 1268, published the first *Pragmatic Sanction* for securing the liberties of the Gallican church against the pontiffs, in six articles. But the Pragmatic Sanction here referred to was enacted by Charles VII. with the concurrence of the greater prelates and nobles of his kingdom assembled at Bourges, A.D. 1438, and during the session of the council of Basil. The king reported 38 decrees of that council, and proposed to adopt the substance of them in 23 articles, which were readily agreed to. The 38 decrees of the council, as reported by the king, are in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. viii. p. 1949. The 23 articles were afterwards prohibited to be published, or to be kept anywhere, by authority of the popes. This Pragmatic Sanction, Pius II. prevailed on Lewis XI. to abrogate entirely. But the parliament of Paris refused to register his decree; and the king soon found he had been duped by the pope, and therefore allowed the Pragmatic Sanction to stand. It was accordingly observed in France till the year 1517, when Julius II. persuaded Francis I. to substitute in its place the *Concordate*, which was approved by the council of the Lateran then sitting. This Concordate, which may be seen at large in Harduin, *Concilia*, vol. IX. p. 1867, &c. was a sort of compromise between the pontiff and the Gallican church, in which the latter yielded up a part of their rights as secured by the Pragmatic Sanction, and had the rest secured to them. The parliament of Paris however resolutely refused to register it; and when at length compelled to do it, they declared that it was solely by command of the king that they disapproved of it and remonstrated against it. The Pragmatic Sanction of 1438 secured in France the freedom of election to bishoprics and abbacies, the installation by the ordinaries, the abolition of reservations, annats, &c. The Concordate invested the king with the right of nominating bishops and abbots, yet under restrictions, and the pope was to confirm the election. Expectatives and reservations were prohibited. Appealed causes were to be tried where they originated. No mention was made of annats. In other respects the provisions of the Pragmatic Sanction were followed in the Concordate. Such has ever since been for substance the ecclesiastical law of France. See Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. par. i. p. 3, &c.; and the other authorities referred to in Cent. xvi. Sec. I. ch. i. sec. 7, note 1, page 560, below.—*Mur.*

[2] Besides the common writers see the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. et Crit.* tome vi. p. 26, art. *Enee Sylvius.*

[3] Paul II. has obtained in our times a great and learned patron in the celebrated Angelo Maria, cardinal Quirinus, distinguished for his numerous writings and achievements. He has written, *Pauli II. Vita ex codice Angelicæ Bibliothecæ desumpta, præmissis ipsius vindiciis adversus Platinam aliosque obtrectatores.* Rome, 1740, 4to. [Platina, who wrote a history of the popes, was put out of office and twice imprisoned by this pope, and these personal collisions may have affected his impartiality. Yet Paul does not seem to have been a very estimable character, take him all in all. He had little regard for learning, was fond of innovations, partial to his friends, persecuted the Hussites, deposed the king of Bohemia, violated sworn compacts, encouraged carnivals, &c.—*Mur.*

[4] Sixtus IV. carried nepotism [bestowment of honours and riches on his nephews and other relatives] to the highest pitch, and thus provoked the hatred of the family of Pazzo in Venice against that of the Medici; which was the source of oppression, robbery, assassinations, and destructive insurrections, commencing at Florence and involving all Italy in a bloody war, in which the pope himself engaged for the benefit of his nephews, and both laid Florence under an interdict, and himself besieged it. See Muratori, ad ann. 1478.—Innocent VIII. had lived so shamefully before he mounted the Romish throne, that he had sixteen illegitimate children to make provision for. Yet on the papal throne he played the zealot against the Germans, whom he accused of magic in his bull, *Summis desiderantes affectibus*, &c. and also against the Hussites, whom he well nigh exterminated.—*Schl.*

tent solely on bringing forward and enriching these, without regarding honesty, reason, or religion.[1] Alexander died in the year 1503 of poison, which he and his son Cæsar had intended for others.[2]

19. That most of the monastic orders were herds of ignorant, lazy, dishonest, and debauched people, is evinced by numerous documents and by the testimony of all the best historians. The opulent monks, such as the Benedictines of every sort and the Augustinians, abused their wealth for the gratification of their lusts; and by the great licentiousness of their lives in opposition to their rules, rendered themselves extremely odious.[3] Some good and honest men, particularly in France and Germany, perceiving this, formed the purpose of reforming them.[4] Among the Germans, besides others who were solicitous to effect a reformation in particular monasteries, were Nicolaus de Mazen, abbot of Moelk in Austria, and Nicolaus Dünkelspühl, a professor at Vienna, who with great earnestness attempted a reformation of the Benedictines throughout Germany; and they in fact produced some show of order and decency in many convents of Swabia, Franconia, and Bavaria.[5] In France many persons formed designs for the reformation of the Benedictine order, among whom Guido Juvenalis, a man of erudition, acquired distinction by his writings.[6] But a still greater number, both in France and elsewhere, resisted these reformers and did them all the injury they could.

20. The mendicant monks, particularly the Dominicans and Franciscans, gave as much offence by their arrogance, their quarrelsome temper, their invasion of the rights of others, their propagation of superstition,[7] and their vain and futile disputes about religion, as the opulent monks did by their luxury, their laziness, their hatred of learning and science, and their other vices. Hence the old contests of the bishops and priests with the mendicants, and the complaints of the theologians in most of the universities and provinces, respecting the errors of these monks, and their dangerous opinions on religious subjects, were almost never at rest, and were very frequently brought before the pontifical court. Different pontiffs of this century stood differently affected towards these fraternities, and hence these conflicts assumed various aspects at different times.[8] This hatred against the mendicants was not a little increased by the persecution of the Beghards, which was hot throughout this century. For the Beghards and Lollhards, being cruelly harassed by their enemies, the priests and others, frequently took refuge in the third order of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, hoping to find security under the protection of these powerful fraternities. Nor were their hopes entirely frustrated. But their persecutors now attacked also their protectors, that is, the mendicants, and often caused the latter

[1] The life of this most abominable tyrant has been written by Alexander Gordon, an Englishman [a Scotchman, 1729, fol.—*Mur.*], which appeared in a French translation, Amsterd. 1732, 2 vols. 8vo, but with far more moderation by the learned and ingenious author of the *Hist. du Droit Public Ecclés. François*, to which work are annexed Lives of Alexander VI. and Leo X. Lond. 1737, 8vo, and 1751, 4to. [The reader should also consult, especially, Burchard's *Diarium*, in Eccard's *Corpus Hist. Medii Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 2017, &c.—*Schl.* [Summary biographies of these monsters, Alexander and his son Cæsar, may be seen in most of the biographical dictionaries. Debauchery, incest, murder, profligacy, faithlessness, &c. are charged upon them.—*Mur.*

[2] All the historians of the highest credibility affirm this; but Voltaire not long since attempted to show that Alexander died a natural death in his *Annales de l'Empire*, tome ii. [The common and the probable statement is, that Alexander and his son, in order to get the wealth of certain cardinals, determined to poison them, and therefore invited them to dine. Before the arrival of the guests they, by mistake of the servant, drank the poisoned cup themselves. Alexander died almost immediately, but Cæsar recovered in great measure and lived to perpetrate other crimes.—*Mur.*—[Ranke, the most accurate and trustworthy of inquirers, supports the view that Alexander "died of the poison he had destined for another."—*Popes of Rome*, Mrs. Austin's transl. vol. i. p. 52.—*R.*

[3] See Senging's *Tuitiones Ordinis S. Benedicti*, or Oration delivered in the council of Basil, A.D. 1433, against the vices of the Benedictines, in Pezius, *Biblioth. Ascetica*, tom. viii. p. 517, &c.

[4] See Leibnitz's Prefatio ad tom. ii. *Scriptor. Brunsvicen.* p. 40.

[5] See, respecting these men, Kropf, in the *Bibliotheca Mellicensis, seu de Vitis et Scriptis Benedict. Mellicen.* p. 143, &c. 163, &c. also p. 203, 206. [Here also may be mentioned John Burch, a regular Augustinian canon and provost of the cloister of Novum Opus near Halle in Saxony, who undertook by command of the famous cardinal and papal legate in Germany, Nicolaus de Cusa, the reformation of the Saxon monasteries, and wrote a history of the matter, *De Reformationibus et Visitationibus Diversorum utriusque sexus Monasteriorum*, an extract from which is in Leibnitz's *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicens.* tom. ii. p. 476, &c. and the work entire, p. 806, &c. Extracts from it are given by Semler, *Selecta Eccl. Hist. Capita*, tom. iii. sæcul. xv. p. 42, &c.—*Schl.*

[6] See Liron's *Singularités Historiq. et Littér.* tome iii. p. 49, &c. [In the fifth volume of the *Hist. de Languedoc*, we are informed that in the year 1411 the French parliament sent commissioners into the province of Languedoc, to inquire into the shameful conduct of the Benedictines there; and that the archbishops of Narbonne and Toulouse in vain assembled a synod to excommunicate these commissioners.—*Schl.*

[7] The Franciscans, for example, preached in the city of Lubec that whoever died clad in the Franciscan garb would certainly be saved; and that St. Francis every year descended from heaven in order to deliver his followers from purgatory, just as Christ descended into hell to bring up thence the souls of the patriarchs. See Eccard's *Corpus Scriptor. Medii Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 1101.—*Schl.*

[8] See Launoi, *De Canone, Omnis utriusque sexus*, in his *Opp.* tom. i. par. i. p. 287, &c.; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. v. p. 189, 196, 204, 522, 558, 601, 617, 752; and Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* vol. i. p. 210, 212 224, &c.

great trouble, involving them in painful contests.

21. The rebellious and more rigid Franciscans who had revolted from the pontiff and the Romish church, that is, the Fraticelli as they were commonly called, with their Tertiaries or Beghards, continued openly at war with the pontiffs. Their principal seat was Italy, and particularly the Picenum or the marquisate of Ancona and the neighbouring regions, for here the president of the sect resided. Nicolaus V. violently persecuted them about the middle of the century, employing against them the Franciscan monks, soldiers, and judges, and in 1449 he committed many of them to the flames for their persevering obstinacy.[2] Succeeding pontiffs continued the persecution, and none of them more fiercely and resolutely than Paul II. who however is said to have punished their audacity more by imprisonment and exile than by fire and fagot.[3] Yet the Fraticelli, whose great appearance of piety procured them supporters of much eminence, frequently repelled force by force; they also slew some of the inquisitors, and among others Angelo, a Camaldulensian.[4] And this sect, which made conformity with Christ to consist in mendicity, produced no less commotions in Bohemia and in the adjoining Silesia.[5] Even the king of Bohemia himself favoured them, for which Paul II. excommunicated him.[6] In France the inquisitors condemned to the flames all they could lay hands on;[7] for in the parts about Toulouse many of these people lay concealed. Some also migrated to England and Ireland.[8] This party continued to exist amidst numerous troubles and calamities till the time of the reformation in Germany, when those who remained espoused the cause of Luther.

22. Of the religious fraternities which were founded in this century, none is more worthy of notice or was more useful to the Christian cause than that of the Brethren and Clerks of the Common Life living under the rule of St. Augustine. This sect indeed was instituted in the preceding century by the pious, learned, and good Gerhard Groote or Magnus of Daventer;[9] but it was first approved in this century at the council of Constance, and was propagated throughout Holland, Lower Germany, and other provinces. The sect was divided into the literary Brethren or the Clerks and the unlearned Brethren, who lived in different houses but in the bonds of the greatest friendship. The Clerks devoted themselves to transcribing books, the cultivation of polite learning, and the instruction of youth; and they erected schools wherever they went. The [unlearned] Brethren laboured with their hands, and pursued various mechanic trades. Neither were under the restraint of religious vows; but still they ate at a common table, and had a general community of goods. The Sisters lived in nearly the same manner, and the time which was not employed in prayer and reading they devoted to the education of female children, and to such labours as were suitable for their sex. The schools of these Clerks of the Common Life were very celebrated in this century, and in them were trained nearly all the restorers of polite learning in Germany and Holland; and among others the great Erasmus of Rotterdam, Alexander Hegius, John Murmelius, and others.[10] On the rise of the Jesuits, these schools, previously so very useful, ceased to flourish, and at this day only a few of them exist. These Brethren were often designated by the appellations of Beghards and Lollhards, which were common to so many sects; and they were much hated by those priests and monks who were unfriendly to learning and the fine arts.[11]

23. Of the Greeks who acquired reputation as writers, the most worthy of notice

[1] See the preceding century, pages 504, 505, above.

[2] Sartius, *De Antiqua Picentum Civitate Cupromontana* (in Calogera's *Raccolta di Opusculi Scientifici*, tom. xxxix. p. 39, 81, 97), where are some extracts from the manuscript dialogue of Jac. de Marchia, against the Fraticelli.

[3] Quirini, *Vita Pauli II.* p. 78, &c.; Targionius, Preface to the *Claror. Venetorum Epistolæ ad Mogliabechium*, tom. i. p. xliii. &c. where there is notice of the writings of Nicolaus Palmerius and others against the Fraticelli, in the reign of Paul II. which have never been published.

[4] See the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. Mail, p. 356, &c.

[5] Schelhorn's *Acta ad Histor. Eccles. pert.* par. i. p. 66, 283, &c.

[6] Quirini, *Vita Pauli II.* p. 73.

[7] I have in MS. the *Acta Inquisitionis contra Jo. Gudulchi de Castellione et Franc. de Archata Fraticellos*, who were burned in France, A.D. 1454.

[8] Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 232, &c.

[9] The life of this famous Dutchman, Gerhard Groote, was written by Thomas à Kempis and is published in the works of Kempis, being the first of the lives of eleven of his contemporaries.

[10] This order is treated of by Miræus in his *Chronicon*, ad an. 1384, by Helyot in his *Hist. des Ordres Monastiques*, tome iii. and by others. But I have here added some things from documents never printed. For I possess some papers and records which give a clearer account of the institution and history of the Clerks of the Common Life than are to be found in the printed works.

[11] In the records of this century we frequently read that the Lollhards, and sometimes that the Beghards, opened schools at Daventer, Brunswick, Königsberg, Munster, and various other places. These Lollhards were Clerks of the Common Life, who being good, industrious, and useful schoolmasters, were often invited and sent for by the magistrates of cities for the sake of the public good. [See section 112, "Of the Freer Spiritual Associations," in Gieseler's *Lehrbuch*, &c. Cunningham's transl. vol. iii. p. 98, &c. He concurs in Mosheim's derivation of Lollard, see p. 506, above.—*R.*

were the following; Simeon of Thessalonica, several of whose tracts, besides a book against Heresies and some writings against the Latins have been published.[1] Joseph Bryennius, who wrote on the Trinity and against the Latins.[2] Macarius Macres, who likewise greatly hated the Latins.[3] George Phranza, noted for his History which is printed among the Byzantine writers.[4] Marcus of Ephesus, the strenuous opposer of the council of Florence.[5] Bessarion, a cardinal, the distinguished supporter of the moderate Platonic school, renowned for his genius and erudition, but odious to the Greeks, because he favoured the cause of the Latins and planned the union of the two nations to the detriment of the Greeks.[6] George Scholarius, also called Gennadius, contended more learnedly and more lucidly than the rest of his countrymen against the Latins, and especially against the council of Florence.[7] George Gemistius Pletho a learned man, who awakened in many of the Italians an ardour for Platonic philosophy and for all the Grecian learning.[8] Gregory Trapezuntius, who translated some of the best Greek authors into Latin, and also wrote some tracts in favour of the Latins against the Greeks.[9] George Codinus, who has

[1] Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græc.* tom. xiv. 49; Simon, *Critique de la Biblio. Ecclés. par M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 400. [Simeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica, died A.D. 1429, while Thessalonica was besieged the second time by the Turks. His principal works are a large treatise on the church, its ceremonies, ministers, &c. a dialogue against all heresies, and Answers to eighty-five Questions of Gabriel, metropolitan of Pentapolis. Extracts and imperfect copies of parts of these were published by Allatius, Morin, and Goar; and his whole works much better, at Jassi in Moldavia, 1683, small folio. He was one of the greatest men among the Greeks of his age.—*Mur.*

[2] Joseph Bryennius was a Constantinopolitan monk, and a distinguished preacher. He flourished A.D. 1420, and died between 1431 and 1438. His works were printed, Leips. 1768, in two vols. 8vo, and consist of various Discourses and Dialogues against the Latins. Those on the Trinity respect the procession of the Holy Spirit.—*Mur.*

[3] Macarius Macres was a monk of Mount Athos, prior of a monastery at Constantinople, and proto-syncellus. His hostility to the Latins exposed him to vexations. The emperor, John Palæologus, sent him on an embassy to Rome, and he died on his return, A.D. 1431. He wrote a tract on the procession of the Holy Spirit, mentioned by Leo Allatius, *De Consensu*, &c. lib. ii. c. 18, sec. 10.—*Mur.*

[4] George Phranza was nobly born, A.D. 1401, was admitted to court, A.D. 1418, and filled various offices, civil, military, and diplomatic, till the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, when he was made a prisoner. Recovering his liberty, he fought and served his country in the Morea, till that was conquered by the Turks in 1466. He now retired to Italy, and thence to Corcyra, where he became a monk, assumed the name of Gregory, and spent his life in writing the history of his country. He died A.D. 1477. His history of Byzantine affairs from A.D 1260 to 1476 is brief till he comes to his own times, and then full and minute. With some abridgment and in a Latin translation, it was published by Pontanus, Ingolst. 1604, 4to, subjoined to Theophilus Simocatta.—*Mur.*

[5] Simon, *Critique de la Biblio. Ecclésiast. par M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 431. [Marcus Eugenicus was a learned schoolmaster at Constantinople, bishop of Ephesus, A.D. 1436, and imperial ambassador to the council of Ferrara, A.D. 1438. There he strenuously opposed the doctrines of the Latins, and was the only one of the Greeks who persevered in rejecting the terms of the union between the two churches. For this conduct the emperor was displeased with him, and the pope demanded his punishment; but the nation applauded him, and he lived in honour, employing the rest of his life in exposing the corrupt proceedings at Ferrara, and confuting the dogmas of the Latin church. His works, consisting of letters and tracts, are partly contained in the Acts of the council of Ferrara, partly in Leo Allatius *De Consensu*, &c. in the *Orthodoxographia*, and partly in manuscript.—*Mur.*

[6] Concerning this celebrated man and others here mentioned, see Boerner and Humphrey Hody, in their books *De Græcis Literar. Instaurat.* also Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græc.* [Bessarion was a native of Trebisond, a monk of the order of St. Basil, bishop of Nice A.D. 1436, and imperial envoy to the council of Ferrara in 1438. Here he learnedly defended the doctrines of the Greek church for a time, but at length gave up to the Latins and was the principal cause of the union agreed on. Returning to Constantinople his popularity declined, and he was obliged to refuse the patriarchate offered him by the emperor. He now retired to Italy, was made bp. of Tusculum and a cardinal, papal legate at Bologna, patron of the Dominican and Franciscan orders, was near being made pope in 1455, and again in 1471. He laboured to rouse the Europeans to war against the Turks in 1458, was frequently papal legate, and died on his return from France A.D. 1472, aged 77. His works consist of orations, epistles, and tracts, chiefly in relation to the controversies between the Greeks and Latins (most of which are in the *Concilia*), and a defence of the Platonic Philosophy, a correction of Plato *De Legibus*, and a translation of Aristotle's Metaphysics, which were published, Venice, 1503, 1506. His private library which was very valuable he gave to the city of Venice.—*Mur.*

[7] Simon, *Créance de l'Eglise Orientale sur la Transubstant.* p. 87, and *Critique de la Biblio. Ecclés. par M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 1638, &c. [This George Scholarius was one of the Greek envoys at the council of Ferrara in 1438, where he delivered three orations in favour of union with the Latins, extant in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. ix. p. 446. Some other speeches and tracts of a similar tenor are ascribed to him. But afterwards he changed sides and wrote against the council of Ferrara published, Gr. [Rome, 1618] 4to. When the Turks captured Constantinople A.D. 1453, he was made patriarch by the Sultan, assumed the name of Gennadius, reigned five years, and then retired to a monastery. As patriarch he was treated with attention by the Sultan Mahomet, and delivered before him an apologetic discourse, which was translated into Turkish and has been frequently printed in Greek, Turkish, and Latin. This work, with a dialogue on the Way of Salvation, a tract on Predestination, and an oration on the Trinity, may be found in Latin in the *Biblio. Patrum*, tom. xxvi. But the learned have not all agreed that Gennadius the patriarch and George Scholarius were the same person, and some have made two Georges instead of one.—*Mur.*

[8] George Gemistius surnamed Pletho, was born at Constantinople, but spent most of his life in the Peloponnesus. He was an acute and learned Platonist, and a decided opponent of the Latins. He was employed by the Greeks in the council of Ferrara to unravel the subtleties of the Latin metaphysicians, was preceptor in philosophy to Cardinal Bessarion and to the Medici of Florence, and lived it is said to the age of one hundred years. His works are, *De Differentia Philosophiæ Aristotelis et Platonis, de Virtutibus, Scholia in Zoroastris Oracula*, on portions of the history of Greece, and two tracts on the procession of the Holy Spirit.—*Mur.*

[9] George Trapezuntius, whose parents were from Trebizond, was born in Crete A.D. 1396. After obtaining a good education among the Greeks, he removed to Italy where he spent his life as a teacher and writer. Pope Eugene employed him as a Greek secretary; and after the death of Eugene, Alphonso, king of Naples, was his patron. In 1465 he made a voyage to Crete and Constantinople. He returned, sunk into idiocy, and died at the age of 90 at Rome A.D. 1486. He wrote

left us various contributions to the Byzantine history.[1]

24. The Latin writers form a host almost innumerable. We shall name only the principal of those who attempted by their pens to subserve the cause of religion. The greatest of these by the acknowledgment of them all was John Gerson, chancellor of the university of Paris, a man of vast

on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, in favour of the Latins, the Martyrdom of Andrew of Chios A.D. 1465, on the eight parts of speech, a concise logic, a comparison of Plato and Aristotle, on rhetoric, on the deceptions of Astrology, expositions of some of Cicero's orations, and Latin translations of the works of Cyril, Chrysostom, Gregory Nyssen, Basil, also of Eusebius's *Præparat. Evang.* Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, and Ptolemy's *Almagest.*—*Mur.*

[1] George Codinus, surnamed Curopalates, was a Greek whose age and history are little known. He probably lived and wrote soon after the capture of Constantinople A.D. 1453. He wrote on the offices and officers of the court and church of Constantinople (Paris, 1648, fol. by Goar), on the antiquities of Constantinople, a description of Constantinople, on its statues and curiosities, on its edifices, on the church of St. Sophia in that city, and a history of the Constantinopolitan emperors from Constantine the Great to Constantine Palæologus, and the capture of the city by the Turks. All these, except the first, were published by Lambeccius, 1655, fol.

The following Greek writers are passed over by Mosheim:—

Joseph, archbishop of Ephesus and patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 1416–1439. He was long averse from a union with the Latins, but at length yielded the point, went to the council of Florence, argued for a union, signed the articles of it on a sick bed, repented of it, and died eight days after signing the instrument. He has left us two epistles addressed to the council of Basil, and an address to a synod at Constantinople when about to go to Italy and Florence.

John Cananus wrote a history of the siege of Constantinople by the Turks, in the year 1422 (at which time he flourished), extant, Gr. and Lat. subjoined to the history of George Acropolita, Paris, 1651, fol.

Demetrius Chrysoloras, an eminent philosopher and astronomer A.D. 1430, much esteemed by the emperor, Emmanuel Palæologus. He wrote an oration and two dialogues against the Latins which are in the Vatican Library.

Esaias of Cyprus, a Greek who espoused the cause of the Latins about A.D. 1430 in a long epistle, extant, Gr. and Lat. in Leo Allatius, *De Consensu*, &c. lib. ii. cap. xviii. sec. xvi. and in the *Græca Orthod.* tom. i. p. 396.

John Anagnosta of Thessalonica, who witnessed the siege and capture of that city in 1430 and again in 1432, of which he wrote a narrative and a monody, published by Leo Allatius, *Symmicta*, par. ii. p. 317, &c.

Andreas de Petra, born and educated among the Greeks, and by them made a bishop; he afterwards joined the Latins, and as papal legate argued against his countrymen in the council of Basil A.D. 1432, and in that of Ferrara 1438. Both his speeches are in Bzovius's *Annales Eccles.* ad ann. 1432, sec. 37 and 1438, sec. 8.

John Eugenius, monophylax of the patriarchal church of Constantinople, and brother to Marcus of Ephesus, whom he accompanied to the council of Ferrara A.D. 1438. He wrote against that council, and Leo Allatius has given extracts from the work, *De Purgatorio*, p. 61, 220, 241, 265.

Isidorus Ruthensis or of Russia, born at Thessalonica, a Basilian monk, abbot of St. Demetrius at Constantinople, sent to the council of Basil in 1435, returned, and was made metropolitan of Kiow and primate of all Russia, attended the council of Florence 1438, there opposed the Latins, then changed sides and signed the articles of union, remained in Italy, was made a cardinal in 1439, soon after went to Russia where he was arrested and imprisoned for betraying the cause of the Greeks, escaped with difficulty and fled, was by the pope made titular patriarch of Constantinople and papal legate in the east, witnessed the capture of that city in 1453, escaped to Italy, became dean of the college of cardinals and died at Rome A.D. 1463. He wrote an epistle describing the siege and capture of Constantinople, which was published in Reusner's *Epistolæ Turcicæ*, lib. iv. p. 104.

Silvester Sguropulus, or as he writes it, Syropulus, a deacon, dicæophylax, and one of the select council of the patriarch at Constantinople. He attended his patriarch to the council of Ferrara in 1438, was concerned in all that related to the Greeks, and decidedly and perseveringly opposed the union, but was compelled by authority to subscribe its articles. On his return he found himself odious to the people for having yielded so far, resigned his office, and wrote a history of the transactions at Ferrara, which was published, Gr. and Lat. by R. Creighton (afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells), at the Hague, 1660, fol. [See note 1, p. 533.—*R.*

Joseph, bishop of Modon in Greece A.D. 1436. He wrote an apology for the council of Florence against Marcus of Ephesus, extant, Gr. and Lat. in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. ix. p. 549, &c.

John, the Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria A.D. 1440. He wrote an adulatory epistle to Pope Eugene IV. a Latin version of which is in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. ix. p. 1018, &c.

Nicodemus, an Ethiopian and abbot of the Ethiopian monks resident at Jerusalem A.D. 1440, wrote a similar epistle to the pope, which we have in Latin in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. ix. p. 1031, &c.

Gregory Melissenus called Mammas, a monk, penitentiary of the church of Constantinople, and confessor to the emperor. He attended the council of Ferrara, was at first violent against the Latins, but being bribed he turned about and urged the union. In 1440 he was made patriarch of Constantinople, but a few years after found it expedient to resign that dignity. He wrote an Apology for the council of Florence against Marcus of Ephesus, extant, Gr. and Lat. in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. ix. p. 601, &c. also an epistle to the emperor Alexius Comnenus on the procession of the Holy Spirit, printed, Gr. and Lat. in Leo Allatius, *Græc. Orthod.* tom. i. p. 419.

John Argyropulus of Constantinople. When that city was taken in 1453 he retired to Italy. Cosmo de Medicis made him preceptor to his son Peter and his nephew Laurence. After residing some time at Florence the plague caused him to remove to Rome, where he lectured on Aristotle. He died near the close of the century. He was very learned, very vain, very rich, and a very great eater. Besides translations and expositions of the works of Aristotle often printed, he wrote on the procession of the Holy Spirit and the council of Florence, extant, Gr. and Lat. in Leo Allatius, *Græc. Orthod.* tom. i. p. 400.

Matthæus Camariota, a distinguished philosopher and rhetorician of Constantinople, who witnessed the capture of that city in 1453 and described the scene in a long epistle, a considerable part of which, Gr. and Lat. is in Crucius, *Turcogræcia*, lib. i. p. 76. Many other writings of his exist in manuscript.

Ducas, nephew to Michael Ducas, of Constantinople. On the capture of that city 1453, he retired to Lesbos and entered the service of the tributary Christian prince, for whom he performed several embassies to the Turkish sovereigns till the capture of Lesbos in 1562. He wrote *Historia Byzantina*, from A.D. 1341 to 1462, preceded by a brief chronicle from the creation, published, Gr. and Lat. Paris, 1649, fol.

George or Gregory Hermonymus or Charitonymus, a native of Sparta, who on the capture of Constantinople 1453, fled to France and taught Greek in the university of Paris. In 1476 Pope Sixtus IV. sent him as his legate into England. He translated into Latin Gennadius's tract, *De Vita Salutis Hominum*, the life of Mohammed, and some other things, and wrote a demonstration that Christ is the Son of God and himself God, printed, Gr. and Lat. Augsb. 1608, 8vo.

Laonicus Chalcocondylas or Chalcondylas, a native of Athens, flourished A.D. 1468, and wrote a History of the Turks from A.D. 1300 to 1463, published, Gr. and Lat. Geneva, 1615, fol. and Paris, 1650, fol.

Manuel, a native of Greece, pupil of Matthæus Camariota and orator of the great church of Constantinople, A.D. 1500. He wrote a confutation of Friar

influence, the oracle of the council of Constance, and still in high estimation with such of the French as would maintain their liberties against the Roman pontiffs.[1] He wrote and did much which was very useful to purify the religion, excite the piety, and cure the disorders of the church; but in several things he saw but imperfectly what would comport with the true principles of Christianity. Nicolaus de Clemangis [of Clamenge], a lover of truth and right, who eloquently deplored the calamities of his day and the miserable state of the Christian world.[2] Alphonsus Tostatus of Avila, who loaded the sacred Scripture with a ponderous commentary, and wrote some other things in which there is a mixture of good and bad.[3] Ambrose of Camalduli has acquired great fame by his accurate knowledge of the Greek language and literature, and by his various efforts for establishing harmony between the Greeks and the Latins.[4] Nicolaus of Cusa, a man of various learning and no contemptible genius, but not possessed of a sound and vigorous judgment, as appears from his *Conjectures concerning the Last Day*.[5] John Nieder distinguished himself by various writings which indicate the state of those times, and by his travels and achievements.[6] John Capistranus was esteemed great by the Romish court, because he contended vigorously for the supremacy of the pontiffs against all sorts of opposers.[7] John Wesselius and

Francis, the Dominican, respecting the procession of the Holy Spirit, unleavened bread, purgatory, the primacy of the pope, &c. published, Gr. and Lat. by Le Moyne, *Varia Sacra*, p. 270.—*Mur.*

[1] Du Pin, *Gersoniana*, prefixed to his edition of Gerson's Works, Antwerp, 1706, 5 vols. fol. and inserted by Launoi, in his *Hist. Gymnasii Navarreni*, par. iii. lib. ii. cap. i. in his *Opp.* tom. iv. par. i. p. 514; Von der Hardt, *Acta Concilii Const int.* tom. i. par. iv. p. 26, &c. [John Charlier de Gerson was born A.D. 1363, at Gerson in the diocese of Rheims, educated in the college of Navarre at Paris, succeeded to the chancellorship of the university about A.D. 1395, was active in condemning John Petit and his doctrine in 1407, and subsequently laboured much to heal the divisions and correct the abuses of the church of Rome. He was at the councils of Rhelms, Pisa, and Constance. When the last of these councils broke up in 1418, he could not safely return to Paris where the duke of Burgundy was in power, and he travelled through Germany and Switzerland, and settled at Lyons where he died in 1429. He composed no large work, but left a vast number of tracts, speeches, sermons, letters, and poems, which are dogmatical, polemic, exegetic, mystic, opinions on questions of public interest at that day, projects for reforming abuses, &c. The most valuable are said to be those occasioned by the council of Constance.—*Mur.* [See respecting this remarkable man the chapters in Bonnechose's *Reformers before the Reformation*, entitled *Wycliffe and Gerson*, vol. i. p. 48, &c. and *France and Gerson*, vol. ii. p. 264, &c.—*R.*

[2] See Launoi's *Hist. Gymnasii Navarr.* par. iii. lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 555, &c.; Longueval's *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tome xiv. p. 436. His works, though not entire, were published with a glossary by Lydius, Leyden, 1613, 4to. [Nicolaus do Clemangis was born at Clamenge near Chalons, was educated in the college of Navarre, and became rector of the university of Paris in 1393. He so distinguished himself for the elegance of his Latin epistles that Benedict XIII. called him to Avignon, and made him his private secretary. But in 1408 being suspected of composing the papal bull which laid France under an interdict, he endured violent persecution. He retired into the Alpine country; and though afterwards proved innocent and invited back to France, he chose to spend his days in retirement. He died about A.D. 1440, an honest and pious man. His works, besides about 150 letters, consist of nearly a dozen tracts and poems, the most important of which are, *De Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu, Deploratio Calamitatis Ecclesiast. per Schisma Nefandissimum* in heroic verse, *De Fructu Eremi, De Novis Festivitatibus non Instituendis, De Antichristo, De Studio Theologiæ*, &c.—*Mur.* [Several of these pieces are printed by Von der Hardt, in his *Acta Concilii Constant.* who also gives an account of his life in vol. i. par. ii. p. 71, &c.—*R.*

[3] Alphonsus Tostatus, a voluminous Spanish writer, who studied at Salamanca, attended the council of Basil in 1434, became bishop of Avila, and was advanced to the highest offices in the kingdom. He died in 1454, aged some say 40 years, others say 45 years. He was a man of immense reading, excellent memory, respectable judgment, and famed for his ascetic piety. His works, repeatedly printed and first under cardinal Ximenes, fill 27 volumes, folio. Of these, 24 are commentaries on the whole Bible.—*Mur.* [It is singular that writers on Biblical Criticism have given no account of the labours of this voluminous commentator, whose expository writings fill twenty-four folio volumes, and who was styled by his contemporaries—*Stupor Mundi*.—*R.*

[4] Ambrosius Camaldulensis was born at Portico not far from Florence, became a Camaldulensian monk at the age of 14, acquired a thorough knowledge of Greek under Emmanuel Chrysoloras, was made general of his order about the year 1440, was repeatedly nominated a cardinal, served the popes faithfully and with great ability in the councils of Basil, Ferrara, and Florence, and became almoner to the pope. He died in his monastery at an advanced age, in high repute for sanctity. His life was written at great length by Augustine of Florence, in an Appendix to his *Historia Camaldulensium*. Besides numerous translations from the Greek fathers and many letters, he has left a *Hodoeporicon* or journal of his travels to inspect the monasteries of his order, and some of the public documents for uniting the Greek and Latin churches.—*Mur.*

[5] Bayle, *Response aux Questions d'un Provincial*, tome ii. chap. 117, 118, p. 517, &c. His works are published in one vol. [three volumes.—*Mur.*], fol. Basil, 1565. [Nicolaus Cusanus was born of indigent parents at Cusa in the diocese of Treves, A.D. 1403, educated by Count de Manderscheidt, made doctor of theology and of canon law, was dean of Coblentz, and archdeacon of Liege. In the council of Basil he at first opposed the papal pretensions, and wrote on the subject, entitled *De Catholica Concordantia*. But he afterwards changed sides, became bishop of Brixen, fell out with the emperor Sigismund, was made a cardinal, and repeatedly papal legate. He died A.D. 1464, aged 63. He was very learned, understood Greek and Hebrew, and excelled in philosophy and mathematics. His works were printed, Paris, 1514, and Basil, 1650, in three vols. fol. The first volume is chiefly on theology, the second on controversial subjects, and the third on mathematics, astronomy, &c.—*Mur.* [See also Gerdes, *Historia Reformat.* vol. iii. p. 6, &c. for a notice of this eminent scholar and precursor of the Reformation.—*R.*

[6] See p. 515, note 4.—*Mur.*

[7] See Lenfant's *Hist. de la Guerre des Hussites*, tome ii. p. 254, &c.; Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. ix. p. 67. [John Capistranus was born in the village of Capistro in Abruzzo, Italy, A.D. 1385; became a Franciscan monk of the regular observance, was repeatedly Cisalpine general of his order, was an inquisitor and papal legate, and as such preached up and enjoined crusades against the Fratricelli in Italy, the Hussites in Bohemia, and the Turks in Hungary, with dreadful effect. He died in 1456 aged 71. His writings are chiefly on different points of canon law, and are contained mostly in the *Tractatus Juris*.—*Mur.*

Jerome Savonarola are to be ranked among the wisest and best men of that age.[1] The former was of Groningen, and for his great perspicuity was called the Light of the World. The doctrines which Luther afterwards taught more clearly he advanced to some extent, and he candidly exposed and censured the defects of the Romish religion. The latter was a Dominician of Ferrara, and a pious, eloquent, and learned man. Having probed the Romish ulcers too freely, he suffered for his rashness, being burned at the stake in 1498 at Florence. He died with serenity and constancy.[2]

[1] Malus, *Vita Reuchlini.* [John Wessel, called also Basilius, and Hermann Gesvort, Goesvort or Gansvort, was born at Groningen, A.D. 1400 or rather 1419. He studied long in the school of the Clerks of the Common Life at Zwoll, and then at Cologne, became very learned, understood Latin, Greek and Hebrew, was a Platonist and a Nominalist, and a contemner of the reigning scholastic theology. He was very pious, studied the scriptures much and in the original languages, and based his faith on them, in utter disregard for human authorities, doctors, traditions, popes, councils, or fathers. He was invited to Heidelberg, but not allowed to teach theology there, because he had not taken the degree of D.D. nor would they give him that degree because he was not in orders. He returned to Cologne, went to Louvain, and thence to Paris, where he resided many years, and acquired great reputation as a learned, independent, honest, and truly Christian man. He once visited Rome, was never persecuted, and died A.D. 1489, aged some say 89, and others 70. His works are several theological tracts, chiefly on what he deemed the erroneous views in theology then prevailing. They are—on the Providence of God, why Christ became incarnate, and on the greatness of his sufferings, on Penance or the clerical power of binding and loosing, on the Communion of saints, on the Treasury of Merits in the Church, on Fraternities, on Purgatory, on Papal Indulgences, several epistles, on the Eucharist and the Mass, on Indulgences, on Prayer. These were published, Wittemb. 1522, and Basil, 1523, folio, and 1525, 4to, under the title of *Farrago Rerum Theologicarum*, with a preface by Martin Luther; also at Amsterdam, 1617, 4to. In his preface Luther says: "Wessel appeared (who was called Basil), a Frisian of Groningen, a man of admirable talents, of great and rare genius, who was manifestly taught of God, as Isaiah prophesied that Christians should be; for he cannot be supposed to have followed men even as I have not. If I had previously read Wessel, my enemies might have thought Luther derived all his views from Wessel, so perfectly accordant are the two in spirit. And it increases my joy and confidence, and I now have no doubt of the correctness of my doctrines, since with such uniform agreement and nearly in the same words, though at a different period, in another clime and country, and with other results, he so harmonizes with me throughout." See Seckendorf's *Hist. Lutheran.* lib. i. sec. 54, § cxxxiii. p. 226, &c.; Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Wessel.*—[John Wessel is too often confounded with his contemporary and friend John de Vesalia or of Wesel, a doctor of theology, and a celebrated preacher at Erfurth and Worms, who held nearly the same sentiments with Wessel, and was at length condemned by an assembly at Mentz, A.D. 1479, and cast into prison, where he soon after died. His theological opinions were condemned; yet a catholic who witnessed the whole trial says, he advanced nothing but what might be defended, except in regard to the procession of the Holy Spirit, in which he agreed with the Greeks. His condemnation is attributed by this writer to his being a Nominalist, while his judges all but one were Realists. See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Wesalia, Jean de;* and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxxiii. p. 295, &c.—*Mur.* [Of this forerunner of Luther, see Gerdes, *Historia Reform.* vol. i. p. 43, vol. iii. p. 10, &c.; Brandt's *History of the Reformation in the Low Countries*, Lond. 1720—23, folio, vol. i. p. 32; Giesler's *Lehrbuch*, &c. Cunningham's transl. vol. iii. p. 388, &c. But the fullest account of Wessel and his theological views which is extant, is that given by Ullmann of Heidelberg, in the second volume of his valuable work, *Reformatoren vor der Reformation*, second edition, Hamb. 1842.—Of John de Vesalia, see Giesler, *ubi supra*, p. 383, where the reader will find the references necessary for ascertaining his sentiments, and the proceedings at his trial and condemnation.—*R.*

[2] Buddeus, *Parerga Historico-Theolog.* p. 279. The life of Savonarola written by J. F. Picus, was published with notes, documents, and letters, by Quetif, Paris, 1674, 2 vols, 8vo. In the same year Quetif published at Paris the spiritual and ascetic Epistles of Savonarola, translated from Italian into Latin. See also Echard's *Scriptores Ord. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 854, &c. [Jerome Savonarola was born at Ferrara, Oct. 12, 1452, religiously educated, and early distinguished for genius and learning. His father intended him for his own profession, that of physic, but he disliked it; and unknown to his parents became a Dominician monk, A.D. 1474. For a time he taught philosophy and metaphysics, and then was made a preacher and confessor. He soon laid aside the hearing of confessions and devoted himself wholly to preaching, in which he was remarkably interesting and successful. In 1489 he went to Florence, where his preaching produced quite a reformation of morals. He attacked vice, infidelity, and false religion with the utmost freedom, sparing no age or sex and no condition of men, monks, priests, popes, princes, or common citizens. His influence was almost boundless. But Florence was split into political factions, and Savonarola did not avoid the danger. He was ardent, eloquent, and so enthusiastic as almost to believe, and actually to represent what he taught, as being communicated to him by revelation. The adverse faction accused him to the pope, who summoned him to Rome. Savonarola would not go, and was ordered to cease preaching. A Franciscan inquisitor was sent to confront him. The people protected him. But at length, vacillating about putting his cause to the test of a fire ordeal, he in a measure lost his popularity. His enemies seized him by force, put him to the rack, and extorted from him some concessions which they interpreted as confessions of guilt, and then strangled him, burned his body, and threw the ashes into the river. Thus he died, May 23, 1498. His character has been assailed and defended most elaborately, and by numerous persons, both Catholics and Protestants. His writings were almost all in Italian. They consist of more than 300 sermons, about 50 tracts and treatises, and a considerable number of letters, all displaying genius and piety, and some of them superior intellect. See especially Picus and Buddeus, *ubi supra;* C. F. Ammon's *Geschichte der Homiletik*, vol. i. p. 169—198; Gotting. 1804, 8vo; Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, art. *Savonarole;* and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxxiii. p. 543, &c.—*Mur.* [The English reader has now access to a full and tolerably impartial account of this extraordinary man in a recent anonymous work, entitled, *The Life and Times of Girolamo Savonarola*, Lond. 1843, which supersedes the necessity of referring here to the occasional notices of him which are contained in our modern literature, or to the biographies of him which have appeared in Germany. I would make only one exception; the student should by all means read the brief but valuable notice of Savonarola in M'Crie's *History of the Reformation in Italy*, p. 27—36, with the extracts from his sermons, translated into English, which are given in the appendix, p. 449, &c. Potter, a Belgian Romanist, in his *Vie de Scipion de Ricci*, vol. ii. p. 257, thus alludes to the difference of opinion respecting Savonarola existing in the Roman church: "Voilà un moine condamné par l'inquisition comme hérétique, et brulé par ordre d'un des papes les plus infâmes qui olent occupé la chaire de St. Pierre, tacitement canonisé par un autre pape [Benedict XIV.] adoré par une sainte [St. Catherine de Ricci], et par un évêque vertueux [Scipio de Ricci], et vilipendé par d'autres moines." Potter gives in the appendix to this volume several original pieces respecting this "saint héretique," which had been copied by De Ricci, when sojourning in 1799 in the Dominician convent of St.

Alphonsus Spina composed a book against the Jews and Saracens, which he called Fortalitium Fidei.[1] Conspicuous in the long list of those called scholastics, were John Capreolus,[2] John de Turrecremata,[3] Antoninus of Florence,[4] Dionysius of Ryckel,[5] Henry Gorcomius,[6] Gabriel Biel,[7] Stephen Brulifer,[8] and others. Among the most respectable Mystics were Vincent Ferrerius,[9] Henry Harphius,[10] Laurence Justinian,[11] Bernardin of Sienna,[12] and more famous than all the rest, Thomas à Kempis, the reputed author of the well-known treatise on the Imitation of Christ.[13]

Mark in Florence, where the visiter still reads this inscription over the rooms formerly occupied by the martyr: "Has cellulas Ven. P. F. Hieronymus Savonarola, vir apostolicus, inhabitavit." Audin, in his *Histoire de Leon X.* Paris, 1844, states that a short time ago a bookseller in Florence possessed some unpublished poems of Savonarola which he was anxious to print, but was prevented by the censors of that city; so that public sentiment even in Florence is still divided respecting him. The Roman *Index* of Clement VIII. contains the titles of his sermons which are prohibited from being read "donec emendati prodeant."—*R.*

[1] Alphonsus Spina was a Spanish Jew converted to Christianity, who became a Franciscan monk, rector of the university of Salamanca, an inquisitor, and at last a bishop. He flourished about A.D. 1459. His book defends the Romish religion against the arguments then used by Jews, Saracens, heretics, and infidels. It is a weak performance, first published anonymously, Nurimberg, 1494, 4to, then at Lyons, A.D. 1511.—*Mur.*

[2] John Capreolus was a French Dominican monk of Languedoc, professor of theology at Toulouse, flourished A.D. 1415, and is said to have attended the council of Basil, 1431. He wrote commentaries on Lombard's Four Books of Sentences, published, Venice, 1484, 1514, 1588, fol.—*Mur.*

[3] John de Turrecremata, a Spaniard, born at Torquemada, A.D. 1388, a Dominican monk, sent to the university of Paris, where he studied and taught many years. From about the year 1431, he served the popes, first as master of the palace, then (1437) as legate to the council of Basil, and afterwards to that of Florence; then as a cardinal and legate in France, and on various other embassies. From 1450 till his death in 1468, he held various bishoprics in Spain and Italy. He wrote commentaries on the Decretum of Gratian, on Paul's Epistles, on the Psalms, various tracts on scholastic theology, and disputed points of canon law and church government, against the Mohammedans, with a series of sermons and a number of ascetic pieces. His works were first printed, Augsburg, 1472, in eight vols. folio.—*Mur.*

[4] His true name was Antonius, but on account of his diminutive stature he acquired that of Antoninus. He was born at Florence in 1389, early studied canon law, became a Dominican monk at sixteen, afterwards presided over several different monasteries, was made vicar-general of his order, and in 1446 archbishop of Florence. He was repeatedly envoy of his city to the court of Rome, and died May 2, 1459, aged 70, greatly esteemed for his piety and erudition. He was canonized A.D. 1523. His piety was generally admitted, but his judgment as a writer has been questioned, and his works are said to be stuffed with silly stories collected from all quarters. He wrote *Summa Historialis*, or a universal history from the creation to his own times, Lyons, 1586, 3 vols. fol.; *Summa Theologica*, Strasburg, 1496, 4 vols. fol.; *Summa Confessionalis*, Lyons, 1564, 8vo; notes on the donation of Constantine the Great, several law tracts, and one on the virtues.—*Mur.*

[5] Dionysius a Ryckel, or de Leewis, or Carthusianus. He was born at Ryckel, a village in the diocese of Liege, educated at Cologne, and became a Carthusian monk at the age of twenty-one, and died March 12th, 1471, aged 69, or as some say 77. He was a most voluminous writer, chiefly as an expositor and a practical theologian. His commentary on the whole Bible was printed, Cologne, 1533, in 7 vols. folio; his commentary on the Four Books of Sentences, Cologne, 1535, 4 vols. folio; his commentary on Dionysius Areopagita, ibid. 1536, fol. He also wrote *De Fide Catholica*, on a Christian life, a treatise on the four last things—death, judgment, heaven, and hell; another on a particular judgment of souls, expositions of some works of Cassian and of the *Climax* of John Scholasticus, seven tracts on practical religion, printed at Louvain, 1577, and a work against the Alcoran and the Mohammedans, with tracts on war with the Turks, holding a general council, and the vices of superstition, printed, Cologne, 1533, 8vo.—*Mur.*

[6] Henry Gorcomius was a native of Gorcum in Holland, became distinguished as a theologian and philosopher, was vice-chancellor of the university of Cologne, and died in 1495. He wrote *De Superstitionis quibusdam Casibus seu Ceremoniis Ecclesiasticis, De Celebritate Festorum, Conclusiones et Concordantiæ Bibliorum ac Canonum in Libros Magistri Sententiarum*, a Commentary on Aristotle, *De Cœlo*, and *De Mundo, Quæstiones Metaphysicæ de Ente et Essentia.*—*Mur.*

[7] Gabriel Biel, D.D. a native of Spire, one of the first professors of theology and philosophy at Tubingen, founded A.D. 1477. He died in 1495, leaving a commentary on the Four Books of Sentences, Brixen, 1574, 3 vols. 4to, an Exposition of the Canon of the Mass, a series of Sermons, *Defensorium Obedientiæ Pontificis, Historia Dominicæ Passionis, De Monetarum Potestate et Utilitate*, and an Epitome of the work of William Occam on the Sentences.—*Mur.*

[8] Stephen Brulifer, born at St. Malo, a Franciscan, a doctor of Paris, a Scotist, professor of theology at Mentz and Metz, flourished A.D. 1480, and died after A.D. 1500. He wrote on Lombard's Sentences, on the Trinity, Sermons on the Poverty of Christ, and some other tracts, all published, Paris, 1499 and 1500, 8vo.—*Mur.*

[9] Vincent Ferrerius was a Spanish Dominican of Valencia, renowned as a preacher, who travelled over Spain, France, and Italy, doing wonders and converting multitudes from vice and error (if we may believe the Romanists), was made confessor and master of the palace to Pope Benedict XIII. He was very metaphysical, poor in thought and low in language, yet was esteemed a great saint, and was canonized in 1455. He died A.D. 1419. He wrote *De Vita Spirituali, Tractatus Consolatorius*, and several epistles (published, Valencia, 1591), and a volume of sermons with several small pieces annexed, often published.—*Mur.*

[10] Henry Harphius was a Franciscan, born in the village of Le Herp in Brabant, a theologian, provincial of his order, and guardian of the convent of Mechlin. He flourished A.D. 1468 and died in 1478. He wrote *De Theologia Mystica tum Speculativa tum Affectiva*, Cologne, 1611, 4to, *Speculum Aureum in Præcepta Decalogi, Speculum Perfectionis*, and many Sermons. He wrote generally in Dutch, others translated him into Latin.—*Mur.*

[11] Laurentius Justinian was of patrician birth at Venice, a regular canon of St. Augustine for thirty years, then bishop of Venice A.D. 1431, promoted to the rank of a patriarch A.D. 1450, and died Jan. 8, 1455, aged 74, and was canonized A.D. 1524. He was a man of sincere piety, very zealous in religion, and very liberal to the poor. His works, consisting of sermons, letters, and a number of tracts on metaphysical divinity and practical religion, were printed, Basil, 1560, fol. Lyons, 1568, fol. and Venice, 1606, fol.—*Mur.*

[12] Bernardino Senensis or of Sienna was nobly born at Messano in the territory of Florence, Sept. 8th, 1380, religiously educated in monkish austerities, yet instructed by distinguished masters, became a Franciscan monk in 1404, commenced preaching and became very famous, was sent legate of his order to Palestine, travelled extensively there, returned and travelled over Italy, a most renowned preacher. He flourished A.D. 1426, repeatedly refused bishoprics, and died A.D. 1444, aged 64, and was canonized in 1450. His works are chiefly sermons, but embrace a few mystic tracts and a commentary on the Apocalypse. He appears to have been devout and possessed of considerable genius. His works were printed, Paris, 1636, in 5 vols. fol.—*Mur.*

[13] Langlet de Fresnoy promised to show that this celebrated book, concerning the author of which there has been so much literary war, was first written in French

by one John Gersen or Gerson, and translated into Latin by Thomas à Kempis. See Granet in *Launoiana*, par. ii. *Opp.* tom. iv. par. ii. p. 414, 415. A history of the disputes concerning this book was drawn up by Vincent Thuillier in the *Opera Posthuma* of Mabillon and Ruinart, tom. iii. p. 54, &c. [His real name was Thomas Hammerlein [or rather Hemerken], in Latin Malleolus. He was born at Kempis or Campis in the diocese of Cologne, A.D. 1380, was sent to the school established by Gerhard Groote at Deventer at the age of 13, and seven years after to the Augustinian convent at Mount St. Agnes near Zwoll, where he assumed the habit of a monk A.D. 1406, and was afterwards proctor and superior of the convent. He died A.D. 1471, aged 92. He was a very religious man. His writings are all on practical and experimental religion, and consist of numerous sermons, several letters, religious biography and tracts, collected and printed often in folio, quarto, and octavo, *e.g.* Cologne, 1728, 4to. The four books *De Contemptu Mundi* (or *De Imitatione Christi* from the subject of the first book) have been translated into English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Bohemian, Hungarian, Greek, Arabic, and Turkish, and passed through innumerable editions. The general opinion is that Kempis was the author. Yet there are substantial reasons for doubt and uncertainty. See Wharton's Appendix to Cave's *Hist. Liter.* and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxxiv. p. 312, &c.—*Mur.* [The question respecting the authorship of this well-known work is also concisely discussed in Gieseler's *Lehrbuch*, &c. Cunningham's transl. vol. iii. p. 321, note 12, and references given to the latest works in France and Germany on different sides in this controversy. A few additional facts may be seen in the article *Kempis* in the *Biographie Universelle*, tome xxii. p. 286. For a full account of Thos. a Kempis, and of his views and influence as a precursor of the Reformation, see Ullmann's *Reformatoren vor der Reformation*, 2d edit. vol. ii. p. 125, &c.—*R.*

The following Latin writers are omitted in the preceding list by Mosheim:—

John Huss, born at Hussinetz in Bohemia, educated at Prague, where he graduated A.B. in 1393, A.M. in 1395, became preacher in the Bethlehem church in 1400, read the works of Wickliffe, began to attack the prevailing views of religion in 1408, was silenced by Sabinco Lupus, the archbishop of Prague, and accused before the pope who summoned him to Rome. He sent his proctor who was not heard, and Huss was condemned as an obstinate heretic. In 1413, being driven from the city of Prague, he preached in the vicinity till the tumult in the city subsided. In 1414 he set out for the council of Constance protected by a safe conduct from the emperor, but was seized, imprisoned, condemned, and burned at the stake, May 29, 1416. His works contain numerous theological, polemical, and devotional tracts, many letters and sermons, a Harmony of the Gospels, commentaries on some of the Epistles and Psalms, and on the Apocalypse, and were printed, Nurimb. 1558, 2 vols. fol. [reprinted with many important additions at Nuremberg in 1715, in 2 vols. folio. —*R.*

Paulus Anglicus, an English doctor of canon law, A.D. 1404, wrote *Aureum Speculum*, or a Dialogue between Peter and Paul on the abuses of clerical power, extant in Goldast. *Monarchia*, tom. ii. p. 1527.

John Latteburius, an English Franciscan monk, educated at Oxford. He wrote A.D. 1406, *Moralia super Threnos Jeremiæ*, printed A.D. 1482, fol.

Richard Ullertone (Ulverstone), of Lancashire, and a professor of theology at Oxford, A.D. 1408. His *Petition for a Reformation of the Church* exists in manuscript at Cambridge, England. The preface and considerable extracts are published by Wharton, Appendix to Cave's *Hist. Liter.* Some other works of his exist in manuscript.

Theodoric de Niem or Niemus, a German, scrivener to the pope A.D. 1372, bishop of Verdun and of Cambray, flourished A.D. 1408. He wrote a history of the papal schism in his own times, printed, Strasburg, 1608 and 1629, 8vo; also the Life of Pope John XIII. and some other pieces respecting the state of his times.

Thomas Netter called Waldensis because born at Walden in Essex, an English Carmelite monk of London, who was educated at Oxford, confessor to Henry IV. and his envoy to the council of Pisa, provincial prior of his order in 1414, a strenuous opposer of the Wicklifflites, sent by the king to the council of Constance in 1415, and to the court of Poland in 1419. He attended Henry V. in his French war A.D. 1423, and Henry VI. in 1430, and died at Rouen Nov. 3d, 1430. He wrote much; the only work of his printed is his *Doctrinale Antiquitatum Fidei Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, a very prolix work against the followers of Wickliffe and Huss, Venice, 1751, fol. and elsewhere.

Petrus Ancharanus, a celebrated canonist of Bologna A.D. 1410, who has left three large works on canon law, frequently printed.

Bostonus Buriensis, a Benedictine monk of St. Edmundsbury, England, A.D. 1410. He visited all the monasteries in England to make out a complete catalogue of all the works of the ecclesiastical writers. This manuscript catalogue was in the hands of archbishop Ussher, Thomas Gale, &c.

John Grossius or Grossus, a French Carmelite monk of Toulouse, elected general of his order in 1411, attended the council of Pisa, and died in 1424 at an advanced age. He wrote *Viridarium Ordinis Carmelitani*, describing the origin, progress and distinguished men of his order, published with other similar works, Antwerp, 1680, 4 vols. fol.

Hieronymus a S. Fide, a converted Spanish Jew, physician to Benedict XIII. A.D. 1412. He wrote *De Refellendis Judæorum Erroribus*, and *Adversus Talmuth Judæorum*, published Francf. 1602, 8vo, and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxvi. p. 528.

Hermann de Lerbeke, a German Dominican monk of Minden, who wrote a History or *Chronicon* of the counts of Schauenburg from A.D. 1006 to 1414, published by Meibomius, Francf. 1620, 8vo.

Paulus Carthagena a S. Maria, a converted Spanish Jew, bishop of Carthagena and of Burgos, high chancellor of Castile and Leon, and patriarch of Aquileia, died A.D. 1435. He wrote additions to Lyra's commentary on the Scriptures, *Scrutinium Scripturarum*, and *Quæstiones* xii. *de Nomine Tetragrammato*.

Gobelinus Persona, born in Westphalia A.D. 1358, travelled over Italy, and resided some time at the Romish court, and in 1389 became rector of Trinity chapel at Paderborn, retired to Bielfeld and was made dean. He flourished A.D. 1418 and died about 1428. Between the years 1404 and 1418 he composed his *Cosmodromium* or chronicle of the world, from the creation to A.D. 1418, published with notes and an appendix, by Meibomius, Francf. 1599, fol.

Leonard Brunus Aretinus, born at Arezzo, Tuscany, and one of the best Latin and Greek scholars of his age, epistolary secretary to the popes from A.D. 1404, retired to Florence to literary ease, and there died in 1443, aged 74. He wrote *Contra Hypocritas*, History of Florence, *De Bello Italico adversus Gothos* (which is a mere plagiarism from Procopius), *De Bello Punico* (taken from Polybius and intended to supply the loss of Livy's second Decade), *Epistolarum libri* viii. a tract on Morals, Translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*, a history of his own times (or of the papal schism), and several other things. His Latin is very fine.

John Francis Poggio Brandolinus [Bracciolinus.—*R.*] born near Arezzo, Tuscany A.D. 1380, a fine Latin and Greek scholar, secretary to eight successive popes, from A.D. 1415 to 1455, then counsellor at Florence till his death in 1459. He wrote numerous small works, descriptive, facetious (or rather obscene), funeral orations, letters, &c. besides a History of Florence. He was active in the council of Constance, and quarrelled with Laurentius Valla, yet he promoted literature. His works are published, Strasburg, 1511 and 1513, and Basil, 1538, fol. [Of this eminent scholar, an elaborate life, though certainly much more prolix than the subject warranted, was published by the Rev. William Shepherd, a Unitarian minister at Liverpool, 1802, 4to. —*R.*

Nicolaus Dünckelspühe, a Swabian, rector of the gymnasium of Vienna A.D. 1420, and its representative in the council of Basil A.D. 1431. He wrote sermons on the Decalogue, on the Lord's Prayer, on Penitence, on the Beatitudes, on the Seven Mortal Sins, a Confessional, and on the Five Senses, printed, Strasburg, 1516, fol.

Theodoric Engelhusius, a canon of the church of Hildesheim A.D. 1420. He wrote *Chronicon Chronicorum*, or a universal history, civil and ecclesiastical, from the creation to A.D. 1420, published by Maderus, Helmst. 1671.

William Lindwood, LL.D. a learned English jurist, educated at Cambridge and Oxford, dean of the Arches

to Chichely, archbishop of Canterbury, lord privy seal to Henry V. and his ambassador in 1422 to Spain and Portugal, bishop of St. David's in 1432, and died 1446. He wrote *Provinciale seu Constitutiones Angliæ*, being the constitutions of fourteen archbishops of Canterbury from Stephen Langton to Henry Chichely, with notes and comments, Oxford, 1679, fol.

John de Imola, a learned commentator on canon law who died at Bologna A.D. 1436. His comments were published, Venice, 1575, 2 vols. fol.

Julianus Cæsarinus, LL.D. professor of law in several Italian universities, then filled various offices in the court of Rome, and became a cardinal A.D. 1426. He was papal legate in the Hussite war, in which he was unsuccessful, and then legate to the council of Basil in 1431, presided there, refused to dissolve the council at the command of the pope; but in 1438 he again sided with the pope, attended the council of Florence, was sent legate to the king of Poland in 1444, advised him to violate his treaty with the Turks, and was himself slain leading the troops to battle. He died aged 46. His two letters to Pope Eugene IV. written from Basil, with a long oration he delivered there, have been printed.

Nicolaus Tudeschus called Panormitanus, a Benedictine monk of Sicily, an abbot, and archbishop of Palermo, a very able canonist, who taught in Italy and filled offices at Rome. In 1431 the king of Aragon sent him to the council of Basil, where he defended the supremacy of councils with great ability. He was made a cardinal in 1440, and died in 1445. Except his defence of the rights of councils, his works are all upon canon law. They were repeatedly published: *e.g.* Venice, 1617, 9 vols. fol.

Raymundus Sabunde, a learned Spaniard, rector of the gymnasium of Toulouse. He wrote (A.D. 1434—1436) *Theologia Naturalis de Homine et Creaturis, seu Thesaurus Divinarum Considerationum*, often printed, *e.g.* Venice, 1581, 8vo.

Petrus Jeremiæ, a Dominican monk and a celebrated preacher, born at Palermo, lived at Bologna, and died there A.D. 1452. His sermons with expositions of the Lord's Prayer, the decalogue, and tracts on faith and Christ's sufferings, were printed, Hagenau, 1514.

Nicolaus Auximanus Piceus, an Italian Franciscan monk, vicar of his order in Palestine, a pious man and not destitute of learning, A.D. 1430. He wrote *Summa Casuum Conscientiæ, Supplementum ad Summam Pisanellam*, and *Interrogatorium Confessorum*, besides some things never printed.

Ægidius Carlerius, born at Cambray, fellow and professor of theology in the college of Navarre, Paris, dean of Cambray in 1431, opposer of the Hussites in the council of Basil, 1433. He died very aged, Nov. 23, 1473. His *Sporta Fragmentorum* and his *Sportula Fragmentorum* (two collections of tracts defending the Romish religion) were printed, Brussels, 1478, 2 vols. folio. His long argument at Basil against the Hussites is in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. viii. p. 1759, &c.

Catharina Bononiensis, an Italian Franciscan abbess at Bologna, who thought she had many divine revelations. She flourished A.D. 1438, and died March 9th, 1463. Her *Liber de Revelationibus sibi factis* was printed, Venice, 1583.

John de Lydgate, an English Benedictine monk and teacher of youth at St. Edmundsbury. He was the imitator of Chaucer and accounted a good poet, born A.D. 1380, and lived till after 1460.

Thomas Walsingham, an English Benedictine monk of St. Albans, where he was preceptor A.D. 1440. He wrote two Histories of England, the more concise from A.D. 1273 to 1422, the larger, entitled *Hypodigma Neustriæ*, relates the history of Normandy from A D. 1066 to 1417. Both are esteemed and were printed, Lond. 1574, fol. He also continued the *Polychronicon* of Ranulph Higden from 1357 to 1417.

John de Anania, a celebrated canonist of Bologna, who died A.D. 1455, leaving several large works on canon law which have been printed.

Laurentius Valla, of patrician rank, born at Rome, A.D. 1417, doctor of theology and canon of St. John de Lateran, a finished scholar but extremely sarcastic, and a severe critic upon authors. He made himself many enemies, among whom was Poggio, with whom he had long and severe quarrels. In 1443 he left Rome and went to Naples, where Alphonsus V. patronised him. The Inquisitors would have burned him at the stake, had not that king protected him. He was at length permitted to return to Rome and teach there till his death, A.D. 1465. He wrote *Elegantiæ Linguæ Latinæ*, three works in controversy with Poggio, on Logic, on the spurious donation of Constantine the Great, Annotations on the New Testament, on Man's Supreme Good, and a tract on Free-will. These works with other tracts were printed at Basil, 1540, fol. He also wrote the history of Ferdinand of Aragon and Castile, from A.D. 1410 to 1415, besides notes on Sallust, Livy, Quintilian, and translations of the Iliad, Herodotus, Thucydides, &c.

Flavius Blondus, or Blondus Flavius, born in Italy A.D. 1388, a good classical scholar, secretary to various popes, died June 4th, 1463, aged 75. He wrote much, but so hastily that his works are of little value. They are *Historiarum Decades III.* or a general history of the Western empire, from A.D. 410 to 1440, *Roma Instaurata* (a description of Rome in his day), *Italia Illustrata* (description of Italy in the middle ages), *De Venetorum Origine et Gestis* (from A.D. 456 to 1291), *Roma Triumphans* (a description of the Roman republic in its best days); all these were printed, Basil, 1559, folio.

Meffrethus, a presbyter of the church of Meissen, A.D. 1443, who wrote *Hortum Reginæ* (sermons for the year), printed Nurimb. 1487, fol. Basil, 1488, two vols. fol.

Reginaldus Pavo (in English, Peacock), born in Wales, educated at Oxford, bishop of St. Asaph, A.D. 1444, and of Chichester, A.D. 1450, accused of heresy and compelled to retract in 1457, and died not long after. He laboured much to convince and convert the Wickliffites, Hussites, Lollhards, and Waldenses, but disapproved all persecution. He acknowledged the corruptions of the church, held the Scriptures to be the only rule of faith, yet allowed a place for natural religion, denied the infallibility of popes and councils, yet admitted their right to legislate on points left undecided in the scriptures. He wrote in English two books on the faith, published with abridgment, Lond. 1688, 4to; also a prolix work against the assailants of the clergy, the Wickliffites and others, written in 1449, and still preserved in the public library at Cambridge. See Wharton's Appendix to Cave's *Hist. Liter.* [and Lewis's *Life of Reynold Pecock, being a sequel to the Life of Wiclif*, 1744, and Oxford, 1820, 8vo.—*R.*

Leonard de Utino, Belluensis or Micensis, an Italian Dominican, rector of a gymnasium at Bologna, chaplain to Eugene IV. provincial of his order for Lombardy, flourished A.D. 1444. He has left us two series of sermons, which are elaborate, learned, and ingenious, but infected with the bad taste of the times. (See Ammons's *Gesch. der Homiletik*. Gotting. 1804, p. 91, &c.) also a treatise *De Locis Communibus Prædicatorum*, and another, *De Legibus*.

Petrus de Pilichdorf, a German professor of theology about A.D. 1444, who wrote *Contra Sectam Waldensium*, in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxv.

Maphæus Vegius, an Italian poet and man of letters, datary to Martin V. and a canon of Rome, died 1458. He wrote *De Perseverantia in Religione, De Educatione Liberorum, Disputatio Terræ, Solis, et Auræ, de Præstantia, Dialogus de Miseria et Felicitate, Veritas Invisa et Exulans*, a poetic life of St. Anthony the monk, on the Four Last Things, Paraphrases on the seven penitential Psalms. The preceding are in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxvi. also *De Significatione Verborum in Jure Civili*, and a thirteenth book of Virgil's *Æneid*.

Matthæus Palmerius, a poet, orator, and historian of Florence, A.D. 1449, condemned to the flames for some expressions savouring of Arianism in his Italian poem respecting the angels. He wrote a *Chronicon* from the creation to A.D. 1449, usually printed with those of Eusebius and Prosper.

John Capgrave, an English Augustinian monk of Canterbury, D.D at Oxford, and provincial of his order, A.D. 1450. He died in 1464, or as others say 1484, was an eminent theologian, and a severe reprover of the dissolute clergy. He wrote a Catalogue or Legend of all the English Saints, printed, London, 1516, fol. and many other works yet in manuscript.

Antonius de Rosellis, a Tuscan, professor of civil and canon law at Pavia, papal legate to the council of Basil, and privy counsellor to the emperor Frederick III. died at an advanced age, at Pavia, 1467. In his famous work entitled *Monarchia*, he proves from scripture, the fathers, reason, and both civil and canon law,

that the pope is not supreme in temporal things, and that he has no more power than any other bishop. He wrote some other law tracts.

John Canales, D.D. an Italian Franciscan, much esteemed by the duke of Ferrara, A.D. 1450. He was a good scholar and divine, and wrote several tracts on practical religion, printed, Venice, 1494, fol.

Gulielmus Vorilongus, a French Dominican, called to Rome by Pius II. to defend his order against the Franciscans relative to the blood of Christ, where he died A.D. 1464, leaving a commentary on the Four Books of Sentences (printed, Lyons, 1484, &c.), and a Collection of passages from the Sentences which are opposed to Scotus.

Nicolaus de Orbellis or Dorbellus, a Franciscan professor of theology and scholastic philosophy at Poictiers, A.D. 1456, a strenuous defender of the opinions of Scotus in a series of works on the Sentences, logic, commentaries on Aristotle, &c.

Gulielmus Houpeland, a French theologian, archpresbyter of Paris, and dean of the theological faculty there, died Aug. 2, 1492. His book, *De Immortalitate Animæ et Statu ejus post mortem*, full of quotations from the ancients, was printed, Paris, 1499, 8vo.

Jacobus de Paradiso, a Carthusian monk, and doctor at Erfurth, A.D. 1457, wrote a number of tracts on ecclesiastical and religious subjects. [He is also sometimes called Jacobus Junterburg or De Jüterbock, and sometimes merely Jacobus Cisterciensis or Cathusianus. As a forerunner of Luther, he deserved a fuller notice than this meagre sentence. See Ullmann's *Reformatoren vor der Reformation*, vol. i. p. 230, &c. His principal work is printed by Brown, in his supplementary volume to the *Fasciculus Rerum Expet. et Fugiend.* p. 102, and is entitled, *De Septem Statibus Ecclesiæ—De Authoritate Ecclesiæ et de ejus Reformatione.—R.*

Pius II. better known as Æneas Sylvius, of the noble family of Piccolomini, born 1405; went to Sienna in 1423, where he studied the poets and orators, and then the civil law; in 1431 he went to the council of Basil, where for ten years he was one of the most active and efficient in restricting the papal power, and urging a reform of the church. In 1439 he became a counsellor to pope Felix V. and in 1442 privy counsellor and secretary of state to the emperor Frederick III. Here he slowly turned with the emperor to the side of Eugene IV. and was made a bishop in 1447, yet continued to serve the emperor in public business. In 1452 he was made legate for Bohemia and the Austrian dominions, was honoured with a cardinal's hat in 1456, and in 1458 was created pope, reigned nearly seven years, and died at Ancona when ready to embark in an expedition against the Turks, Aug. 14th, 1464. His works are numerous and written with much ability (for he was perhaps the best scholar that ever wore the triple crown), but those written before he was pope are contradictory to those written afterwards, and are marked in the *Index Expurgatorius*. He wrote *Bulla Retractationis Omnium ab eo olim contra Eugenium Papam in Concilio Basiliensi Gestorum, de Gestis Concilii Basiliensis, de Coronatione Felicis V. de Ortu, Regione, ac Gestis Bohemorum* (a history of the Bohemians, from their origin to A.D. 1458, often printed, *e.g.* Amberg. 1593, 4to), an Abridgment of Flav. Blondus' Roman history, *Cosmographiæ Liber Primus* (on Asia Minor), *Cosmographiæ Liber Secundus* (on Europe in his age), a commentary on the history of Alphonsus, king of Aragon, 432 epistles, and several other tracts. All the above published, Basil, 1551, and Helmst. 1700, fol.

John Gobelinus, counsellor to pope Pius II. A.D. 1458. His name is annexed to the *Commentarii de Rebus Gestis Pii II. Papæ*, which it is supposed Pius himself composed, and left with his secretary to correct and publish; printed, Francf. 1614, fol.

Jacobus Picolominæus, counsellor to Callistus III. and Pius II. a cardinal in 1462, died in 1487, aged 57. He wrote *Commentarii de Rebus toto orbe per Quinquennium Gestis* (from A.D. 1464 to 1469), also 782 epistles, both printed, Francf. 1614, fol.

Andreas Barbatus or Barbatias, a celebrated jurist of Sicily A.D. 1460, who taught and died at Bologna. He commented on the canon law, and wrote on the offices of cardinal and legate à latere, and on some other parts of ecclesiastical law.

Gregory de Heimburg, a learned German jurist, active in the council of Basil, and much esteemed by Æneas Sylvius, a decided and firm opposer of the papal pretensions. His friend Sylvius when pope persecuted him for his adherence to the views they had both held. His tracts against papal usurpations were printed, Francf. 1608, 4to. [Ullmann considers this person as another forerunner of Luther. See his *Reformatoren vor der Reformation*, vol. i. p. 212, &c. A number of his smaller pieces are in Brown's *Fasciculus Rer. Expet. et Fugiend.* vol. ii. p. 114, &c.; and Pope Pius the Second's bull of excommunication against him is given by Melchior Adamus in his *Vitæ Germanorum Jureconsultorum*, Frank. 1705, folio, p. 2.—*R.*

Roderic Sinclus de Arevallo, a Spanish jurist, bishop, counsellor to the king of Castile, &c. flourished 1466. He wrote a History of Spain from the earliest times to A.D. 1469, some law tracts, and *Speculum Humanæ Vitæ* (on the duties of all classes of people as immortal beings).

Alexander de Imola, called Tartagnus, a famous Italian jurist who lectured on both civil and canon law with vast applause for thirty years at Pavia, Ferrara, and Bologna, and died A.D. 1487, aged 54, leaving much-esteemed commentaries on civil and canon law.

Jacobus Perezius, a Spanish Augustinian monk and bishop who died in 1491. He wrote allegorical commentaries on the Psalms, the Canticles, and the *Cantica Officialia*, and a tract against the Jews, most of them printed together, Venice, 1568, 4to.

Petrus Natalis or de Natalibus, a Venetian and bishop in that territory, A.D. 1470. He wrote *Historia sive Catalogus Martyrum et Sanctorum*, often printed.

Gabriel Barletta, an Italian Dominican monk and distinguished preacher, A.D. 1470. His two volumes of sermons were printed 1470, Venice, 1585, 8vo.

Martin surnamed Magister, rector of the college of St. Barbara at Paris, and a celebrated teacher of moral philosophy there, who died in 1482, aged 50. He wrote *Quæstiones Morales de Fortitudine* (Paris, 1489, folio), *De Temperantia*, &c.

Rudolphus Agricola, born 1442 near Groningen, studied at Groningen, Paris, and in Italy, became an elegant scholar, learned in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, a sound theologian and a good philosopher. He taught a few years at Groningen, and then at Worms and Heidelberg, where he died Oct. 1485, aged 42. He wrote on Logical Invention, several orations and epistles, translations from the Greek, and comments on the Latin classics. Most of his works were printed, Cologne, 1539, fol. He opposed the corruptions of Rome. [The curious reader will find an account of him in Melchior Adamus, *Vitæ Germanorum Philosophorum*, p. 6.—*R.*

Bartholomew Platina (of Piadina in Cremona), an Italian, a soldier in his youth, then a man of letters employed by cardinal Bessarion, and by Pope Pius II. who gave him valuable benefices. Paul II. discarded and imprisoned him, put him to the rack, and left him in poverty and disgrace. Sixtus IV. raised him again to honour and affluence, and made him keeper of the Vatican library. He died A.D. 1481, aged 60. He wrote *Historia de Vitis Pontificum* (from the Christian era to A.D. 1471, continued by Onuphrius Panvinus to A.D. 1565, frequently printed, *e.g.* Cologne, 1611, 4to), *De Honesta Voluptate et Valetudine, De Falso et Vero Bono, De Optimo Cive, De Naturis Rerum, De Vera Nobilitate*, a Panegyric on Bessarion, a number of letters and other tracts, all collected, Cologne, 1574, fol. besides several pieces published separately.

Robert Flemyng, an Englishman, educated at Oxford, resided some time at Rome, became dean of Lincoln where he died. While in Italy A.D. 1477, he wrote a fulsome poetic Eulogy on Sixtus IV. entitled *Lucubrationes Tiburtinæ*, printed, Rome, 1477, 8vo.

John Raulin, educated at Paris, president of the college of Navarre, A.D. 1481, became a Cluniacensian monk in 1497, was learned and pious, died at Paris A.D. 1501, aged 71, leaving many sermons and addresses, and 55 letters, published, Antwerp, 1612, 6 vols. 4to.

Augustinius Patricius, a canon of the church of Sienna and secretary to Cardinal Francis Piccolomini, by whose direction he composed A.D. 1480 a History of the Councils of Basil and Florence, published in the *Concilia*.

Matthæus Mareschalcus de Bappenheim, a German jurist and canon of Augsburg, flourished A.D. 1480. He wrote *Chronicon Australe* (of Europe from A.D. 852 to 1327), *Chronicon Augustanum* (of Augsburg from A.D 973 to 1104), and *Chronicon Elwangense* (from A.D.

1095 to 1477), published by Freher, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, tom. i.

Hermolaus Barbarus, a Venetian patrician, born A.D. 1454, an elegant Greek and Latin scholar, envoy to the pope in 1491, who created him patriarch of Aquileia without the consent of the senate of Venice. This involved him and his whole family in trouble, in banishment, and confiscation of property. He died at Rome A.D. 1494, aged 59. He corrected several of the Greek and Latin classics, translated some, and wrote a number of orations, poems, and tracts.

Baptista Salvis or de Salis, an Italian Franciscan A.D. 1480. He wrote *Summa Casuum Conscientiæ*, usually called *Baptistiana*, printed, Paris, 1499.

Angelus de Clavasio, an Italian Franciscan, vicar general of the Observants, a distinguished theologian and jurist, died 1495. He wrote *Summa Casuum Conscientiæ*, Nurimb. 1588, fol. and *De Restitutionibus* and *Arca Fidei*, Alcalá, 1562, 4to.

Baptista Trovamala, an Italian Franciscan resident at Louvain A.D. 1480. He wrote *Summa Casuum Conscientiæ*, Paris, 1515, 8vo.

Bernardinus Aquilinus, an Italian Franciscan, a learned jurist and court preacher at Rome A.D. 1480. He wrote, besides sermons, several tracts on practical subjects and on points of canon law.

Antonius de Balocho or de Vercellis, an Italian regular Observant Franciscan, and an eloquent preacher A.D. 1480. He left several sermons and religious tracts.

Bernardinus Tomitanus, surnamed Parvus from his diminutive stature, an Italian Franciscan in high repute at Rome, eminent for piety and eloquence. He died at Pavia, Sept. 28, 1494, leaving several Italian sermons, and a tract, *De Modo Confitendi*.

Bernardinus de Bustis, an Italian Franciscan preacher, learned and superstitious. He died after A.D. 1500, leaving several series of sermons and offices for the festivals of the conception of Mary and the name of Jesus.

Robert Caracciolus de Licio, an Italian Franciscan preacher of very moving address. He died A.D. 1495, having preached fifty years, and left numerous sermons, printed, Venice, 1490, 3 vols folio.

Michael de Mediolano (or de Carcano, according to Wadding), a celebrated Italian Franciscan preacher A.D. 1480, who has left numerous printed sermons.

Andreas, a Dominican and a cardinal, eminent for sanctity, eloquence, and zeal for reformation. Finding the pope and cardinals opposed to a reformation of morals, in 1482 he applied to the emperor Frederick III. went to Basil, endeavoured to assemble a general council there, was anathematized by the pope, seized, imprisoned, and strangled. Several of his letters and tracts on this subject are annexed to Hottinger's *Hist. Eccles. Sæcul.* xv.

Marcilius Ficinus, a Florentine, patronized by Lorenzo de Medicis. He was a good classic scholar, the great reviver of Platonic philosophy, a good theologian and (after hearing Savonarola) a pious man and good preacher. He died A.D. 1499, leaving numerous works illustrative of the classic authors, the Platonic philosophy, and the principles of sound piety. His Epistles contain many solid and devout essays. His collected works were often printed, *e.g.* Paris, 1641, in two vols. folio.

Wernerus Rollwinck de Lacr, a Westphalian and Carthusian monk at Cologne, died A.D. 1502, aged 77. He wrote *Fasciculus Temporum*, embracing all the ancient Chronicles, and coming down (in different copies) to A.D. 1470, 1474, 1480, and continued by John Linturius to A.D. 1514; in Pistorius, *Rerum Germanicar.* tom. ii. *De Westphaliæ Situ et Laudibus, Quæstiones pro Sac. Theol. Studiosis*, and some other things.

Jacobus Gruytrodius, a Carthusian monk and a prior near Liege, A.D. 1483. He wrote *Speculum Quintuplex Prælatorum, Subditorum, Sacerdotum, Sæcularium Hominum et Senum* (on the duties of each).

John Picus, a prince of Mirandula and Concordia, born 1463, became a very finished scholar, a great linguist and philosopher, a great disputant, and then a sober theologian, and at last an humble and zealous Christian; resigned his office, retired from the world, and was cut off prematurely A.D. 1494, aged 32. Besides his early disputations, he wrote Precepts for a Holy Life, on the 15th Psalm, on the Kingdom of Christ and the Vanity of the World, on the Lord's Prayer, epistles, &c. all published, Basil, 1601, fol. [See more of him in Hallam's *Intro. to the Liter. of Europe*, vol. i. p. 281-86.—*R.*

John Trithemius, or de Trittenheim near Treves, born in 1462, educated at Treves and Heidelberg, became a Benedictine monk A.D. 1484, presided over the monastery of Spanheim A.D. 1485—1505, and over that at Würtsburg from 1506 till his death A.D. 1518. He was a man of vast reading, and a very voluminous writer. He wrote *Chronologia Mystica, De Origine Gentis et Regum Francorum* (from the year 433 B.C. to A.D. 1514), *Chronicon Ducum et Comitum Palatinorum, Catalogus Scriptorum Germanicorum, Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum* (a work of much labour embracing 970 articles), *Chronicon Cœnobii Hirsaugiensis, Chronicon Monasterii Sti. Martini Spanheimensis, Epistolæ Familiares* 140. The preceding were published, Francf. 1601, 2 vols. fol. Some other Chronicons, sermons, tracts, and letters, compose another folio, printed at Mentz, 1604. Other pieces appeared, Cologne, 1624, 8vo. He also wrote *Polygraphia, Steganographia, De Providentia Dei, Historiæ Belli Bavarici anno* 1504 *Gesti*, and *Tractatus Chymicus*.

Carolus Fernandus of Bruges, a professor at Paris, 1486, and a Benedictine monk. He wrote *De Animi Tranquillitate, De Immaculata B. Virginis Conceptione, Collationes Monasticæ, Speculum Disciplinæ Monasticæ, De Observat. Regulæ Benedictinæ*.

Ælius Antonius Nebrissensis (Antonio de Lebrija, an Andalusian), a Spaniard, born in 1444, travelled in Italy, became a finished scholar, did much for the cause of polite learning in Spain, aided cardinal Ximenes in his literary labours, wrote much, and died at Alcalá A.D. 1522, aged 77. He was a learned editor of classical and religious works, wrote the history of Ferdinand and Isabella to A.D. 1509, on the War of Navarre A.D. 1512, a Lexicon of Civil Law, a Medical Lexicon, a Latin-Spanish and Spanish-Latin Lexicon, a Latin Grammar, and several other things.

Aurelius Brandolinus of Florence, a distinguished theologian, poet, and preacher, and at last an Augustinian eremite, died at Rome A.D. 1498.

Henry Bebelius, a German, an elegant scholar, poet-laureat, teacher of *Belles Lettres* at Tubingen A.D. 1497. He wrote much, chiefly on rhetoric and poetry. His collected works were published, Strasb. 1513, fol.

Gaufridus Bousardus, D.D. educated at Paris, chancellor there, travelled in Italy, bishop of Le Mans A.D. 1518, died there A.D. 1520, aged 81. He wrote on the Marriage of the Clergy, on the Mass, and on the Seven Penitential Psalms.

Donatus Bossius of Milan, flourished A.D. 1489. His *Chronicon* (or universal history from the creation to his own times) and *Chronicon de Episcopis et Archiepiscopis Mediolanensibus* (to A.D. 1489) were both printed, Milan, 1492, fol.

Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus, a schoolmaster at Rome and Utino, historiographer to the state of Venice, died A.D. 1506, aged 70. He wrote *Rhapsodiæ Historiarum* (from the creation to A.D. 1504), *De Rebus Gestis Venetorum* (from the founding of the city to A.D. 1487), *Exempla, De Aquileiæ Antiquitate, De Venetæ Urbis Situ, De Venetis Magistratibus, De Prætoris Officio, De Officio Scribæ, Epistolæ*, besides orations and poems, collected, Basil, 1560, 4 vols. fol.

Bonifacius Simoneta of Milan, a Cistercian monk and abbot of Placentia A.D. 1490. He wrote on the persecutions of the Christians and the history of the pontiffs from St. Peter to Innocent VIII. in 279 letters, divided into six books, Basil, 1509.

Petrus Apollonius Collatius, a presbyter of Novara in Italy, probably lived about A.D. 1490. He wrote *De Excidio Hierosolymorum* (*a Tito*), in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xii. Some refer him to the seventh century.

Robert Guaquinus of Belgium, educated at Paris, a monk of the order of the Holy Trinity for the Redemption of Captives, general of his order in 1473, and envoy of Lewis XII. of France to Italy, Germany, and France, died at Paris, A.D. 1501. He wrote *Annales Rerum Gallicarum*, on the immaculate conception, *De Arte Metrorum*, orations, poems, &c.

Felinus Sandeus, LL.D. of Ferrara, professor of Canon Law at Pisa, A.D. 1464—1481, then prefect of the Rota at Rome, and bishop of Lucca in 1499, died 1503. He wrote largely on Canon Law, and an abridged History of Sicily. His works in several folios were printed, Venice, 1576.

John Geiler of Kaysersburg, born A.D. 1445, educated at Friburg and Basil, an eminent preacher and religious man. He preached at Friburg, Würtsburg, and for 30 years at Strasburg, where he died in 1510 His nume-

rous sermons are excellent for that day, and have been frequently printed. See a critique upon them, with his biography, in Ammon's *Geschichte der Homiletik*, Götting. 1804, p. 217—268 [with Ammon's *Geiler von Kaisersbergs Leben, Lehren, und Prædigten*, Erlang. 1826, 8vo. See an account of his life and writings, with some of his pointed sayings against the monks, in Melchior Adamus, *Vitæ Germanorum Theologorum*, p. 3. —*R.*

John Reuchlin, in Greek Capnio, born in Swabia Jan. 1st, 1454, educated at Baden, Paris, Basil, and Orleans, and retired to Germany in 1481 a finished scholar. He next accompanied the count of Wirtemberg to Rome, and returning was sent envoy to the imperial court. Here he studied Hebrew under a Jew, but perfected himself in that language at Rome. He was an elegant Latin and Greek scholar, a great patron of the liberal arts in Germany, learned in the Hebrew, and a zealous promoter of Hebrew learning. His censures of the ignorance and stupidity of the clergy drew on him their persecution. They attacked him as being inclined to Judaism, and also as one poisoned by the Greek and Latin poets. He opposed them with ridicule and sarcasm, particularly in his *Literæ Obscurorum Virorum*. The quarrel became serious, but at length was merged in that greater contest between the Romanists and Protestants. He wrote *De Arte Cabbalistica*, *De Verbo Mirifico* (on the absurdities of Greek, Hebrew, and Christian philosophy), a Version of the Eight Penitential Psalms from the Hebrew, *De Arte Concionandi, an Judæorum Talmud sit Supprimendum? Breviloquium* (a concise Latin dictionary), a Hebrew Lexicon and Grammar (Basil, 1554, fol.), Rudiments of the Hebrew language, on the accents and orthography of Hebrew, and a few other things. [The life of this, the most distinguished scholar of the 15th century, has been at length presented to the English reader in Barham's *Life and Times of John Reuchlin*, London, 1843, 12mo, which is founded principally on Mayerhoff's *Johann Reuchlin und Seine Zeit*, Berl. 1830. See also the admirable sketch of Reuchlin in Ranke's *History of the Reformation*, Mrs. Austin's transl. vol. i. p. 297, &c. The principal publications and documents in the celebrated Reuchlinian controversy with the Dominicans are given by Von der Hardt in the second part of his *Historia Literaria Reformationis*, Franc. 1717, fol. It is now generally admitted that Reuchlin had no hand in the composition of the *Literæ Obscurorum Virorum*. The question of the authorship of this well-known satire is very fully discussed in a valuable article in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. liii. p. 180, &c. from the pen of Sir Wm. Hamilton of Edinburgh.—*R.*

Jacobus Wimphelingius, born in Alsace A.D. 1449, studied theology at Friburg, Basil, Erfurth, and Heidelberg, became an eloquent preacher, settled at Spire A.D. 1494, and after several years removed to Heidelberg, where he wrote and instructed youth. He died A.D. 1528, aged 80. He was a pious man and laboured for a reformation of morals, but shuddered at the concussions produced by the reformers. He wrote many historical, devotional, and literary pieces, which were published separately. [See a brief notice of him in Melchior Adamus, *Vitæ German. Theolog.* p. 10.—*R.*

Oliver Maillard of Paris, a Franciscan general of his order, and a noted preacher, died A.D. 1502. He published his sermons and tracts, Lyons, 1499, fol.

Antonius Bonfinius, an Italian, a fine Latin and Greek scholar, highly esteemed by Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, by whose suggestion he wrote *Res Hungaricæ* (a history of Hungary, from the earliest times to A.D. 1495), repeatedly printed, *e.g.* Hanover, 1606, fol.

John Jovian Pontanus, born in Umbria, spent his life at the court of Naples, where he became epistolary secretary to the king, and died 1503, aged 78. He was a fine Latin scholar, and a poet, orator, and historian, but exceedingly sarcastic, and rather a pagan than Christian moralist. He wrote largely on particular virtues and vices, *De Sermone*, *De Bello Neapolitano* (between Ferdinand of Naples and John, Duke of Angers), some dialogues, and numerous poems, all collected, Basil, 1556, in 4 vols. 8vo.

Nicolaus Simonis, a Carmelite monk of Haerlem, who died at an advanced age A.D. 1511. He wrote sermons on Canon Law, and on the power of the popes and councils.

James Sprenger, a Dominican monk of Cologne, provincial of his order, A.D. 1495, inquisitor-general for Germany. He wrote *Malleum Maleficarum* (against witchcraft), Francf. 1580, 8vo.

John Nauclerus, LL.D. professor of Canon Law at Tubingen, flourished A.D. 1500. He wrote *Chronicon Universale*, (from the creation to A.D. 1500), enlarged and revised by Melancthon, often published.

The preceding writers belong to the 15th century. The following of the 16th century and before Luther are inserted to make the list reach to the time of the Reformation.

John Ludovicus Vives, born in Spain, studied there, and at Paris and Louvain. In the latter place, he became an elegant Latin and Greek scholar, and a teacher of the liberal arts. He aided Erasmus in editing the Fathers, and commented on Augustine's *Civitas Dei*, went to England to be tutor to Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. returned and lived at Bruges till his death, A.D. 1537. His works on education, on the classics, and on devotional subjects, were collected, Basil, 1555, two vols. fol.

John Ludovicus Vivaldus, a Dominican, born in Piedmont, bishop in Dalmatia, A.D. 1519. He wrote several tracts on experimental religion, printed, Lyons, 1558.

Baptista Mantuanus, of Spanish extract, born in Mantua, Italy, A.D. 1448, became a Carmelite, general of his order, A.D. 1513, died in 1516, aged 68, a prolific poet, biographer of saints, and religious writer. His works were printed, Antwerp, 1576, 4 vols. 8vo.

Peter Martyr Anglerius, born at Milan, went to Spain, A.D. 1487, served the king in various offices, was sent envoy to the Sultan of Egypt, A.D. 1501, and died after A.D. 1525. He wrote *De Navigatione Oceani* (describing Columbus's recent discoveries, written A.D. 1502), Paris, 1587, 8vo; *De Legatione sua Babylonica* (printed with the preceding), *Epistolæ* (nearly a complete history of Europe, from 1488 to 1526, in 813 letters), Amsterd. 1670, fol.

Pelbartus Osvaldus, a Hungarian Franciscan, flourished A.D. 1501. He wrote *Aureum S. Theologiæ Rosarium, juxta Quat. Sententiarum Libros* (Hagenau, 1508, 2 vols. fol.) and many sermons printed at different times.

John Meder, a German Franciscan, preacher at Basil A.D. 1501. He wrote sermons for the year, on the parable of the prodigal son, Paris, 1511, 8vo.

Mauritius de Portu Fildæus, of Irish birth; his Irish name was Ophilila. [?] From his early childhood he lived about 40 years in Italy, was a Franciscan and taught theology at Pavia, flourished A.D. 1505. Pope Julius II. made him archbishop of Tuam. He was at the Lateran council in 1513, and died A.D. 1514, not quite 50 years old. He was a distinguished theologian of the school of Scotus, whose principles he illustrated in a series of works.

Nicolaus Dionysii or De Nyse, a French Franciscan, prior of the convent of Rouen, and provincial of his order, A.D. 1501, died at Rouen A.D. 1509, wrote *Resolutio Theologorum*, or comments on the Four Books of Sentences, and many sermons.

James Almain, a French scholastic divine of Paris, a Scotist, and defender of the superiority of councils over popes, a lecturer on dialectics, philosophy, and theology, in the college of Navarre, flourished in 1502, and died in 1515. His lectures were published, also tracts on morals, on the authority of councils, reply to cardinal Cajetan, &c. Paris, 1516.

Finus Hadrianus, an Italian of Ferrara, secretary of the treasury of the duke. In 1503, being then in years, he wrote *Flagellus adversus Judæos*, printed, Venice, 1538, 4to.

Albert Crantz, born at Hamburg, doctor of canon law and theology, A.D. 1490, rector of the university of Rostoch, dean of Hamburg, died Dec. 7, 1517. He ardently desired a reformation of the church, but despairing of it used to say to Luther—"Brother, brother, go to your cell and say, 'The Lord be merciful.'" He wrote *Metropolis* (a history of the German churches, especially in Saxony, founded in the age of Charlemagne), Cologne, 1574, 8vo. *Historia Saxonica*, Francf. 1575, *Historia Vandalica*, Francf. 1575, *Chronicon Gentium Septentrionalium* (Denmark, Sweden, and Norway), Francf. 1575. All these are prohibited by the *Index Expurgatorius* till purged of their heresy.

John Stella, a Venetian priest, wrote, in the year 1505, *Commentarium de Vita et Moribus Pontificum Romanorum*, from St. Peter to A.D. 1505, printed,

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

1. THAT the public religion of the Latins no longer contained anything to recommend it to the esteem of the pious and well-disposed, is a fact so well attested that even those who have the strongest inclination to gainsay dare not deny it. And among the Greeks and Orientals the state of religion was not much better. Nearly the whole worship of God consisted in ceremonies, and those in a great measure puerile and silly. The sermons which were occasionally addressed to the people were not only destitute of taste and good sense, but also of religion and piety, and were stuffed with fables and nauseous fictions.[1] And among the Latins he was accounted a well-informed and pious Christian who reverenced the clergy and especially the head of that body, the Roman pontiff; who secured the favours of the saints by frequent offerings to them, that is, to their temples and to their priests; who attended the stated rites and ceremonies; and who had moreover money enough to buy remission of sins from the Romish venders. If beyond this a person now and then practised some severity towards his body, he was accounted eminently a child of God. Very few were able or disposed to acquire just views of religion, to bring their hearts to accord with the precepts of Christ, and to make the holy Scriptures their counsellor; and those who did so, with difficulty escaped with their lives.

2. The wise and religious, in nearly all the countries of the West, perceived this lamentable state of things, and endeavoured though in different ways to make it better. In England and Scotland, the followers of Wickliffe, who were branded with the odious name of Lollhards, continued to censure the decisions of the pontiffs and the conduct of the clergy.[2] The Waldenses, though oppressed and persecuted on all sides, did not cease to proclaim aloud from their remote valleys and hiding-places that succour must be afforded to religion and piety, now almost extinct. Even in Italy itself Jerome Savonarola, among others, asserted that Rome was a second Babylon, and had many to support him. But as most of the priests together with the monks well understood that every diminution of the public ignorance, superstition, and folly, would prove an equal diminution of their emoluments and honours, they strenuously opposed all reformation, and by fire and sword enjoined silence and inaction on these troublesome censors.

3. The religious dissensions and controversies in Bohemia, which originated from

Venice, 1507, and 1650, 24mo. He dared not tell all he knew.

Damianus Crassus, a Dominican of Lombardy, published A.D. 1506, a prolix commentary on Job, with several theological essays. He died A.D. 1516.

Francis Ximenes, a Spaniard, reputably born A.D. 1436, and educated at Salamanca. After visiting Italy and filling some minor ecclesiastical offices, he forsook the world, became a Franciscan monk at Toledo, retired to a sequestered spot, became an abbot, confessor to queen Isabella in 1492, provincial of his order, archbishop of Toledo, A.D. 1495, high chancellor of the empire, inquisitor-general of Spain, founded the university of Alcalá (Complutum) in 1500, was regent of the prince and protector of the empire in 1506, cardinal in 1507, ruled all Spain from A.D. 1515, and died 7th Novem. 1517, aged 80. He was learned and a great promoter of learning, an austere monk, a staunch Catholic, an able statesman, and a benefactor of his country. His great work was the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, in 6 vols. fol. printed at Alcalá between the years 1502—1517, on which he expended, 50,000 crowns, employed a great number of the best scholars, and had the best manuscripts from the Vatican library. See Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii. p. 373, &c. vol. iii. p. 296, &c. 404, &c.

Alphonsus Zamora, a Spanish Jew and rabbi, converted to Christianity, and employed by cardinal Ximenes on his Polyglot Bible. He flourished A.D. 1506. He was the chief writer of the sixth volume of the Polyglot, containing the Apparatus for understanding the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Samaritan of the Old Testament. He also wrote another Hebrew Grammar, a concise Lexicon, and a treatise on the Hebrew points, together with a letter to the Jews, all printed at Alcalá, 1526, 4to.

Philippus Decius, LL.D. a famous Italian professor of canon law at Pisa and other places, who died A.D. 1535, aged above 80. In 1511 he gave an opinion that a general council may be called without the consent of the pope, an opinion which he defended at length. He wrote also extensive commentaries on canon law which were printed.

Thomas Radinus, called Todiscus, an Italian Dominican of Placenza, an acute theologian, and a distinguished poet and orator, flourished A.D. 1510. He wrote *De Pulchritudine Animæ*, *Abyssus Sideralis*, an Oration against Luther, and another against Melancthon.

Cyprianus Benctus, a Spanish Dominican, professor of theology at Paris, A.D. 1511. He wrote several tracts respecting the papal power, and some other things.

Marcus Vigerus, a Ligurian Dominican, professor of theology at Padua and Rome, bishop of Sinigaglia, and a cardinal, died A.D. 1516, aged 70. He wrote various treatises respecting the death of Christ, printed, Douay, 1607, two vols.

John Aventinus, born in Bavaria A.D. 1446, studied at Ingolstadt and Paris, became a finished scholar, taught the classics at Vienna, Ingolstadt, and Munich, intimate with Erasmus. At the instigation and expense of the princes of Bavaria, he wrote *Annales Boiorum* (from the earliest times to A.D. 1460). Ingolst. 1554, fol. and enlarged, Basil, 1580, fol. He died A.D. 1534, aged 68. His Annals are prohibited by the *Index Expurgatorius*, till purged of their heresies.

Peter Galatinus, an Italian converted Jew, a Franciscan, doctor of theology, and Apostolic pœnitentiary, flourished A.D. 1516, died after A.D. 1532. He wrote a Dialogue between Galatinus, Capnio [Reuchlin], and Hochstraten, entitled *Opus de Arcanis Catholicæ Veritatis*, chiefly borrowed from Raymund Martini's *Pugio Fidei*, printed often, *e.g.* Francf. 1672, fol.—*Mur.*

[1] For a full account of the preachers, and the subjects and modes of preaching in this century, see Ammon's *Geschichte der Homiletik*, vol. i. Götting. 1804, 8vo, also with the title *Gesch. der Praktischen Theologie.*—*Mur.*

[2] See Wilkin's *Concilia*, tom. iv.; Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 202, 204, &c.

John Huss and Jacobellus de Misa, broke out into a fierce and deadly war, after the lamentable death of Huss and Jerome of Prague at Constance. The friends of Huss and the defenders of the [sacramental] cup, being variously persecuted by the adherents to the Roman pontiffs, selected a high and rugged mountain in the district of Bechin, where they held their religious meetings and celebrated the Lord's Supper in both elements. This mountain they called Tabor from the tents under which they lived there at first, and afterwards adorned it with fortifications and a regular city. And now proceeding further they put themselves under Nicholas of Hussinetz, lord of the place where Huss was born, and the celebrated John Ziska, a knight of Bohemia, and a man of great valour; that under these leaders they might avenge the death of John Huss and Jerome upon the friends of the Roman pontiff, and might obtain the liberty of worshipping God in a different manner from that prescribed by the statutes of the Romish church. Nicholas died in the year 1420, and left Ziska alone to command this continually augmenting company. Amid the first conflicts and at the commencement of greater evils A.D. 1419, the Bohemian king and emperor, Wenceslaus, was removed by death.

4. His successor, the emperor Sigismund, employed edicts, arms, and penal statutes to bring this war to a close; and he put many of the Hussites to a miserable death. Hence in the year 1420 the Bohemians revolted from him, and under John Ziska made war upon him; and Ziska, though blind, so managed the war as to render his very name terrible to his foes. On the death of Ziska A.D. 1424, a large part of the Hussites chose Procopius Rasa for their leader, who was likewise an energetic man and successfully managed the cause of his party. On both sides many things were done ferociously and cruelly, and altogether inhumanly. For the combatants, though they differed in most of their opinions in regard to religion and religious worship, yet both of them held the common principle that the enemies of true religion might justly be assailed with arms, and be extirpated with fire and sword. The Bohemians in particular, who contended that Huss had been unjustly committed to the flames at Constance, still admitted in general that corrupters of religion and heretics ought to be subjected to capital punishments; Huss however they maintained was no heretic. In this war there was on both sides so great ferocity, that it is difficult to say which exceeded in cruelty and in the multitude of abominable deeds.

5. All the avengers of the death of Huss were in harmony at the commencement of the war; at least they had the same views and made the same demands. But when their number was increased and multitudes of all sorts of persons had joined their standard, great dissension arose among them on many points; and in the year 1420 this produced an open schism, dividing the body into two principal factions, the Calixtines and the Taborites. The former or Calixtines, who derived their name from the cup (*calix*) which they wished to have restored in the eucharist, were of more moderate views, and did not wish to have the old constitution and government of the church overturned, or the religion of their progenitors changed. All that they required was comprehended in these four demands:—I. That the word of God might be preached to the people in its purity and simplicity. II. That the sacred supper might be administered in both the elements. III. That the clergy might be reclaimed from the pursuit of wealth and power, to a life and conduct becoming the successors of the apostles. IV. That the greater or mortal sins might be duly punished. Yet those who confined themselves within these limits were not free from disagreements. In particular there was a great contest among them respecting the Lord's Supper. For James de Misa, the author of the doctrine that the sacred supper should be administered in both kinds, maintained that the sacramental elements should be presented to infants, and many followed his views; but others were for refusing infants the sacred supper.[1]

6. The Taborites, who derived their name from Mount Tabor, made far more extensive demands. For they would have both religion and the government of the church restored to their original simplicity, the authority of the pontiff put down, and the Romish form of worship abolished; in short, they wished for an entirely new church and commonwealth, in which Christ himself should reign and everything be conducted according to divine dictation. In this their principal teachers, Martin Loquis, a Moravian, and his associates, were so extravagant as to indulge themselves in fanatical dreams and to disseminate and teach publicly that Jesus Christ was about to descend, to purge away the corruptions of the church with fire and sword, and other similar reveries. On this party alone rest all the horrid deeds, the murders, plunderings, and burnings which have been charged

[1] See Byzinius, *Diarium Belli Hussitici*, p. 130, &c.

upon the Hussites and upon their leaders, Ziska and Procopius. At least a great portion of this class had imbibed ferocious sentiments, and breathed nothing but war and slaughter against their enemies.[1]

7. The council of Basil A.D. 1433, attempted to put an end to the dreadful war in Bohemia, and for this purpose invited the Bohemians to the council. They appeared by their envoys, among whom their general Procopius was one.[2] But after much discussion the Bohemians returned home, nothing being accomplished. The Calixtines were not averse from peace, but the Taborites could not be moved at all to yield. Afterwards Æneas Sylvius, who with others was sent by the council into Bohemia, managed the matter more successfully. For by granting the use of the cup to the Calixtines, which was the chief object of their wishes, he reconciled them to the Roman pontiff. But with the other party, the Taborites, neither the shrewdness and eloquence of Sylvius nor the numberless menaces, sufferings, and persecutions to which they were afterwards exposed, could avail anything. From this time however they regulated both their religion and their discipline more discreetly and more suitably, abandoned war, discarded those tenets which were at variance with genuine Christianity, and rejected and excluded all those who were either beside themselves or of base lives and conduct.[3] These are those Bohemian Brethren, or as they were called by their enemies Piccards, *i.e.* Beghards, who at the time of the reformation entered into alliance with Luther and his associates, and whose posterity still exist in Poland and in some other countries.[4]

8. In most of the interpreters of the sacred volume, of whom this age produced an abundance, there is nothing to be commended except their good intentions. Those who relied upon their own resources, or did not plunder from the writings of their predecessors, amused or rather beguiled their readers with what are called mystical, anagogical, and allegorical contemplations. At the head of all the interpreters stood Alphonsus Tostatus, bishop of Avila, whose ponderous volumes on the holy Scriptures are extant, but contain nothing remarkable except a prodigious mass of reading. Laurentius Valla, in his little book of critical and grammatical *Notes on the New Testament*, did more for the cause of sacred literature; for he there showed subsequent interpreters how to remove the difficulties which attend the reading and understanding of the sacred books.[5] It is proper to add here that in most of the countries of Europe, as in France, Italy, Germany, and Britain, the holy Scriptures were translated into the vernacular languages, which portended a great change in the prevailing religion and a reformation of it, derived from these sources of religious knowledge.

9. The schools of theology were almost exclusively occupied by those who had loaded their memories with dialectical terms and distinctions, in order to dispute in a formal manner on divine subjects, which however they did not understand. There were few remaining of that class of theologians who chose to demonstrate the doctrines and precepts of religion by the declarations of the sacred volume and of the ancient fathers. Yet there were wise and learned men who did not fail to discern

[1] I will here transcribe some of the Taborite sentiments which Byzinius has faithfully stated, in his *Diar. Hussit.* p. 203, &c.: "All the opposers of Christ's law ought to perish with the seven last plagues, to inflict which the faithful are to be called forth. In this time of vengeance, Christ is not to be imitated in his mildness and pity towards those sinners, but in his zeal and fury and just retribution. In this time of vengeance, every believer, even a presbyter, however spiritual, is accursed if he withholds his material sword from the blood of the adversaries of Christ's law, for he ought to wash and sanctify his hands in their blood." From men of such sentiments, who could expect anything of equity, justice, or kindness? On this most calamitous war, besides the ancient writers, Sylvius, Theobaldus, Cochlæus, and others, Lenfant has written an appropriate work, *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites*, Amsterd. 1731, 2 vols. 4to. But to this should be added a work which Lenfant did not consult, Byzinius, *Diarium Belli Hussitici*; a tract written with great fidelity, and published, though mutilated, by Ludewig in his *Reliquiæ Manuscriptor.* tom. vi. and also Beausobre's *Supplément à l'Hist. de la Guerre des Hussites*, Lausanne, 1745, 4to.

[2] The Bohemians appeared at Constance to the number of 300 men on horseback; among whom besides Procopius were William Cosca, John Rockyzanus a Calixtine priest, Nicholas Galaccus a Taborite priest, and Peter Anglicus. In the name of their countrymen they proposed the four following articles: I. Whoever would be saved must receive the eucharist in both kinds. II. Temporal authority is forbidden to the clergy by the divine law. III. The preaching of the word of God should be free to every man. IV. Public crimes must by no means go unpunished. On these points, four Bohemian divines and four members of the council disputed for fifty days. Their speeches may be seen in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. viii. p. 1655, &c. The council answered their demands so equivocally, that they deemed it expedient to break off the negotiation and return home.—*Schl.*

[3] See Adrian Regenvolscius, *Hist. Eccles. Provinciar. Slavonicar.* lib. ii. cap. 8, p. 165; Camerarius, *Historica Narratio de Fratrum Ecclesiis in Bohemia, Moravia, et Polonia*, Heidelb. 1605, 4to; Lasitius, *Historia Fratrum Bohemicorum*, which I have before me in manuscript, the 8th book of it was printed at Amsterd. 1649, 8vo. [See also Elsner's Dissertations relative to the creed, usages, and history of the Bohemian Brethren, in Gerdes, *Miscellanea Groningana*, tom. vi. vii. and viii.—*Mur.*

[4] A fuller account of these protracted contests, drawn as usual from an independent examination of the original sources, may be seen in Gieseler's *Lehrbuch*, &c. Cunningham's transl. sections 150 and 151, vol. iii. p. 355, &c. with which this account by Mosheim ought to be compared.—*R.*

[5] Of the character and merits of Valla as a biblical expositor, see Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics*, p. 179. —*R*

the faults of the prevalent mode of teaching, and who pronounced it destructive to religion and piety. Hence various plans were formed by different persons for either abolishing or reforming it; and the scholastics had no small number of enemies. The mystics, of whom we are presently to speak, were of opinion that all this kind of wisdom ought to be banished from the Christian church. Others who were more moderate thought that it ought not to be wholly suppressed, but that vain and idle questions should be excluded, the delirious rage for wrangling and disputation be restrained, and the scholastic subtlety be seasoned and tempered with the mystic simplicity. This was the opinion of the great John Gerson, who is known to have been assiduous in correcting the faults of the scholastic tribe.[1] Of the same opinion was Nicholas Cusanus, whose tract on learned ignorance is still extant; and likewise Peter de Alliaco, Savonarola, and others.

10. The restorers of the belles lettres and elegant composition were no less hostile to the wrangling tribe. Yet they did not all entertain the same views. For some of them treated the discipline of the schools with ridicule and contempt, and thought it deserved to be banished altogether, as being nugatory and pernicious to the culture of the mind. But others thought it might indeed be suffered to exist, but that it ought to be exhibited with the charms of eloquence and a purer diction. Of this class was Paul Cortesius, who composed a splendid work on the Sentences, in which as he says he united eloquence with theology, and explained the principal subtleties of the scholastics in a polished style of composition.[2] But the designs of all these persons were resisted by the very powerful influence of the Dominicans and Franciscans, who excelled in this species of learning, and who would not suffer the glory they had acquired by wrangling and disputation to become tarnished.

11. While the scholastics were thus sinking in the estimation of men of genius, the mystics were gaining strength and obtaining many friends and supporters. And there were among them several excellent men, who can be taxed with but few of the faults of that mystic theology which they followed; such as Thomas à Kempis, author of the *Theologia Germanica*, which was commended by Luther himself, Laurence Justinian, Jerome Savonarola, and others. Yet there were other mystics, as Vincent Ferrerius, Henry Harphius, and Bernardino of Sienna, in whom we must carefully separate from the precepts of divine wisdom those things which they derived from an over-excited imagination, or from that Dionysius whom all the mystics held in reverence. The mystics were aided against the attacks of the dialecticians partly by the Platonists who were now in high credit in several places, and partly by certain wise and religious men who were themselves ornaments to the schools. For the former extolled Dionysius as being of their way of thinking; and some even commented upon him, as Marsilius Ficinus, that high ornament of the Platonic school. The latter advised and in fact attempted a conjunction of the two kinds of theology, as John Gerson, Nicholas Cusanus, Dionysius the Carthusian, and others.

12. Men of talents now laboured much more than before to confirm and establish the truth and divinity of the Christian religion in general, against all the assaults of its adversaries. This is evinced by the works produced; such as the treatise *On the Truth of the Christian Religion* by Marsilius Ficinus, the *Triumph of the Cross* by Jerome Savonarola, the *Natural Theology* of Raymund de Sabunde, and other tracts of similar character. Against both the Jews and the Saracens, Alphonso de Spina contended in his *Fortalitium Fidei;* against the former only, James Perezius and Jerome de St. Foi, and against the latter only, John de Turrecremata. And that these labours were needed, will not be questioned by one who is aware that the Aristotelians in Italy had not a little unsettled the foundations of all religion in their schools, that the senseless jangling of the scholastics had produced in the minds of the more crafty a contempt for all religion, and that the Jews and Saracens lived intermingled in one place and another with the Christians.

13. Of the vain and fruitless endeavours of the Greeks and Latins to terminate their disagreements we have already spoken. After the council of Florence and the violation of the agreement by the Greeks, Nicolaus V. again exhorted them to a union; but they turned a deaf ear, and three years after this last letter, Constantinople was

[1] Simon's *Lettres Choisies*, tome ii. p. 269, and *Crit. de la Biblioth. Eccles. par M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 491; Thomasius, *Origines Histor. Philos.* p. 56, and especially Gerson's *Methodus Theologiam studendi*, in Launoi's *Hist. Gymnasii Navarreni*, in his *Opp.* tom. iv. par. i. p. 330, &c.

[2] It was printed, Rome, 1512, and Basil, 1513, fol. [He was of Dalmatia, *protonotarius apostolicus* under Alexander VI. and Pius III. and bishop of Urbino, and died in 1510. Besides his commentary on the Sentences of Lombard, he wrote a Dialogue concerning learned men, which was first printed at Florence, 1734. — *Schl.*

taken by the Turks. And the pontiffs in all their consultations on the subject of a union since the overthrow of the Greek empire, have ever found the Greek bishops more obdurate and untractable than they were before. For there had grown up in the minds of the Greeks a hatred of the Latins, and especially of the pontiffs; because they believed that the evils they experienced from their Turkish tyrants might have been repelled, if the Latin pontiffs and kings had not refused to send them assistance against the Turks. As often therefore as they deplore their misfortunes, so often also they throw blame on the Latins for their insensibility and their fatal tardiness to afford them succour in distress.

14. Among the Latins, not to mention several minor contests, there sprang up again the celebrated controversy respecting the blood of Christ and the worship of it, which had been agitated between the Dominicans and the Franciscans in the preceding century, A.D. 1351, at Barcelona, and which had not been decided by Clement VI.[1] James of Marchia, a celebrated Franciscan A.D. 1462, taught publicly at Brixen in a sermon to the people that the blood shed by Christ was distinct from his divine nature; and of course that it ought not to receive divine honours or the worship called latria. The contrary opinion was espoused by the Dominicans. Hence James of Brixen, the inquisitor, arraigned that Franciscan upon a charge of heresy. The pontiff Pius II. attempted in vain to suppress this controversy at the outset, and therefore he ordered it to be investigated by some select theologians. But there were many obstacles, especially the power and influence of the two orders who made this a party question between them, which prevented any final decision. Therefore after many altercations and disputes, Pius II. in the year 1464 imposed silence on the two contending parties, declaring that both opinions might be tolerated until the vicar of Christ should have leisure and opportunity for examining the subject, and determining which was the most correct opinion. Such an opportunity the pontiffs have not yet found.[2]

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

1. WITH what rites the Greeks thought God should be worshipped, may be learned from the treatise of Simeon of Thessalonica *On Heresies and Rites*.[3] From this book it is evident that true religion being lost, a sort of splendid shadow was substituted in its place; and that every part of worship was calculated for show or to gratify the eyes and the senses of the people. They indeed offered reasons for all the ceremonies and regulations which were called sacred. But in all these expositions of the reason of the ceremonies, though there is something of ingenuity and acuteness, yet there is little or nothing of truth and good sense. The origin of the numerous rites by which the native beauty of religion was obscured rather than adorned, is doubtful and not very creditable; and those who attempted to add splendour to them by taxing their own ingenuity, were commonly forsaken by their wits at the time of the attempt.

2. Among the Latins, though all good men wished for a diminution of the multitude of ceremonies, feast-days, sacred places, and other *minutiæ*, yet the pontiffs considered it their duty to enact new laws and regulations respecting them. In the year 1456, Calixtus III. in perpetual remembrance of the raising of the siege of Belgrade by the Turkish emperor Mahomet II. ordered the festival of Christ's transfiguration which had previously been celebrated in some provinces by private authority, to be religiously observed over the whole Latin world.[4] In the year 1476, Sixtus IV. by a special edict promised remission of sins to those who should religiously keep from year to year the memorial of the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin. No preceding pontiff had thought proper to ordain anything on the subject.[5] The other additions which were made to the worship of the holy Virgin,[6] to the public and private

[1] Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. xiii. p. 58, &c.; Echard's *Scriptores Prædicat.* tom. i. p. 650, &c.

[2] Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. xiii. p. 206, &c.; Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles.* sæc. xv. p. 17.

[3] The contents of it are stated by Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, vol. xiv. p. 54.

[4] This festival had been observed as early as the seventh century by the Greeks. The day for it was the sixth of August; and because on that day the Turks raised the siege of Belgrade, therefore this festival must be everywhere celebrated through all future time.—*Mur.*

[5] The doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, that is, of her being herself born free from original sin, was first advanced in the twelfth century by Peter Lombard. Thomas Aquinas disputed the doctrine, but Scotus maintained it and gave it general currency. The festival of her birth commenced as early as the eleventh century, and was then observed by certain bishops, as by Anselm of Canterbury. By other bishops of that age it was opposed.—*Mur.*

[6] It was in this century that, among many other impious impostures connected with the worship of the Virgin Mary, the well-known legend of the transportation of her house by angels from Nazareth to Loretto took its rise, which Moore, in his *View of Society and Manners in Italy*, Lond. 1781, vol. i. p. 334, has so happily ridiculed. The original authorities for this silly story, which was first circulated between 1450 and 1490, may be seen in Gieseler's *Lehrbuch*, &c. Cunningham's transl. vol. iii. p. 314.—*R.*

prayers, to the sale of indulgences, &c.[1] are better omitted than enumerated particularly. For there is no need of proof that in this century religion was made to consist chiefly in mimic shows and trifling.[2]

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

1. NEITHER the edicts of the pontiffs and emperors nor the vigilance and cruelty of the Inquisitors, could prevent the ancient sects from still lurking in many places, or even new sects from starting up. We have already seen the Franciscans waging war against the Romish church. In Bosnia and the neighbouring countries the Manichæans or Paulicians, the same as those called Cathari in Italy, organised their societies without molestation. Stephen Thomascus indeed, the king of Bosnia, abjured the heresy of the Manichæans, received baptism from John Carvaialus a Romish cardinal, and then expelled the Manichæans from his kingdom.[3] But he soon after changed his mind; and it is certain that this sect continued to inhabit Bosnia, Servia, and the adjacent provinces, till the end of the century. The Waldenses collected friends and adherents in various countries of Europe, in lower Germany, and particularly in the territories of Brandenburg, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, and Thuringia. Yet it appears from unpublished documents that very many of them were seized by the Inquisitors, and delivered over to the secular authorities to be burned.[4]

2. The Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit, or the Beghards and Schwestriones, as they were called in Germany, or Turlupins as in France, that is, persons whose mystical views had thrown them into a species of frenzy, did not cease from wandering in disguise over certain parts of France, Germany, and the Netherlands, and especially of Swabia and Switzerland, beguiling the minds of the people. Yet few of their teachers escaped the eyes and the hands of the Inquisitors.[5] Upon the

[1] The popes now caused indulgences to be preached in all the provinces. The ordinary price was five ducats. They promised to apply the money to a Turkish war; but they often expended it in wars against their Christian enemies, in enriching their family connexions, and supporting their voluptuous extravagance. Neither intelligent princes nor the clergy looked upon this sale of indulgences with approbation. They accordingly made ordinances of various kinds against it. For instance, the council of Soissons in the year 1456 say: "Prohibemus quibuscunque quæstionibus ne in hac provincia, prætextu indulgentiarum, prædicant verbum Dei—aut nihil in suo sermone quæstuosum exponant." In the council of Constance A.D. 1476, the clergy complained of the sale of indulgences as a grievance, and said of it: "Absurda et plarum aurium offensiva, in cancellis, verbum Dei evangelisando committunt." And they enacted, "ut deinceps quæstores ad ambones ecclesiarum non admittantur—et omnes debent quartam partem rectoribus et plebanis solvere." And in Harzheim's *Concilia*, tom. v. *Suppl.* p. 945, it is said of these venders of indulgences: "Tales collectores emunt et mercantur collecturas ab ecclesiis, x. xiii. libris denariorum, et per annum xl. l. accumulant—multo ampliores pecunias colligunt; facinora et scandala committunt, bibunt, noctu ludunt, blasphemant, in tabernas per noctes integras turpiter consumentes, quod ad Dei honorem fideles porrexerunt."—*Schl.*

[2] To elucidate this by a single example, I adduce the following from the *Anecdotes Ecclésiastiques*, Amsterd. 1771, 8vo, ad ann. 1499. Among the statutes of the cathedral church of Toul, there is an article with the title *Sepelitur Halleluia*. It is well known that during the seasons of fasting, Halleluia, as being an expression of joy, was not sung in the ancient church. Hence to honour this Halleluia, which in time of the fasts was as it were dead, a solemn funeral was instituted. On the Saturday night before Septuagesima Sunday, children carried through the chancel a kind of coffin to represent the dead Halleluia. The coffin was attended by the cross, incense, and holy water. The children wept and howled all the way to the cloister, where the grave was prepared. A custom equally ridiculous was introduced into a cathedral church near Paris. On the same day a boy of the choir brought into the church a top (toupie) around which was written Halleluia in golden letters. And when the hour arrived that Halleluia was sung for the last time, the boy took a whip in his hand and whipped the top along the floor of the church quite out of the house. And this was called the Halleluia whip, *fouetter l' Alléluia*. So trifling was the character of the church ceremonies of that age, that they could even profane the churches by the plays of children.—*Schl.*

[3] See Raph. Volaterranus, *Comment. Urbanus*, lib. viii. fol. 289, &c.; Æneas Sylvius, *De Statu Europæ sub Frederico* III. cap. x. in Freher's *Scriptores Rer. German.* tom. ii. p. 104, &c.

[4] The proffer of indulgences to those who hunted down heretics contributed much to this. Boniface VIII. had already promised an indulgence to every one who should deliver over a heretic to the Inquisition; and he ordained that this should be considered as equally meritorious with a crusade to the Holy Land. This ordinance was renewed by the council of Pavia. See Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. viii. p. 1013, &c. So the provincial council of Constance A.D. 1483, promised indulgences to all those who should lend their personal aid against the heresies of Wickliffe and Huss. See Harzheim's *Concilia German.* tom. v. p. 546.—*Schl.*

[5] Felix Malleolus or Hämmerlein in his *Descriptio Lollhardorum*, which is subjoined to his book *Contra Validos Mendicantes, Opp.* signat. c. ii. a. has drawn up a catalogue, though an imperfect one, of the Beghards burned in Switzerland and the adjacent countries during this century. This Felix in his books against the Beghards and Lollhards (either intentionally or being deceived by the ambiguity of the terms), has confounded the three classes of persons on whom the appellation of Beghards or Lollhards was usually bestowed—namely (1) the Tertiaries of the more rigid Franciscans, (2) the Brethren of the Free Spirit, and (3) the Cellite Brethren or Alexians. The same error occurs in countless other writers. [See also Harzheim's *Concil. German.* tom. v. p. 464, where there is an ordinance of the provincial council of Constance, A.D. 1463, and another A.D. 1476, against the Lulhards and *Begutta* and especially the *Tertiarii*. Here doubtless belongs what John Nieder states in his *Formicarium*, lib. iii.:—"Fuit Fratricellus seu Beghardus secularis, qui in eremo austeram vitam vixit, et durissimam regulam tenuit——a Constantino episcopo captus per inquisitorem judicio seculari traditus et incineratus fuit. Alius fuit, qui velut Beghardus infra Rhenum—tandem Viennæ in Pictaviensi diœcesi incineratus est. Dicebat, 'Christum in se, et se in Christo esse.' Currit in partibus Sueviæ, inter personas utriusque sexus, seculares et ecclesiasticas, hæresis et hypocrisis tam enormis, ut eam ad plenum exprimere non audeam. Omnia licere; non jejunant, occulte laborant in festis ecclesiæ; ceremonias omnes, tanquam annalium hominum, spernunt; virginitatem—superstitiones esse; pro minimo ducunt, non obedire papæ aut pastoribus aliis. Sacerdos quidam feminis persuasit, verecundiam

breaking out of the religious war in Bohemia between the Hussites and the adherents of the pontiffs in the year 1418, a company of these piously-infatuated people, of whom one John was the leader, went into Bohemia; and they held their secret meetings first at Prague, afterwards in other places, and lastly in a certain island. It was one of the tenets of this sect, as has been already stated, that those instincts of nature, bashfulness and modesty, indicate a mind not duly purified and not yet brought back to the divine nature whence it originated; and that those only are perfect and in close union with God who are unmoved by the sight of naked bodies, and who can associate with persons of a different sex in a state of nudity or with no clothing, after the manner of our first parents before their apostacy. Hence these Beghards who, by a slight change in the pronunciation of the name conformably to the harder utterance of the Bohemians, were called Picards, ordinarily went to their prayers and their religious worship without clothing. For this precept, so entirely accordant with their religion, was frequently upon their lips: They are not free (that is, not duly rescued from the bonds of the body and converted to God) who wear clothing, and especially breeches. Although these people in their assemblies committed no offence against chastity, yet as might be expected they fell under the greatest suspicion of extreme turpitude and unchastity. And John Ziska, the fierce general of the Hussites, giving credit to these suspicions, attacked the unhappy company of these absurdly religious and delirious people, in the year 1421, slew some of them and wished to commit the rest to the flames. The unhappy men submitted to execution cheerfully in the manner of their intrepid sect, which looked upon death with astonishing indifference.[1] These people were also called Adamites, because they wished to follow the example of Adam in his state of innocence. The ignominious name of Beghards, or as the Bohemians pronounced it Picards,[2] which was the appropriate designation of this little company, was afterwards transferred by their enemies to all those Hussites and Bohemians who contended with the Romish church; for these as is well known were called by the common people the Picard Brethren.

3. In Italy, the new sect of the White Brethren or the Brethren in White (*Fratres Albati seu Candidi*) produced no little excitement among the people. Near the beginning of the century a certain unknown priest descended from the Alps, clad in a white garment, with an immense number of people of both sexes in his train, all clothed like their leader in white linen; whence their name of the White Brethren.[3] This multitude marched through various provinces, following a cross borne by the leader of the sect; and he by a great show of piety so captivated the people, that numberless persons of every rank flocked around him. He exhorted them to appease the wrath of God, inflicted on himself voluntary punishments, recommended a war against the Turks who were in possession of Palestine, and pretended to have divine visions. Boniface IX. fearing some plot, ordered the leader of this body to be apprehended and committed to the flames.[4] After his death the multitude gradually dispersed. Whether the man died in innocence or in guilt is not ascertained. For some writers of the greatest fidelity assert that he was by

abnegandam; coram clericis talibus se denudarunt, sed sine coitu—conjacebant clerici uno lecto, nec ad lapsum carnis procedebant. De alta perfectione loquuntur—stilum librorum subtilissimorum in nostro vulgari periculose, ut vereor, scriptorum didicerunt—ceremonias, festivitates, missas, contemnunt," &c.—*Schl.*

[1] See Lasitius, *Hist. Fratrum Bohemorum Manuscripta*, lib. ii. sec. lxxvi. &c. who shows fully that the Hussites and the Bohemian brethren had no connexion with these Picards. The other writers on the subject are mentioned by Beausobre, *Dissert. sur les Adamites de Bohême*, annexed to Lenfant's *Hist. de la Guerre des Huss*. This very learned author takes the utmost pains to vindicate the character of the Bohemian Picards or Adamites, who he supposes were Waldenses, and holy and excellent men falsely aspersed by their enemies. But all his efforts are vain. For it can be demonstrated from the most unexceptionable documents that the fact was as stated in the text; and any one will readily think so who has a fuller knowledge of the history and the sects of those times than this industrious man possessed, who was not well versed in the history of the middle ages, nor altogether free from prepossessions.—[See especially Æneas Sylvius, *Historia Bohemica*, cap. xli.—*Schl.*

[2] The Germans also frequently pronounced the word Beghard, Pyckard. See Menkenius, *Scriptores German.* tom. ii. p. 1521.

[3] Theodoric de Niem tells us that it was from Scotland that this sect came, and that their leader gave himself out for the prophet Elias. Sigonius and Platina inform us that this enthusiast came from France; and that he was clothed in white, carried in his aspect the greatest modesty, and seduced prodigious numbers of people of both sexes and of all ages; that his followers (called penitents), among whom were several cardinals and priests, were clothed in white linen down to their heels, with caps that covered their whole faces except their eyes; that they went in great troops of ten, twenty, and forty thousand persons from one city to another, calling out for mercy and singing hymns; that wherever they came they were received with great hospitality and made innumerable proselytes; that they fasted or lived upon bread and water during the time of their pilgrimage, which continued generally nine or ten days. See *Annal. Mediol. ap. Muratori.*—Niem, lib. ii. cap. xvi.—*Macl.*

[4] What Mosheim hints but obscurely here is further explained by Sigonius and Platina, who tell us that the pilgrims mentioned in the preceding note stopped at Viterbo, and that Boniface, fearing lest the priest who headed them designed by their assistance to seize upon the pontificate, sent a body of troops thither who apprehended the false prophet, and carried him to Rome where he was burned.—*Macl.*

no means a bad man, and that he was put to death from envy; but others say he was convicted of the most atrocious crimes.[1]

4. In the year 1411 there was discovered in the Netherlands, and especially at Brussels, a sect which was projected and propagated by Ægidius Cantor, an illiterate man, and William of Hildenissen, a Carmelite, and which was called that of the Men of Understanding. In this sect there were not a few things deservedly reprehensible, which were derived perhaps in great measure from the mystic system. For these men professed to have divine visions, denied that any one can correctly understand the holy Scriptures unless he is divinely illuminated, promised a new divine revelation better and more perfect than the Christian, taught that the resurrection had taken place already in the person of Christ, and that another of the bodies of the dead was not to be expected, maintained that the internal man is not defiled by the deeds of the external, and inculcated that hell itself will have an end, and that all, both men and devils, will return to God and attain to eternal felicity. This sect appears to have been a branch of the Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit; for they asserted that a new law of the Holy Spirit and of spiritual liberty was about to be promulgated. Yet there were opinions held by its members which show that they were not entirely void of understanding. They inculcated for example—I. that Jesus Christ alone had merited eternal life for the human race, neither could men acquire for themselves future bliss by their own deeds; II. that presbyters to whom people confess their iniquities cannot pardon sins, but that only Jesus Christ forgives men their sins; III. that voluntary penances are not necessary to salvation. Yet these and some other tenets, Peter de Alliaco, the bishop of Cambray who broke up this sect, pronounced to be heretical, and commanded William of Hildenissen to abjure.[2]

5. In Germany, and particularly in Thuringia and Lower Saxony, the Flagellants were still troublesome; but they were very different from those earlier Flagellants who travelled in regular bands from province to province. These new Flagellants rejected almost all [practical] religion and the external worship of God, together with the sacraments, and founded all their hopes of salvation on faith and flagellation; to which perhaps they might add some strange notions respecting an evil spirit, and some other things which are but obscurely stated by the ancient writers. The leader of the sect in Thuringia and particularly at Sangerhausen was one Conrad Schmidt, who was burned in the year 1414 with many others, by the zeal and industry of Henry Schönefeld, a famous Inquisitor at that time in Germany.[3] At Quedlinburg, one Nicholas Schaden was committed to the flames. At Halberstadt A.D. 1481, Berthold Schade was seized, but escaped death it appears by retracting.[4] And from the records of those times a long list might be made out of Flagellants who were committed to the flames in Germany by the Inquisitors.

[1] See Lenfant's *Hist. du Concile de Pise*, tome i. p. 102; Poggius, *Hist. Florentina*, lib. iii. p. 122; Sabellicus, *Enneades Rhapsodiæ Historiæ*, Enneas IX. lib. ix. *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 839, Basil, 1560, fol.

[2] See the records in Baluze's *Miscellanea*, tom. ii. p. 277, &c. [The mystical principles of these people are evinced by a passage of these records, in which Ægidius is said to have taught: "Ego sum salvator hominum; per me videbunt Christum, sicut per Christum Patrem," and also by their coincidence with the Brethren of the Free Spirit, as teaching that the period of the old law was the time of the Father, the period of the new law the time of the Son, and the remaining period that of the Holy Ghost or Elias. Yet it is manifest from these records that William of Hildesheim or Hildenissen, being a man of learning, would have been able to state his tenets more clearly and distinctly.—*Schl.*

[3] *Excerpta Monachi Pirnensis*, in Menkenius, *Scriptores Rer. German.* tom. ii. p. 1521; *Chronicon Monaster.* in Matthæus, *Analecta Veter. Ævi*, tom. v. p. 71; *Chronicon Magdeb.* in Meibomius, *Scriptores Rer. German.* tom. ii. p. 362, &c. I have before me sixteen Articles of the Flagellants, which Conrad Schmidt is said to have copied from the manuscript at Walkenried, and which were committed to writing by an Inquisitor of Bradenborch, A.D. 1411. The following is a concise summary of these articles. All that the Romish church teaches respecting the efficacy of the sacraments, purgatory, prayers for the dead, and the like, are false and vain. On the contrary, whoever believes simply what is contained in the Apostles' Creed, frequently repeats the Lord's prayer and the Ave Maria, and at certain periods lacerates his body with scourging, and thus punishes himself for the sins he commits, will attain eternal salvation. [The same thing appears also from the fifty Articles of this Flagellant, which were condemned in the council of Constance, and may be seen in Von der Hardt's *Acta Concilii Constant.* tom. i. par. i. p. 127. In the same Acts (tom. iii. p. 92, &c.) we find a letter of John Gerson addressed to Vincent Ferrerius, who was much inclined towards the sect of the Flagellants, dated July 9th, 1417. This letter is also in the works of Gerson published by Du Pin, tom ii. par. iv. together with his tract, *Contra Sectam Flagellantium.*—*Schl.* [See several of the doctrines of the Flagellants in Gieseler's *Lehrbuch*, &c. Cunningham's transl. vol. iii. p. 133, &c. He refers to a work by Förstemann, entitled *Die Christ. Geisslergesellschaften*, Halle, 1828, royal 8vo, as the most recent on this fanatical sect.—*R.*

[4] The records of this transaction were published by Kappius, in his *Relatio de Rebus Theologicis Antiquis et Novis*, A.D. 1747, p. 475, &c.

END OF BOOK III.

BOOK IV.

FROM THE REFORMATION BY LUTHER

TO

THE YEAR A.D. 1700.

CENTURY SIXTEENTH.

INTRODUCTION.

1. IN narrating the ecclesiastical affairs of modern times, the same order cannot be followed which was pursued in the preceding periods. For the state of the Christian world having undergone a great change in the sixteenth century, and a much greater number of associations than formerly being found among the followers of Christ, differing widely in doctrines and institutions and regulating their conduct by different principles, all the various transactions among professed Christians can by no means be exhibited in one continued series, or so as to form one well-arranged picture. On the contrary, as the bond of union among Christians was severed, their history must be distributed into compartments corresponding with the division of the Christian world into its principal sects.

2. Yet many events occurred which affected the whole Christian world and the state of religion generally, or were not confined to any particular community. And as the knowledge of these general facts throws much light on the history of the particular communities, as well as on the general state of the Christian world, they ought to be stated separately and by themselves. Hence the work before us will be divided into two principal parts; the one, the general history of the Christian church, and the other, the particular.

3. The general history will embrace all those facts and occurrences which may be predicated of the Christian religion as such, or absolutely considered, and which in some sense affected the whole Christian world, rent unhappily as it was by divisions. Of course, we shall here describe the enlargement of the boundaries of Christendom or their contraction, without regard to the particular sects which were instrumental in these changes. Nor shall we omit those institutions and doctrines which were received by all the Christian communities, or by the principal part of them, and which thus produced changes very extensive and general.

4. In the particular history, we shall take a survey of the several communities into which Christians were distributed. And here we may properly make two classes of sects. First, we may consider, what occurred in the more ancient communities of Christians, whether in the East or in the West. Secondly, what occurred in the more recent communities, that is, those which arose after the reformation of both doctrine and discipline in Germany. In describing the condition and character of each particular sect, we shall pursue as far as practicable the method pointed out in the general Introduction to these Institutes. For according to our conceptions, the less a person recedes from this method, the less will he probably omit of what is necessary to a full knowledge of the history of each individual community.

5. The most important of all the events which occurred among Christians after the fifteenth century—nay, the greatest of all events affecting the Christian world since the birth of the Saviour—was that celebrated religious and ecclesiastical revolution called the *Reformation*. Commencing from small beginnings in Saxony, it not only spread in a short space of time over all Europe, but also affected in no slight degree the other quarters of the globe; and it may be justly regarded as the first and principal cause of all those great ecclesiastical and even those civil revolutions and changes, which have rendered the history of the subsequent times to the present day so interesting and important. The face of all Europe was changed after that event; and our own times are experiencing, and future times will experience both the inestimable advantages which arose from it, and the serious evils to which it gave occasion.[1] The history of such an event, therefore—an event from which all others in a measure took their rise—demands a distinct and a prominent place. We now proceed to give a compendious view of the modern history of the Christian church, according to the method here proposed.[2]

[1] See Villiers, *Essai sur l'esprit et l'influence de la Réformation de Luther*, Paris, 1804, 8vo, of which there are two translations into English, one by James Mill, Esq. with copious notes, Lond. 1805, 8vo, and the other by Lambert, Lond. 1807, 8vo.—*R.*

[2] Mosheim still proceeds by centuries. On the sixteenth century, he divides his history into three Sections. I. The history of the Reformation, in four chapters. II. The general history of the church, in a single chapter. III. The particular history of the several sects or communities, in two parts. Part first embraces the ancient communities, viz. the Latin and the Greek or Oriental churches, in distinct chapters. Part second includes, in separate chapters, the history of the Lutheran, the Reformed, the Anabaptist or Mennonite, and the Socinian churches. On the seventeenth century, he makes but two sections. I. The general history, in a single chapter. II. The particular history, divided into Parts and Chapters, as in the preceding century; except that among the modern sects, he assigns distinct chapters to the Arminians, the Quakers, and an additional chapter to several minor sects.—*Mur.*

SECTION I.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

ARRANGEMENT OF THIS SECTION.

THE history of the *Reformation*, as it is called, is too extensive to be comprehended in one unbroken narrative without wearying the student. For the convenience, therefore, of those who are just entering on the study of church history, and to aid their memories, we shall divide this section into four chapters.

The FIRST CHAPTER will describe the state of the Christian church at the commencement of the Reformation.

The SECOND will detail the history of the Reformation to the presentation of the Augsburg Confession to the emperor.

The THIRD will continue the history from that period to the commencement of the war of Smalcald.

The FOURTH will carry it down to the peace granted to the friends of the Reformation A.D. 1555.—This distribution arises naturally from the history itself.[1]

CHAPTER I.

STATE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH WHEN THE REFORMATION COMMENCED.

1. WHEN the century began, no danger seemed to threaten the pontiffs. For those grievous commotions which had been raised in the preceding centuries by the Waldenses, the Albigenses, the Beghards, and others, and afterwards by the Bohemians, had been suppressed and extinguished by the sword and by crafty management. The Waldenses who survived in the valleys of Piedmont fared hard, and had few resources; and their utmost wish was, that they might transmit as an inheritance to their posterity that obscure corner of Europe which lies between the Alps and the Pyrenees. Those Bohemians who were displeased with the Romish doctrines, from their want of power and their ignorance, could attempt nothing; and therefore were rather despised than feared.

2. Complaints indeed were uttered, not only by private persons but by the most powerful sovereigns and by whole nations, against the haughty domination of the Roman pontiffs, the frauds, violence, avarice,

[1] The historians of the Reformation, as well the primary as the secondary, and both the general and the particular, are enumerated by Hane, (who is himself to be ranked among the better writers on this subject), in his *Historia Sacrorum a B. Luthero emendatorum*, par. i. cap. i. p. 1, &c. and by Fabricius, in his *Centifolium Lutheranum*, par. ii. cap. 187, p. 863, [also by Walch, *Biblioth. Theol.* tom. iii. p. 618]. The principal of these historians must be consulted by those who desire proof of what we shall briefly relate in this section. For it would be needless to be repeating every moment the names of Sleidan, Seckendorf, and the others, who stand pre-eminent in this branch of history. [The following works on the general history of the German Reformation have appeared since Hane, Fabricius, and Walch compiled their catalogues of similar works: **Planck**, *Geschichte der Entstehung, der Veränderungen, u. der Bildung unseres Protest. Lehrbegriffs*, Leip. 1781—1800, six vols. It brings the history down to the year 1555, and though rationalistic in its tendency, is a valuable work. Marheineke, *Gesch. d. teutchen Reformation*. Berl. 1816—34, 4 vols. It closes at the year 1552, is full of extracts from the original sources, and though the author is an Hegelian in philosophy, he professes to be evangelical, and this work is the best we have by a German divine. Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. d. Deutchen von der Reformation bis zur Bundesacte*, Bresl. 1826–39, 8 vols. Hagenbach, *Vorlesungen über Wesen u. Gesch. der Reformation*, Leips. 1834–42, 5 vols. The author is an esteemed evangelical professor in Basil, and his views are orthodox. Ranke, *Deutche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation*, Berl. 1839–43, 5 vols. This is by far the most valuable work we possess on the German Reformation, whether viewed politically or religiously. Archdeacon Hare has truly described it as "written with a thorough knowledge of the facts, a clear insight into the principles and characters which shaped and controlled the events, and with a German love of truth." *Mission of the Comforter*, Notes, p. 668. It is in course of being translated into English by Mrs. Austin, Lond. 1845–47, 3 vols.; two remaining volumes have yet to appear. To this admirable work should be added another equally valuable, and perhaps containing more original matter, by the same eminent historian, entitled, *Die römischen Päpste, ihre Kirche u. ihr Staat im 16 u. 17 Jahrhundert*, Ebd. 1834–36, which has been also translated by Mrs. Austin, Lond. 1840, 3 vols. Fürstemann, *Neues Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte Evangel. Kirchen Reformation*, Hamb. 1842, 4to, not yet completed. Neudecker, *Gesch. d. deutchen Reformation von 1517—1532, nach d. älteren u. neuesten Quellen*, Leips. 1843. Merle D'Aubigné, *Histoire de la Réformation du seizième Siècle*, Paris, 1838–47, 4 vols. not yet completed; and embracing not only the German, but the Swiss and French reformations, and expected to include the English and Scottish. There are several translations of this popular work into English, but the preferable one is that published with the sanction of the author by Oliver and Boyd, Edin. 1846, 4 vols. We have but few British works of authority on the continental reformation. I need only specify the following, which include both the German and the French Reformations: Milner's account in the concluding volumes of his *History of the Church*; Scott's *Continuation of Milner* to the death of Calvin, Lond. 1826–31, 3 vols. The Rev. George Stebbing has also compiled another continuation of Milner, Lond. 1839–42, 3 vols. but of no great merit; and he is the author of a *History of the Reformation*, Lond. 1836, 2 vols. forming part of *Lardner's Cyclopædia*; Waddington's *History of the Reformation on the Continent*, Lond. 1841, 3 vols. carefully compiled to the death of Luther, from the original sources. Works on the Reformation in the other countries of Europe, and the principal biographies of the leading reformers, will be carefully specified in subsequent notes.—*R.*

and injustice of the court of Rome, the insolence, tyranny, and extortion of the papal legates, the crimes, ignorance, and extreme profligacy of the priests of all orders and of the monks, and finally of the unrighteous severity and partiality of the Romish laws; and desires were now publicly expressed, as had been the case in generations long gone by, that there might be a reformation of the church in its head and in its members, and that the subject might be taken up in some general council.[1] But these complaints the pontiffs could safely set at defiance. For the authors of them entertained no doubts of the supreme power of the sovereign pontiffs in matters of religion; nor did they themselves attempt the work they so much desired, but concluded to wait for relief either from Rome itself or from a council. Yet it was manifest that so long as the power of the pontiffs remained inviolate, the opulence and corruptions of the church and clergy could not be diminished in any considerable degree.

3. Nor were the pontiffs any more alarmed by the happy revival of learning in many countries of Europe, and the consequently vast increase of well-informed men. The revival of learning by dissipating the clouds of ignorance, awakened in many minds the love of truth and of liberty; and among the learned were many who, as appears from the example of Erasmus and others, facetiously ridiculed and satirized the perverse conduct of the priests, the superstitions of the times, the corruptions of the court of Rome, and the rustic manners and barbarism of the monks. But the root of all the evil and of the public calamity, namely, the jurisdiction of the pontiffs which was falsely called canonical, and the inveterate prejudice respecting a vicegerent of Christ located at Rome, no one dared resolutely attack. And the pontiffs very justly concluded that so long as these ramparts remained entire, their sovereignty and the tranquillity of the church would be secure, whatever menaces and assaults some persons might offer. Besides, they had at their disposal both punishments with which to coerce the refractory, and honours and emoluments with which to conciliate the more daring and contentious.

4. Hence the bishops of Rome reigned securely and free from all fear; and they indulged their lusts and all their vicious propensities, as freely as their innate depravity demanded. Alexander VI. a monster of a man and inferior to no one of the most abandoned tyrants of antiquity, marked the commencement of the century with his horrid crimes and villanies. He died suddenly, A.D. 1503, from poison which he had prepared for others, if the common report is true; or from old age and sickness, if others are to be believed.[2] His successor, Pius III. died at the end of twenty-six days, and was followed by Julian de Roveria, under the name of Julius II. who obtained the pontificate by fraud and bribery.

5. That this Julius II. possessed, besides other vices, very great ferocity, arrogance, vanity, and a mad passion for war, is proved by abundant testimony. In the first place, forming an alliance with the emperor and the king of France, he made war upon the Venetians.[3] He next laid siege to Ferrara. And at last, drawing the Venetians, the Swiss, and the Spaniards to engage in the war with him, he made an attack upon Lewis XII. the king of France. Nor, so long as he lived, did he cease from embroiling all Europe. Who can doubt that under a vicar of Jesus Christ frequenting camps and ambitious of the fame of a great warrior, everything both in church and state must have gone to ruin, and both the discipline of the church and the very spirit of religion have become prostrate?

6. Yet amid these evils, there appeared some prospect of the ardently and long-wished-for reform. For Lewis XII. king of France, published a threat stamped upon the coins he issued, that he would completely overthrow the Romish power, which he designated by the name of Babylon.[4] Moreover some cardinals of

[1] These accusations have been collected in great abundance by the most learned writers. See, among many others, Löscher's *Acta et Documenta Reformationis*, tom. i. cap. v. &c. p. 105, &c. cap. ix. p. 181, &c. and Cyprian's Preface to Tenzel's *Historia Reformat.* Lips. 1717, 8vo. The complaints of the Germans in particular respecting the wrongs done by the pontiffs and the clergy, are exhibited by Georgius, in his *Gravamina Imperatoris et Nationis German. adversus sedem Roman.* cap. vii. p. 261, &c. Nor do the more intelligent and candid among the adherents to the pontiffs at this day deny that the church, before Luther arose, was grossly corrupt.

[2] See Gordon's *Life of Alexander VI.* Lond. 1729, fol.; also another life of him by a very learned and ingenious man, written with more candour and moderation, and together with a Life of Leo X. subjoined to the first volume of the *Histoire du Droit Public Ecclésiastique François, par Mr. D. B.* Lond. 1752, 4to.

[3] See Du Bos, *Hist. de la Ligue du Cambray*, Hague, 1710, 2 vols. 8vo.

[4] See Liebe's *Commentatio de numis Ludovici XII. epigrapho, "Perdam Babylonis Nomen," insignibus*, Lips. 1717, 8vo. Compare however the *Thesaurus Epistolicus Crozianus*, tom. i. p. 238, 243; Colonia's *Hist. Litter. de la Ville de Lyon*, tome ii. p. 443, &c. and others; for it is well known that there has been much dispute respecting these coins and the object of them. [Liebe has given engravings of these coins. On the one side was the king's likeness and his title, on the other side, the arms of France, surrounded with the inscription ·

the Romish court, relying on the authority of this king and of the emperor, summoned a council at Pisa in the year 1511, to curb the madness of the pontiff, and to deliberate on measures for a general reformation of the inveterate corruptions in religion. But Julius, relying on the power of his allies and on his own resources, laughed at this opposition. Yet not to neglect means for frustrating these designs, he called another council to meet in the Lateran palace, A.D. 1512.[4] In this body the acts of the assembly at Pisa were indignantly condemned and annulled; and severe anathemas would undoubtedly have followed against Lewis and others, if death had not overtaken this most audacious pontiff in his preparatory steps, A.D. 1512.

7. His successor Leo X. of the family of Medici, who was elected in the year 1513, was of a milder disposition, but no better guardian of religion and piety. The friend of learned men and himself learned according to the standard of that age, he devoted a part of his time to conversation with literary men, but a larger portion of it to the gratification of his appetites and to amusements, and was averse from all cares and business, prodigal, luxurious, and vain; perhaps also, according to a current report, positively infidel. Yet he did not neglect the interests and the grandeur of the Romish see. For he took good care that nothing should be sanctioned in the Lateran council which Julius had assembled and left sitting, favourable to the long-wished-for Reformation; and at Bologna A.D. 1515, he persuaded Francis I. king of France to allow the abrogation of the ordinance called the Pragmatic Sanction, which had long been odious to the pontiffs, and to cause another called the Concordate to be imposed on his subjects, notwithstanding their extreme indignation.[1]

8. Besides the intolerable thirst for dominion and for oppressing everybody which tormented these pontiffs, they had an insatiable craving for money, which they caused to flow from every province of the Christian world towards Rome, in order to support their power and to purchase friends. It

Perdam Babillonis (instead of *Babylonis*) *Nomen*, or also simply, *Perdam Babillonem*. Harduin understood Babylon here to denote the city of Cairo in Egypt; and he explained the coin of a military expedition which Lewis contemplated against the Turks. But Liebe has fully confuted this ingenious Jesuit, and has shown that Babylon means Rome together with the pope, and that the threatened vengeance was aimed by the king against the pontiff. And that the French church was not opposed to the designs of the king appears from the conclusions of the council of Tours, mentioned in the following note. See Du Pin's *Nouv. Biblioth. des Auteurs Ecclésiast.* tome xiii. p. 13, 14, and Gerdes, *Historia Reformationis*, tom. iv. Append. No. 1.—*Schl.*

[4] Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. ix. p. 1559, &c. [Lewis XII. was not an enemy to be despised. He made preparations for a war against the pope, which were certainly great and imposing. He assembled the clergy of France first at Orleans and then at Tours, (see Harduin, *ubi supra*, p. 1555), and proposed to them the following questions.—I. Is it lawful for the pope to make war upon temporal princes, whose territories do not belong to the church? No. II. May the prince in such a case lawfully oppose force to force, and fall upon the territories of the church, not to conquer and retain them but to disable the pope from carrying on the war? Yes. III. May a prince refuse obedience to a pope who is his enemy and who makes unjust war upon him? Yes: so far as is necessary for his own security and that of his people. IV. In that case, how are these affairs to be conducted which ordinarily are referred to the decision of the pontiff? Answer: in the manner prescribed by the Pragmatic Sanction. V. May a Christian prince defend with arms another prince who is under his protection, against the assaults of the pope? (This question referred to the duke of Ferrara who was involved in war with the pope.) Yes. VI. If the pope and prince disagree, whether a case between them belongs to the ecclesiastical or the civil jurisdiction, and the prince wishes to leave it to referees, and the pope will not consent but draws the sword, may the prince stand on the defensive and call on his allies to help him? Yes. VII. If a pope pronounces an unjust sentence against a prince, [with whom he is at variance, and who cannot safely appear at Rome to defend his cause], is that sentence binding? No. VIII. If the pope in such a case should lay the prince and his realm under an interdict, what is to be done? Answer: Such an interdict would be itself a nullity. [See the questions and answers at full length, in Gerdes *Historia Reformationis*, tom. iv. Append. No. 1.—*Mur.*] After these preparatory steps, Lewis went still farther, and purposed to have a general council called against the pope. The emperor Maximilian united in the measure, and three cardinals lent their aid to the business. The council was opened at Pisa, A.D. 1511, and after a few sessions removed to Milan. The pope was cited by the fathers to appear at Milan, and was afterwards suspended. But as the pope had now brought about a reconciliation with the emperor, and as nearly all the assembled prelates were from France, the decrees of this council were nowhere received except in France. The council assembled by the pope in the Lateran church at Rome, to oppose that of Pisa, was somewhat larger than the other, yet quite too small for a general council, and besides was composed almost exclusively of Italians. It may therefore be regarded rather as a provincial than as a general council. It held eleven sessions in all. In the first, it was determined to take up the subjects of the division caused by the council of Pisa, the reformation of the church, a pacification among Christian princes, and a war against the Turks. In the second, the convention at Pisa was declared to be irregular. In the third, the emperor having now sided with this council, severe bulls were issued against France. In the fourth, the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction was taken up. In the fifth, simony in the election of popes was forbidden, and the French church cited to appear on the subject of the above-named Sanction. Soon after, Julius died; and in the sixth and seventh sessions, the council was adjourned both by the new pope Leo X. and by the votes of its members. In the eighth session, Lewis XII. was present by his envoys; and the pope forbade the studying of philosophy more than five years, without proceeding to theology and jurisprudence. The ninth and tenth sessions were devoted to trivial matters, which did not satisfy the expectations raised concerning a reformation of the church. At length the council closed in its eleventh session, May 16th, 1516.—*Schl.*

[1] The Pragmatic Sanction of the French is extant in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. viii. p. 1949. The Concordate is in the same work, tom. ix. p. 1867; also in Leibnitz, *Mantissa Codicis Diplomat.* par. i. p. 158, &c. Add par. ii. p. 358, &c. For a history of the Pragmatic Sanction and of the Concordate which succeeded it, see Burnet's *History of the Reformation of England*, vol. iii. p. 3; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. vi. p. 61—109; Du Clos, *Hist. de Louis XI. Hist. du Droit Eccles. François*, tome i. Diss. ix. p. 415. Add *Menagiana*, tom. iii. p. 285. [See also p. 534, note 1.—*Mur.*

would seem not preposterous or unsuitable for the heads of the Christian republic to demand tribute from their subjects. For who can deny that the sovereign ruler of a commonwealth (and such the pontiffs claimed to be) is entitled to a revenue from the whole state? But as the term tribute was too offensive, and would excite the indignation of the temporal sovereigns, the pontiffs managed the affair more discreetly, and robbed the unwary of their money by various artifices concealed under an appearance of religion.[1] Among these artifices, what were called indulgences—that is, liberty to buy off the punishments of their sins by contributing money to pious uses—held a distinguished place. And to these recourse was had as often as the papal treasury became exhausted, to the immense injury of the public interests. Under some plausible but for the most part false pretext, the ignorant and timorous people were beguiled with the prospect of great advantage by the hawkers of indulgences, who were in general base and profligate characters.[2]

9. But although the reverence for the sovereign pontiffs was extremely high, yet the more intelligent, especially among the Germans, French, English, and Flemings, denied their entire exemption from error and their superiority to all law. For after the period of the councils of Constance and Basil, the belief prevailed among all except the monks, the Romish parasites, and the superstitious vulgar, that the pontiff's authority was inferior to that of a general council, that his decisions were not infallible, and that he might be deposed by a council, if he was guilty of manifest errors and gross crimes, or plainly neglected the duties of his station. And hence arose those high expectations and those intense desires for a general council in the minds of the wiser portions of the age, and those frequent appeals to such a future council, whenever the Romish court committed offences against justice and piety.

10. The subordinate rulers and teachers of the church eagerly followed the example of their head and leader. Most of the bishops, with the canons their associates, led luxurious and jovial lives in the daily commission of sins, and squandered in the gratification of their lusts those funds which the preceding generations had consecrated to God and to the relief of the poor. Most of them likewise treated the people subject to their control much more rigorously and harshly than the civil magistrates and princes treated their dependants. The greater part of the priests, on account of their indolence, their unchastity, their avarice, their love of pleasure, their ignorance, and their levity, were regarded with utter contempt, not only by the wise and the good but likewise by the common people.[3] For as sacred offices were now everywhere bought and sold, it was difficult for honest and pious men to get possession of any good living in the church, but very easy for the vicious and unprincipled.

11. The immense swarms of monks produced everywhere great grievances and complaints. Yet this age, which stood midway between light and darkness, would patiently have borne with this indolent throng if they had only exhibited some show of piety and decorum. But the Benedictines and the other orders which were allowed to possess lands and fixed revenues, abused their wealth and rushed headlong into every species of vice, regardless altogether of the rules they professed. The

[1] Whoever would learn the whole art and mystery of the financial concerns of the Romish court, may consult Le Bret's *Magazine for Civil and Ecclesiastical History and the Ecclesiastical Laws of Catholic States*, vol. ii. p. 605, and vol. iii. p. 3, where is an essay entitled *History of the Romish Chancery Regulations*; and also an essay by a learned Neapolitan on the Romish chancery regulations and the reservation of benefices. And if any one wishes to form an idea of the productiveness of these chancery regulations, he need only compute the part of them relating to Annats. Of these Luther made a computation in his tract entitled *Legatio Adriani Papæ*, &c. which contains an essay on the nature of Annats, Wittemb. 1538, 4to. A still fuller account may be seen in the tract published by Silber, at Campo Flore near Rome, 1514, under the title of *Taxa Cancellariæ Apostolicæ et Taxa Sanctæ Pœnitentiæ*, and which was republished at Cologne by Colini, 1515, and at Paris, 1520, and afterwards in the *Supplement to the Councils*, vol. vi. It occurs also in the *Oceanus Juris* or the *Tractatus Tractatuum*, tom. xv. par. i. p. 368, &c. [It was frequently published, with notes and comments, and some diversity in the text; whence the Catholics placed it in the list of books prohibited, as being perverted by the Protestants. See Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, articles *Pinet* and *Bank* (Lawrence).—*Mur.*] It contains the tariff of dues to be paid to the papal chancery for all absolutions, dispensations, &c. According to this book, a dean may be absolved from a murder for twenty crowns. A bishop or abbot for three hundred livres may commit a murder whenever he pleases. And for one-third of that sum, any clergyman may be guilty of unchastity under the most abominable circumstances. The ingenuous French Catholic divine, Claude Espence, in his *Comment. in Epist. ad Titum*, *Opp.* tom. i. p. 479, indignantly wrote concerning this book: "There is a book extant, which like a venal prostitute appears openly before the public here at Paris and is now for sale, as it long has been, entitled *Taxa Cameræ seu Cancellariæ Apostolicæ*; from which more crimes can be learned than from all the writings concerning the vices, and in which license is promised to very many and absolution offered to all purchasers."—*Schl.*

[2] The German princes and states, both Catholic and Lutheran, assembled in the diet at Nuremberg A.D. 1522, complained loudly of the papal indulgences, as exhausting the resources of the country and subverting piety and good morals, in their *Centum Gravamina Nationis Germanicæ*, No. 4, &c.—*Mur.*

[3] See, beside others, Gaudanus, *Apocalypsis seu Visio Mirabilis super Miserabili Statu Matris Ecclesiæ*, in Burmann's *Analecta Historica de Hadriano VI.* p. 245, &c. Utrecht, 1727, 4to.

Mendicant orders, on the contrary, and especially those who professed to follow the rules of Dominic and Francis, by their rustic impudence, their ridiculous superstition, their ignorance and cruelty, their rude and brutish conduct, alienated the minds of most people from them. They all had a strong aversion to learning, and were very unfriendly to the proceedings of certain excellent men who laboured to improve the system of education, and who assailed the barbarism of the times both orally and in their writings. This is evident from what befel Reuchlin, Erasmus, and others.[1]

12. No order of monks was more powerful and influential than that of the Dominicans. For they filled the highest offices in the church, they presided everywhere over the terrible tribunal of the Inquisition, and in the courts of all the kings and princes of Europe they had the care of souls, or in popular language held the office of confessors. Yet about this time they incurred very great odium among all good men by various things, but especially by their base artifices and frauds (among which the tragedy at Berne A.D. 1509 stands conspicuous),[2] likewise by persecuting the learned and the good, and branding them as heretics; and also by extending their own privileges and honours at the expense of others, and most unjustly oppressing their adversaries.[3]

[1] Reuchlin or Capnio was the great promoter of Hebrew and Rabbinic learning in Germany. The Dominicans of Cologne, to bring it into disgrace, prompted John Pfefferkorn, a converted Jew, to publish a work on the blasphemies contained in the books of the Jews. This induced the emperor Maximilian in the year 1509 to order all Jewish books to be burned, which however Reuchlin happily prevented from taking place. Erasmus published the Greek New Testament as well as many works of the fathers, by which the ignorant monks represented him as sinning against the Holy Ghost.—*Schl.* [See the notice of Reuchlin in p. 547, above.—*R.*

[2] On the notorious imposition of the monks of Berne see, among many others, Hottinger's *Historia Eccles. Helvet.* tom. i. p. 334, &c. [*Hist. Eccles. Nov.* sæcul. xvi. par. i. p. 334, &c. The narrative there inserted was drawn up by a Franciscan monk of Berne in the year 1509. The substance of it is this:—A Dominican monk named Wigand Wirt, preaching at Frankfort A.D. 1507, so violently assailed the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary (the favourite doctrine of the Franciscans), that he was summoned to Rome to answer for his conduct. His brethren of the Dominican order in their convention at Wimpfen formed a plan to aid him, and to convince the world that the Franciscan doctrine of the immaculate conception was false. Berne was selected for the scene of their operations. The prior, sub-prior, preacher, and steward of the Dominican cloister at Berne undertook to get up miracles and revelations for the occasion. A simple honest rustic by the name of John Jetzer, who had just entered upon his novitiate in the monastery, was selected as their tool. The sub-prior appeared to him one night dressed in white, and pretending to be the ghost of a friar who had been a hundred and sixty years in purgatory. He wailed and entreated of Jetzer to afford him aid. Jetzer promised to do it as far as he was able, and the next morning reported his vision to his superiors. They encouraged him to go on and to confer freely with the ghost if he appeared again. A few nights after the ghost made his appearance, attended by two devils, his tormentors, and thanked Jetzer for the relaxation of his sufferings, in consequence of Jetzer's prayers, fasting, &c. He also instructed Jetzer respecting the views entertained in the other world concerning the immaculate conception, and the detention of some pontiffs and others in purgatory for having persecuted the deniers of that doctrine; and promised Jetzer that St. Barbara should appear to him and give him farther instruction. Accordingly the sub-prior assumed a female garb on a succeeding night and appeared to Jetzer. She revealed to him some parts of his secret history, which the preacher his confessor had drawn from him at his confessions. Jetzer was completely duped. St. Barbara promised that the Virgin Mary should appear to him. She, on the sub-prior personating her, did so; and assured him that she was not conceived free from original sin, though she was delivered from it three hours after her birth; that it was a grievous thing to her to see that erroneous opinion spread abroad. She blamed the Franciscans much as being the chief cause of this false belief. She also announced the destruction of the city of Berne because the people did not expel the Franciscans, and cease from receiving a pension from the French king. She appeared repeatedly, gave Jetzer much instruction, and promised to impress on him the five wounds of Christ, which she declared were never impressed on St. Francis or any other person. She accordingly seized his right hand and thrust a nail through it. This so pained him that he became restive under the operation, and she promised to impress the other wounds without giving him pain. The conspirators now gave him medicated drugs which stupified him, and then made the other wounds upon him while senseless. Hitherto the subprior had been the principal actor; but now the preacher undertook to personate St. Mary, and Jetzer knew his voice and from this time began to suspect the whole to be an imposition. All attempts to hoodwink him became fruitless; he was completely undeceived. They next endeavoured to bring him to join voluntarily in the plot. He was persuaded to do so. But they imposed upon him such intolerable austerities, and were detected by him in such impious and immoral conduct, that he wished to leave the monastery. They would not let him go, and were so fearful of his betraying their secret, which was now drawing crowds to their monastery and promised them great advantage, that they determined to destroy him by poison. Jetzer by listening at their door got knowledge of the fact, and was so on his guard that they could not succeed, though they used a consecrated host as the medium of the poison. He eloped from the monastery and divulged the whole transaction. The four conspirators were apprehended, tried for blasphemy and profaning holy ordinances, delivered over to the civil power, burned at the stake in 1509, and their ashes cast into the river near Berne. Such is an outline of the story which the Franciscan narrator has drawn out to a tedious length, with great minuteness and not a little *esprit du corps.*—*Mur.* [A full account of these shocking scenes may also be seen appended to the first volume (p. 491) of Ruchat's *Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse*, new edit. by Vulliemin, Nyon, 1835-38, 7 vols. 8vo. This valuable work is not only a reprint of Ruchat's original edition which appeared at Geneva in 1721, but also contains in the last three volumes its continuation from 1536 to the year 1566, which had previously remained in MS. in the archives of Berne.—*R.*

[3] See Pirckheimer's Epistle to the pontiff Hadrian VI. *De Dominicanorum Flagitiis*, in his *Opp.* p. 372, whence Gerdes copied it, in his *Historia Reformationis*, tom. i. Append. p. 170. [This learned and candid civilian and Catholic of Nuremberg, who corresponded with all the leading men of Germany, both Catholics and Protestants, a few years before his death (which was in 1530), wrote a respectful and excellent letter to Pope Adrian VI. in which he endeavours to acquaint him with the true state of things in Germany. The grand cause of all the commotions there he supposed to be the Dominicans, who by their persecution of Capnio and of all literary men, and by their pride and insolence and base conduct, particularly in trumpeting the papal indulgences, alienated almost all the intelligent and honest from the church, and then by their violent measures drove them to open opposition to the pontiffs.—*Mur.*

It was these friars especially who prompted Leo X. to the imprudent step of publicly condemning Martin Luther.

13. Many of the Mendicant monks held the principal chairs in the universities and schools; and this was the chief reason why the light of science and polite learning, which had begun to diffuse itself through most countries of Europe, could not more effectually dispel the clouds of ignorance and stupidity. Most of the teachers of youth, decorated with the splendid titles of artists, grammarians, philosophers, and logicians, in a most disgusting style loaded the memories of their pupils with a multitude of barbarous terms and worthless distinctions; and when the pupil could repeat these with volubility, he was regarded as eloquent and erudite. All the philosophers extolled Aristotle beyond measure, but no one followed him, indeed none of them understood him. For what they called the philosophy of Aristotle was a confused mass of obscure notions, sentences, and divisions, the import of which not even the chiefs of the school could comprehend. And if among these thorns of scholastic wisdom there was anything which had the appearance of fruit, it was crushed and destroyed by the senseless altercations of the different sects, especially the Scotists and Thomists, the Realists and Nominalists, from which no university was free.

14. How perversely and absurdly theology was taught in this age, appears from all the books it has transmitted to us, which are remarkable for nothing but their bulk. Of the biblical doctors or expounders of the precepts of the Bible, only here and there an individual remained. Even in the university of Paris, which was considered as the mother and queen of all the rest, not a man could be found when Luther arose competent to dispute with him out of the Scriptures.[1] Those who remained of this class neglected the literal sense of the Scriptures, which they were utterly unable to investigate, on account of their ignorance of the sacred languages and of the laws of interpretation, and foolishly wandered after concealed and hidden meanings. Nearly all the theologians were Positivi and Sententiarii, who deemed it a great achievement both in speculative and practical theology, either to overwhelm the subject with a torrent of useless quotations from the fathers, or to analyse it according to the laws of dialectics. And whenever they had occasion to speak of the meaning of any text, they appealed invariably to what was called the Glossa Ordinaria; and the phrase *Glossa dicit* was as common and decisive in their lips, as anciently the phrase *ipse dixit* in the Pythagorean school.

15. These doctors, however, disputed among themselves with sufficient freedom on various articles of religion, and even upon those which were considered essential to salvation. For a great many points of doctrine had not yet been determined by the authority of the church, or as the phrase was, by the holy see; and the pontiffs were not accustomed, unless there was some special reason, to make enactments which would restrain liberty of opinion on subjects not connected either with the sovereignty of the holy see or the privileges and emoluments of the clergy. Hence many persons of great eminence might be named, who safely, and even sometimes with applause, advanced the same opinions before Luther's day which were afterwards charged upon him as a crime. And doubtless Luther might have enjoyed the same liberty with them, if he had not attacked the system of Roman finance, the wealth of the bishops, the supremacy of the pontiffs, and the reputation of the Dominican order.[2]

16. The public worship of God consisted almost wholly in a round of ceremonies, and those for the most part vain and useless; being calculated not to affect the heart but to dazzle the eye. Those who delivered sermons (which many were not able to do) filled or rather beguiled the ears of the people with pretended miracles, ridiculous fables, wretched quibbles, and similar trash, thrown together without judgment.[3] There are still extant many examples of such discourses, which no good man can read without indignation. If among these declaimers there were some inclined to be more grave, for them certain commonplace arguments were prepared and arranged, on

[1] This was not strange. Many of the doctors of theology in those times had never read the Bible. Carlstadt expressly tells us this was the case with himself. Whenever one freely read the Bible, he was cried out against as one making innovations, a heretic, and as exposing Christianity to great danger by making the New Testament known. Many of the monks regarded the Bible as a book which abounded in numerous errors.—*Von Ein.*

[2] Or, as Erasmus humorously expressed the same truth to the Elector of Saxony at Cologne, in 1520: "Lutherus peccavit in duobus, nempe quod tetigit coronam pontificis et ventres monachorum." Seckendorf, *Historia Lutheranismi*, p. 125, 126, Franckf. 1692, folio.—*R.*

[3] The Easter sermons in particular are proof of this, in which the preachers were emulous to provoke laughter among the audience by repeating ludicrous stories, low jests, and whimsical incidents. This was called emphatically Easter laughter, and it still has its admirers in some portions of the Catholic church. John Œcolampadius, in the year 1518, published at Basil a tract of 32 pages 4to entitled, *De Risu Paschali, Œcolampadii ad W. Capitonem Theologum Epistola.* See Füsslin's *Beytrüge zur Kirchen-Reformationsgesch. des Sweitzerlandes*, vol. v. p. 447, &c.—*Schl.*

which they vociferated on almost all occasions by the hour; such for instance as the authority of the holy mother church and the obedience due to it, the influence of the saints with God and their virtues and merits, the dignity, glory, and kindness of the Virgin Mary, the efficacy of relics, the enriching of churches and monasteries, the necessity of what they called good works in order to salvation, the intolerable flames of purgatory, and the utility of indulgences. To preach to the people nothing but Christ Jesus our Saviour and his merits, and that pure love of God and men which springs from faith, would have added little to the treasures and emoluments of good mother church.

17. From these causes there was among all classes and ranks in every country, an amazing ignorance on religious subjects, and no less superstition united with gross corruption of morals. Those who presided over the ceremonies willingly tolerated these evils, and indeed encouraged them in various ways, rather than strove to stifle them, well knowing that their own interests were depending upon them. Nor did the majority think it advisable to oppose strenuously the corruption of morals; for they well knew that if the crimes and sins of the people were diminished, the sale of indulgences would also decrease, and they would of course derive much less revenue from absolutions and other similar sources.[1]

18. Yet the more ruinous the evils pre-

[1] Schlegel here inserts the following history of popish indulgences according to the views of Mosheim, derived undoubtedly from his public lectures, which Schlegel himself had heard and has frequently referred to.—*Mur.* [The origin of indulgences must be sought in the earliest history of the church. In the first centuries of the Christian church, those Christians who were excluded from the communion, on account of their relapses in times of persecution or on account of other heinous sins, had to seek a restoration to fellowship by a public penance, in which they entreated the brethren to forgive their offence, standing before the door of the church clothed in the garb of mourning. This ecclesiastical punishment, which was regarded as a sort of satisfaction made to the community and was called by that name, and which prevented much irregularity among Christians, was afterwards moderated, and sometimes remitted in the case of infirm persons, and this remission was called indulgence, *indulgentia*. Originally therefore indulgences were merely the remission of ecclesiastical punishments, imposed on the lapsed and other gross offenders. When persecutions ceased, and the principal ground for this ecclesiastical regulation no longer existed, these punishments might have been laid aside. [Not so, for relapsing into idolatry was only one among the many offences for which penance was imposed; and as persecutions ceased and the church became rich and corrupt, other sins were multiplied, so that the ground for inflicting church censures rather increased than diminished.—*Mur.*] They continued, and the doctrine gradually grew up that Christ had atoned for the eternal punishment of sin, but not for its temporary punishment. The temporal punishment they divided into that of the present life, and that of the future life or of purgatory. It was held, that every man who would attain salvation must suffer the temporary punishment of his sins, either in the present world or in the flames of purgatory; and that the confessor to whom a man confessed his sins had the power to adjudge and impose this temporary punishment. The punishment thus imposed consisted of fasting, pilgrimages, flagellation, &c. But among the persons liable to such punishments, were frequently persons of distinction and wealth. And for these the principle of admitting substitutes was introduced. And there were monks, who for compensation paid them, would endure these punishments in behalf of the rich. But as every man could not avail himself of this relief, they at last commuted that penance into a pious mulct, *pia mulcta*. Whoever, for instance, was bound to whip himself for several weeks, might pay to the church or to the monastery a certain sum of money or give it a piece of land, and then be released from the penance. Thus Pepin of France, having, with the consent of the pope, dethroned the lawful monarch of that country, gave to the church the patrimony of St. Peter. As the popes perceived that something might be gained in this way, they assumed wholly to themselves the right of commuting canonical penances for pecuniary satisfactions, which every bishop had before exercised in his own diocese. At first they released only from the punishments of sin in the present world, but in the fourteenth century they extended this release also to the punishments of purgatory. Jesus, they said, has not removed all the punishments of sin. Those which he has not removed are either the punishments of this world, that is, the penances which confessors enjoin, or the punishments of the future world, that is, those of purgatory. An indulgence frees a person from both these. The first, the pope remits by his papal power as sovereign lord of the church, just as the sovereign of a country can commute the corporeal punishment which the inferior judges decree into pecuniary mulcts. The last he remits, (as Benedict XIV. says in his bull for the jubilee), *jure suffragii*, that is, by his prevalent intercession with God, who can deny nothing to his vicegerent. Yet this release from the punishments of sin cannot be bestowed gratis. There must be an equivalent, that is, some money, which is given to the pope for religious uses. Princes indeed never release a man from corporeal punishment unless he petitions for it. But the vicegerent of Christ is more gracious than other judges, and causes his indulgences to be freely offered to the whole church, and to be proclaimed aloud throughout the Christian world. These principles carried into operation drew immense sums of money to Rome. When such indulgences were to be published, the disposal of them was commonly farmed out. For the papal court could not always wait to have the money collected and conveyed from every country of Europe. And there were rich merchants at Genoa, Milan, Venice, and Augsburg, who purchased the indulgences for a particular province, and paid to the papal chancery handsome sums for them. Thus both parties were benefited. The chancery came at once into possession of large sums of money, and the farmers did not fail of a good bargain. They were careful to employ skilful hawkers of the indulgences, persons whose boldness and impudence bore due proportion to the eloquence with which they imposed upon the simple people. Yet that this species of traffic might have a religious aspect, the pope appointed the archbishops of the several provinces to be his commissaries, who in his name published that indulgences were to be sold, and generally selected the persons to hawk them, and for this service shared the profits with the merchants who farmed them. These papal hawkers enjoyed great privileges, and however odious to the civil authorities, they were not to be molested. Complaints indeed were made against these contributions levied by the popes upon all Christian Europe Kings and princes, clergy and laity, bishops, monasteries, and confessors, all felt themselves aggrieved by them; the former, that their countries were impoverished under the pretext of crusades which were never undertaken, and of wars against heretics and Turks; and the latter, that their letters of indulgence were rendered inefficient, and the people released from ecclesiastical discipline. But at Rome all were deaf to these complaints, and it was not till the revolution produced by Luther that unhappy Europe obtained the desired relief.—*Schl.*

valent throughout the church, the more earnestly was a reformation longed for by all who were governed either by good sense and solid learning or by a regard to piety. Nor was the number of these in the whole Latin world by any means small. The majority of them did not indeed wish to see the constitution and organization of the church altered, nor the doctrines which had become sacred by long admission rejected, nor the rites and ceremonies abrogated; but only to have some bounds set to the power of the pontiffs, the corrupt morals and the impositions of the clergy corrected, the ignorance and errors of the people dispelled, and the burdens imposed on the people under colour of religion removed. But as none of these reforms could be effected without first extirpating various absurd and impious opinions which gave birth to the evils, or without purging the existing religion from its corruptions, all those may be considered as implicitly demanding a reformation of religion, who are represented as calling for a reformation of the church both in its head and in its members.

19. What little of real piety still remained existed, as it were, under the patronage of those called Mystics. For this class of persons, both by their tongues and pens, avoiding all scholastic disputations and demonstrating the vanity of mere external worship, exhorted men to strive only to obtain holiness of heart and communion with God. And hence they were loved and respected by most of those who seriously and earnestly sought for salvation. Yet as all of them associated the vulgar errors and superstitions with their precepts of piety, and many of them were led into strange opinions by their excessive love of contemplation, and were but little removed from fanatical delirium, more powerful auxiliaries than they were necessary to the subjugation of prejudices now become inveterate.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE COMMENCEMENT AND PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION, TO THE PRESENTATION OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION [OR FROM A.D. 1517—1530].

1. WHILE the Roman pontiff supposed all was safe and tranquil, and the pious and good were everywhere despairing of the much longed-for reformation of the church, Martin Luther, an obscure and insignificant monk of Eisleben in Saxony, a province of Germany, born of reputable but humble parentage, of the order of the Augustinian Eremites one of the four Mendicant orders, and a professor of theology in the university of Wittemberg, which Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony, had established a few years before, unexpectedly and with astonishing intrepidity opposed himself alone to the whole Romish power. It was in the year 1517, when Leo X. was at the head of the church, Maximilian I. of Austria governed the German Roman empire, and Frederick, for his great wisdom surnamed the Wise, ruled over Saxony. Many applauded the courage and heroism of this new opposer; but almost no one anticipated his success. For it was not to be expected that this light-armed warrior could inflict any injury on a Hercules, whom so many heroes had assailed in vain.

2. That Luther was possessed of extraordinary talents, uncommon genius, a copious memory, astonishing industry and perseverance, superior eloquence, a greatness of soul which rose above all human weaknesses, and consummate erudition for the age in which he lived, even those among his enemies who possess some candour do not deny. In the philosophy then taught in the schools he was as well versed as he was in theology, and he taught both with great applause in the university of Wittemberg. In the former, he followed the principles of the Nominalists which were embraced by his order, that of the Augustinians; in the latter, he was a follower for the most part of St. Augustine. But he had long preferred the Holy Scriptures and sound reason before human authorities or opinions. No wise man indeed will pronounce him entirely faultless; yet if we except the imperfections of the times in which he lived and of the religion in which he was trained, we shall find little to censure in the man.[1]

[1] All the writers who have given the history of Luther's life and achievements are enumerated by Fabricius, in his *Centifolium Lutheranum*, of which the first volume appeared at Hamburg in 1728, and the second volume in 1730, 8vo. [Melancthon, *De Vita Lutheri*, ed. Heumann, Gotting. 1741, 4to; Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformation*, vol. i. p. 106, &c.; Milner's *Church History*, cent. xvi.; Bower's *Life of Luther*, Edinb. 1813, and numerous others; among which the following are particularly recommended by Schlegel.—*Mur.* Walch's *Ausführliche Nachricht von D. Mart. Luther*, prefixed to the 24th vol. of his edition of Luther's works, p. 1—875, which exceeds all others in fulness and learned fidelity. The earlier work of Keil, *Merkwürdige Lebensumstände D. Mart. Luther's*, Leipsic, 1764, 4 vols. contains much that is good with some things which are censurable. Also from its historical connexion, Walch's *Gesch. der Frau Catharina Von Bora, Martin Luther's Ehegattin*, 2 vols. Gotting. 1753-54, 8vo, and Schroeckh's *Life of Luther*, in his *Abbildungen der Gelehrten*. From these writings we adduce these principal circumstances:—Luther's father was a miner of Mansfield. He was born at Eisleben, A.D. 1483. After attending the schools of Magdeburg and Eisenach, he studied scholastic philosophy and jurisprudence at Erfurth, and at

the same time read the ancient Latin authors. But his intimate friend being killed and himself completely stunned by a clap of thunder, he joined himself, much against the will of his father, to one of the most rigid orders of Mendicants, that of the Augustinian Eremites. In this situation he so conducted himself, that his superiors were well satisfied with his industry, good temper, and abilities. In the year 1508, John von Staupitz, his vicar-general, sent him from Erfurth to Wittemberg, contrary to his inclinations, to be professor of philosophy. He now applied himself more to biblical theology, discovered the defects of the scholastic philosophy, and began to reject human authorities in matters of religion; and in these views, his baccalaureate in theology, which he took in the year 1509, confirmed him still more. A journey to Rome, which he undertook in the year 1510 on the business of his order, procured him knowledge and experience, which were afterwards of great use to him. After his return, he took in the year 1512 his degree of doctor in divinity; and he now applied himself diligently to the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages. All these pursuits were preparations for that great work which Divine Providence intended to accomplish by him; and they procured him a degree of learning which was great for those times. He was not inexpert in philosophy, and he understood the Bible better than any other teacher in the Catholic church; he had critically read the writings of the fathers, and had studied, among the modern writers, especially William Occam and John Gerson, together with the Mystics of the two preceding centuries, and particularly John Tauler; and from the two former (Occam and Gerson), he learned to view the papal authority differently from the mass of people; and from the latter (the Mystics), he learned many practical truths relating to the religion of the heart, which were not to be found in the ordinary books of devotion and piety. Of church history he had so much knowledge as was necessary for combating the prevalent errors and for restoring the primitive religion of Christians. In the Belles Lettres also he was not a novice. He wrote the German language with greater purity, elegance, and force, than any other author of that age; and his translation of the Bible and his hymns still exhibit proof how correctly, nervously, and clearly, he could express himself in his native tongue. He possessed a natural, strong, and moving eloquence. These acquisitions and talents resided in a mind of uncommon ardour, and of heroic virtue in action; and he applied them to objects of the greatest utility, both to mankind at large and to the individual members of society. He saw religion to be disfigured with the most pernicious errors, and reason and conscience to be under intolerable bondage. He chased away these errors, brought true religion and sound reason again into repute, rescued virtue from slavish subjection to human authorities, and made it obedient to nobler motives, vindicated the rights of man against the subverters of them, furnished the state with useful citizens by removing obstructions to marriage, and gave to the thrones of princes their original power and security. By what means he gradually effected all this good for mankind will appear in the course of this history. It is true, the man who performed these heroic deeds for Europe had his imperfections; for heroes are but men. But his faults were not the faults of a corrupt heart, but of a warm, sanguine, choleric temperament, and the effects of his education and of the times in which he lived. He answered his opposers, even when they were kings and princes, with too great acrimony, with passion, and often with personal abuse. He acknowledged this as a fault, and commended Melancthon and Brentius, who exhibited more mildness in their conversation and writings. But it was his zeal for the truth which enkindled his passions, and perhaps they were necessary in those times; perhaps also they were the consequence of his monastic life, in which he had no occasion to learn worldly courtesy. And were not the harsh and passionate terms which he used towards his opposers, the controversial language of his age? We do not say this to justify Luther; he was a man and he had human weaknesses, but he was clearly one of the best men known in that century. This is manifest, among other proofs, from his writings; the most important of which we shall here enumerate. *Theses de Indulgentiis*, or *Disputatio pro Declaratione Virtutis Indulgentiarum*, 1517. A sermon on Indulgences and grace, 1518. *Resolutiones Thesium de Indulgentiis*. Among his exegetical writings, his Commentary on the epistle to the Galatians, and that on Genesis, are the most important. In his own estimation, his best work was his *Postills*, which were published in 1527. His essays, *De Libertate Christiana*, *De Captivitate Babylonica*, and *De Votis Monasticis*, are very polemic; as also his book against Erasmus, *De Servo Arbitrio*, in which he closely follows Augustine in the doctrine concerning grace, while the earliest among the reformed defended universal grace. His translation of the Bible, which was first published by parcels and appeared entire for the first time in 1534, his larger and smaller Catechisms, the seventeen Articles of Schwabach, the Articles of Smalcald, and his Letters, are very important. The best edition of his writings is that of Halle, 1737-53, in twenty-four volumes, to which the immortal counsellor Walch has imparted the greatest possible perfection.—*Schl.*

[To the works on the Life of Luther enumerated in the beginning of this note may be added the following later ones: Ukert, *Luther's Leben*, Gotha, 1817, chiefly literary; Sheibel, *Ueber Luther's Christlich. Frommigkeit*, Breslau, 1817; Pfizer, *Luther's Leben*, Stuttg. 1836, translated into English by Williams, with an introductory essay by Isaac Taylor, Lond. 1840, but the translation has omitted Pfizer's Introduction, and the entire chapter entitled, Luther's politics; Stang, *M. Luther, sein Leben u. Wirken*, Stuttg. 1838; Meurer, *Luther's Leben aus den Quellen erzählt*, Dresd. 1842, not yet completed. The following life of Luther is now in course of publication at Leipsic: Karl Jürgen's, *Luther's Leben*. It promises to be a very full biography, as the first volume of 700 pages extends only to 1517. But by far the most important publication for illustrating the life of Luther with which we have been recently furnished, and the value of which it is impossible to overrate, is the complete edition of his letters which has been published by De Wette in his work entitled, *Luther's Briefe, Sendschreiben, u. Bedenken*, Berlin, 1825-28, five vols. 8vo. These letters were previously dispersed in at least six different collections, some of which were of extreme rarity; they are all collected in this work, and many pieces previously unpublished have been added, and the whole is carefully edited and illustrated with notes. To these biographies of Luther may be added the following, recently published by Roman Catholic laymen: Audin, *Histoire de la Vie, des Ecrits, et des Doctrines de M. Luther*, latest edition, Paris, 1841, 2 vols. translated into English, Lond. 1843. This is a singular work; for while the author has a profound admiration for Luther as a man of genius and endowed with talents of a high order, he nevertheless, like all other Romanists, represents him as actuated by low, selfish, and even licentious principles throughout the whole of his opposition to the papal corruptions. Michelet, *Mémoires de Luther, ecrits par lui-meme*, Paris, 1837, 2 vols. As the title intimates, the author, who has since rendered himself so well known by his powerful exposures of the Jesuits in France, makes Luther as far as practicable his own biographer, by giving extracts from his letters and other works in his own words. But his range of quotations is rather limited, and too many of them are taken from that unauthentic source, Luther's *Tischreden*. I may add that a new edition of Luther's entire works has been in course of publication at Erlangen, the Lutheran University of Bavaria, since 1826, to be completed in 60 volumes, of which little more than the one-half is yet published. It is known as Irmischer's edition, and I believe is expected to surpass that of Halle.—*R.*

3. The first occasion for publishing the truths he had discovered was presented to this great man by John Tetzel, a Dominican monk void of shame, whom Albert the archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg had hired on account of his impudence, to solicit the Germans in the name of the Roman pontiff Leo X. to expiate with money their own sins and those of their friends, and future sins as well as past ones, or in other

words, to preach indulgences.[1] This fraudulent declaimer conducted the business not only in dereliction of all modesty and decency, but in a manner which impiously detracted from the merits of Jesus Christ. Hence Luther, moved with just indignation, publicly exposed at Wittemberg, on the thirty-first day of October,[2] A.D. 1517, ninety-five propositions, in which he chastised the madness of these indulgence-sellers generally, and not obscurely censured the pontiff himself for suffering the people to be thus diverted from looking to Christ.[3] This was the beginning of that great war which extinguished no small portion of the pontifical grandeur.[4]

4. This first controversy between Luther and Tetzel was in itself of no great importance, and might have been easily settled if Leo X. had possessed either the ability or the disposition to treat it prudently; for it was the private contest of two monks respecting the limits of the power of the Roman pontiffs in remitting the punishment of sins. Luther acknowledged that the pontiff could remit the human punishments for sin, or those appointed by the church or the pontiffs, but denied his power to absolve from the divine punishments either

[1] The writers who give an account of Tetzel and of his base methods of deluding the multitude are enumerated by Fabricius, in his *Centifolium Lutheranum*, par. i. p. 47, and par. ii. p. 530. What is said of this vile man by Echard and Quetif, in their *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*, tom. ii. p. 40, betrays immoderate and disgraceful partiality. [See also Gerdes' *Historia Reformationis*, vol. i. p. 80, where a most characteristic print of this infamous monk is given.—*R.*

[2] Mosheim says Luther posted his propositions,—pridie Kalendarum Octobris, *i.e.* on the 30th of September, and Maclaine so translated the phrase; but Dr. Murdock renders it—"the first of October." Mosheim evidently intended to say Novembris for Octobris, because it is quite clear from other sources that the day in question was the eve of All Saints' Day or 1st of November, a high day in the Schloss Kirche of Wittemberg which was dedicated to all the saints, and it was on its doors that the paper was first posted to meet the eyes of the crowds of pilgrims who resorted thither from all parts on that festival. I have accordingly placed the right day in the text. I may add that this church is still standing and occupied, though the doors are renewed; and it is in its central aisle that both Luther and Melancthon are buried.—*R.*

[3] A copy of these propositions is given by Gerdes in his *Hist. Reform.* vol. i. App. p. 114—122. It differs slightly from the original copy, which was printed on one side of the paper for posting on the doors of the university and churches in Wittemberg, and for distribution among his friends. I fortunately possess one of these original broadsides, now very rare and peculiarly interesting as being Luther's first appearance in print!—*R.*

[4] The pope offered as a pretext for this new spiritual tax the completion of the church of St. Peter, which had been commenced by Julius II. and he appointed for his first commissary in Germany Albert, archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg and margrave of Brandenburg, who from the expensiveness of his court had not yet paid the fees for his pall, and was to pay them out of his share of the profits of these indulgences. The second commissary was Jo. Angelus Arcimbold. In Saxony John Tetzel, who had before been a successful preacher of papal indulgences, was appointed to this service. He was a profligate wretch, who had once fallen into the hands of the Inquisition in consequence of his adulteries, and whom the elector of Saxony rescued by his intercession. He now cried up his merchandise in a manner so offensive, so contrary to all Christian principles, and so acceptable to the inconsiderate, that all upright men were disgusted with him; yet they dared to sigh over this unclerical traffic only in private. He pursued it as far north as Zerbst and Jüterbock, and selected the annual fairs for its prosecution. He claimed to have power to absolve not only from all church censures, but likewise from all sins, transgressions, and enormities, however horrid they might be, and even from those of which the pope only can take cognizance. He released from all the punishments of purgatory, gave permission to come to the sacraments, and promised to those who purchased his indulgences that the gates of hell should be closed and the gates of paradise and bliss open to them. See Von der Hardt, *Hist. Liter. Reformat.* par. iv. sect. vi. xiv. &c. Some Wittembergers who had purchased his wares came to Luther as he was sitting in the confessional of his cloister, and acknowledged to him very gross sins. And when he laid upon them heavy ecclesiastical penances, they produced Tetzel's letters of indulgence and demanded absolution. But he declined giving them absolution unless they submitted to the penance, and thus gave some evidence of repentance and amendment; and he declared that he put no value upon their letters of indulgence. These sentiments he also published in a discourse from the pulpit; and he complained to the archbishop of Mentz and to some of the bishops of this shameful abuse of indulgences, and published his theses or propositions against Tetzel, in which he did not indeed discard all use of indulgences, but only maintained that they were merely a release by the pope from the canonical penances for sin as established by ecclesiastical law, and did not extend to the punishments which God inflicts; that forgiveness of sins was to be had only from God through real repentance and sorrow, and that God requires no penance or satisfaction for them. The enemies of the Reformation tell us that Luther was actuated by passion, and that envy between the Dominicans and the Augustinians was the moving cause of Luther's enterprise. They say the Augustinians had previously been employed to preach indulgences, but now the Dominicans were appointed to this lucrative office; and that Luther took up his pen against Tetzel by order of John von Staupitz [provincial of the order], who was dissatisfied because his order was neglected on this occasion. The author of this fable was John Cochlæus (in his *Historia de Actis et Scriptis Mart. Lutheri*, p. 3, 4, Paris, 1665, 8vo), and from this raving enemy of Luther it has been copied by some French and English writers, and from them by a few German writers of this age. But the evidence of this hypothesis is still wanting. It is still unproved that the Augustinians ever had the exclusive right of preaching indulgences. (See Kraft, *De Luthero contra Indulgentiarum Nundinatores haudquaquam per Invidiam Disputante*, Gotting. 1749, 4to.) Luther was far too openhearted not to let something of this envy appear in his writings, if he really was urged on to action by it; and his enemies were far too sharp-sighted, if they had even the slightest suspicion of it, not to have reproached him with it in his lifetime. Yet not one of them did this. For what Cochlæus has said on this subject did not appear till after Luther's death. [See a long and well-written note on this subject in Maclaine's translation of Mosheim on this paragraph, and which Villiers has subjoined, as an Appendix to his Essay on the Reformation by Luther; Pallavicini, in his *Historia Concilii Trident*, par. i. lib. i. cap. iii. sec. vi. &c.; Graveson, *Historia Eccles.* sæcul. xvi. p. 26, and other Catholics, though enemies of the Reformation, expressly deny and confute this charge against Luther. —*Mur.*] Others tell us with as little evidence of truth, that Luther was prompted to take this step by the court of Saxony, which had a design to draw into its own coffers the religious property situated in Saxony; an objection which the whole series of subsequent events will refute. Luther at first had no thought of overthrowing the papal hierarchy; and Frederick the Wise, who was opposed to all innovations in ecclesiastical or religious matters, would evidently be one of the last persons to form such a plan.—*Schl.*

of the present or the future world; and maintained that these divine punishments must be removed either by the merits of Jesus Christ or by voluntary penance endured by the sinner. Tetzel on the contrary asserted that the pontiff could release also from divine punishments, and from those of the future as well as of the present life. This subject had in preceding times been often discussed, and the pontiffs had passed no decrees about it. But the present dispute, being at first neglected and then treated unwisely, gradually increased, till from small beginnings it involved consequences of the highest importance.

5. Luther was applauded by the best part of Germany, who had long borne very impatiently the various artifices of the pontiffs for raising money, and the impudence and impositions of the pontifical tax-gatherers. But the sycophants of the pontiffs cried out, and none more loudly than the Dominicans, who in the manner of all monks considered their whole order as injured by Luther in the person of Tetzel. In the first place, Tetzel himself forthwith attacked Luther in two disputations at the university of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, upon occasion of his taking his degree of doctor in theology. The following year, A.D. 1518, two celebrated Dominicans, the one an Italian named Sylvester Prierias, the general of his order at Rome, and the other a German, James Hochstraten of Cologne, assailed him with great fury. They were followed by a third adversary, a great friend of the Dominicans, John Eck, a theologian of Ingolstadt. To these adversaries Luther replied with spirit, and at the same time he addressed very modest letters to the Roman pontiff himself and to some of the bishops, to whom he endeavoured to evince the justice of his cause, and promised to change his views and correct his opinions, if they could be shown to be erroneous.[1]

6. Leo X. at first disregarded this controversy; but being informed by the emperor Maximilian I. that it was an affair of no little consequence and that Germany was taking sides in regard to it, he summoned Luther to appear at Rome and take his trial.[2] Against this mandate of the pontiff Frederick the Wise elector of Saxony interposed, and requested that Luther's cause might be tried in Germany, according to the ecclesiastical laws of the country. The pontiff yielded to the wishes of Frederick, and ordered Luther to appear before his legate, cardinal Thomas Cajetan [Thomas de Vio of Gæta], then at the diet of Augsburg, and there defend his doctrines and conduct. The Romish court here exhibited an example of the greatest indiscretion which appeared in the whole transaction. For Cajetan being a Dominican, and of course the enemy of Luther and an associate of Tetzel, a more unfit person could not have been named to sit as judge and arbiter of the cause.

7. Luther repaired to Augsburg in the month of October A.D. 1518, and had three interviews with Cajetan the pontifical legate.[3] But if Luther had been disposed to yield, this Dominican was not the person to bring a high-spirited man to accomplish such a purpose. For he treated him imperiously, and peremptorily required him humbly to confess his errors without being convinced of them by argument, and to submit his judgment to that of the pontiff.[4]

[1] Luther attended the general convention of the Augustinians at Heidelberg in the year 1518; and in a discussion there he defended his *Paradoxes* (so he entitled his propositions) with such energy and applause that the seeds of evangelical truth took deep root in that part of the country. See Bucer's *Relatio de Disputatione Heidelbergensi*, in Gerdes, Append. ad tom. i. *Hist. Reformationis*, No. 18, p. 175, &c. After his return from Heidelberg he wrote to the pope in very submissive terms. See his works, ed. Halle, vol. xv. p. 496. He also wrote to Jerome Scultetus, bishop of Brandenburg, to whose diocese Wittemberg belonged, and likewise to Staupitz, using in both instances very modest language.—*Schl*

[2] Here is undoubtedly a slip of the memory. Before Maximilian's letter arrived at Rome, Leo had cited Luther to appear within sixty days at Rome, and take his trial before Jerome bishop of Ascoli and his enemy Sylvester Prierias, as his judges. See Seckendorf's *Hist. Lutheranismi*, p. 41, and Luther's Works, vol. xv. p. 527, &c. Maximilian was himself friendly to Luther, but was now pushed on by some of his courtiers.—*Schl.*

[3] Of Cajetan a full account is given by Quetif and Echard, in their *Scriptores Ordin. Prædicator.* tom. ii. p. 14, &c. [He was born A.D. 1469 at Gæta, in Latin Cajeta (whence his surname Cajetanus), in the territory of Naples; at the age of twenty-nine he wrote a book to prove that a general council could not be called without the authority of a pope; and was rewarded with the bishopric of Gæta, and then with the archbishopric of Pisa, and in 1515 with a cardinal's hat. In 1522 he was papal legate to Hungary, and died A.D. 1534, aged 65. Cajetan was fond of study and wrote much on the Aristotelian philosophy, scholastic theology, and in the latter years of his life extensive commentaries on the Scriptures.—*Mur.*

[4] Cajetan's proceedings with Luther were unsatisfactory even to the court of Rome. See Paul Sarpi's *Historia Concilii Trident.* lib. i. p. 22. Yet Echard apologizes for Cajetan in his *Scriptores Ordin. Prædicator.* tom. ii. p. 15, but I think not very wisely or solidly. The court of Rome however erred in this matter as much as Cajetan. For it might have been easily foreseen that a Dominican would not have treated Luther with moderation. [Cajetan was one of the most learned men of his church; but he was a scholastic divine, and undertook to confute Luther by the canon law and the authority of Lombard. The electoral court of Saxony proceeded very circumspectly in this affair. Luther was not only furnished with a safe conduct, but was attended by two counsellors who supported him with their legal assistance. The cardinal required Luther to revoke in particular two errors in his theses, namely, that there was not any treasury of the merits of saints at Rome, from which the pope could dispense portions to those who obtained indulgences from him; and that without faith no forgiveness of sin could be obtained from God. Luther would admit of none but

And as Luther could not bring himself to do this, the result of the discussion was that Luther previously to his departure from Augsburg, in perfect consistency with the dignity of the pontiff, appealed from the pontiff ill-informed to the same when better informed.[1] Soon after on the 9th of November, Leo X. published a special edict requiring all his subjects to believe that he had power to forgive sins. On learning this, Luther perceiving that he had nothing to expect from Rome appealed at Wittemberg November 28, from the pontiff to a future council of the whole church.

8. The Romish court seemed now to be sensible of its error in appointing Cajetan. It therefore about the same time appointed another legate, who was not a party in the case and who possessed more knowledge of human nature, to attempt to reconcile Luther to the pontiff. This was Charles von Miltitz, a Saxon knight who belonged to the court of Leo X. a discreet and sagacious man. The pontiff sent him into Saxony to present to the electoral prince Frederick the consecrated golden rose, which the pontiffs sometimes gave to distinguished men whom they were disposed to honour; and also to negotiate with Luther for terminating his contest with Tetzel or rather with the pontiff himself. And he managed the business not without some success. For immediately in his first interview with Luther at Altenburg in the month of January, 1519, he prevailed on him to write a very submissive letter to Leo X. dated March 3d, in which he promised to be silent provided his enemies would also be silent. Miltitz had other discussions with Luther in October of this year in the castle of Liebenwerda; and in the following year 1520, October 12th, at Lichtenberg.[2] Nor was the prospect utterly hopeless that these threatening commotions might be stilled.[3]

But the insolence of Luther's foes and the haughty indiscretion of the court of Rome, soon afterwards dissipated all these prospects of peace.

9. The incident which caused the failure of Miltitz's embassy was a conference or disputation at Leipsic in the year 1519, from the 27th of June to the 15th of July. John Eck, the celebrated papal theologian, disagreed with Andrew Carlstadt a friend and colleague of Luther, in regard to free will. He therefore challenged Carlstadt, according to the custom of the age, to a personal dispute to be held at Leipsic; and also invited Luther against whom he had before wielded the pen of controversy. For the martial spirit of our ancestors had made its way into the schools and among the learned; and heated dissentients on points of religion or literature were accustomed to challenge one another to such single combats like knights and warriors. These literary combats were usually held in some distinguished university, and the rector of the university with the masters were the arbiters of the contest and adjudged the victory. Carlstadt consented to the proposed contest, and on the day appointed he appeared on the arena attended by Luther. After Carlstadt had disputed warmly for many days with Eck before a large and splendid assembly in the castle of Pleissenburg, on the powers of free will, Luther engaged with the same antagonist in a contest respecting the supremacy and authority of the Roman pontiff.[4] But the dis-

Scripture proofs; and as the cardinal, who was no biblical scholar, could not produce such proofs, Luther held fast his opinions; and when the cardinal began to be restless and to threaten ecclesiastical censures, Luther appealed "a Pontifice male informato ad melius informandum,"—a legal step which was nowise harsh, and one which is resorted to at the present day by persons who do not question the infallibility of the pope. By this appeal he recognised the jurisdiction of the pope, and at the same time secured this advantage, that the cardinal as a delegated judge had no longer jurisdiction of the case.—*Schl.*

[1] See Boerner's *Diss. de Colloquio Lutheri cum Cajetano*, Lips. 1722, 4to; also among his Dissertations collected in one volume; Loescher's *Acta et Documenta Reformat.* tom. iii. cap. xi. p. 435, &c.; and Walch's *Nachricht von Luther*, in the Halle edition of Luther's works, vol. xxiv. p. 409, &c.

[2] The documents relating to the embassy of Miltitz were first published by Cyprian, in his *Additiones ad Tenzelii Historiam Reform.* tom. i. et ii. They are also contained in Loescher's *Acta Reformat.* tom. ii. cap. xvi. and tom. iii. cap. ii. &c.

[3] Leo X. himself wrote a very kind letter to Luther in the year 1519, which memorable document was published by Loescher in his *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, 1742, p. 133. It appears clearly from this epistle, that no doubt of a final reconciliation was entertained at Rome.

[4] Eck or Ecklus was a great talker, and one of the most ready disputants of his times. In one of his theses proposed for discussion, he had asserted that the pope was by divine right universal bishop of the whole church, and that he was in possession of his spiritual power before the times of Constantine the Great. In this disputation Luther maintained the contrary from passages of Scripture, from the testimony of the fathers and from church history, and even from the decrees of the council of Nice. And when from the subject of the pope they came to that of indulgences, Luther denied their absolute necessity; and so of purgatory, he acknowledged indeed that he believed in it, but said he could find no authority for it in the Scriptures or in the fathers. In fact, it was in the year 1530 that Luther first pronounced purgatory to be a fable. The dispute with Carlstadt related to freedom in the theological sense or to the natural power of man to do the will of God. Carlstadt maintained that since the fall the natural freedom of man is not strong enough to move him to that which is morally good. Eck on the contrary asserted that the free will of man, and not merely the grace of God, produces good works; or that our natural freedom co-operates with divine grace in the production of good works, and that it depends on man's free power whether he will give place to the operations of grace or will resist them. It thus appears that Carlstadt defended the doctrine of Augustine in regard to divine grace. Eck claimed the victory and gave a very unjust account of this dispute, which occasioned many controversial pamphlets to be published. The

putants accomplished nothing, nor would Hoffmann the rector of the university of Leipsic take upon him to say which party was victorious; but the decision of the cause was referred to the universities of Paris and Erfurth.[1] Eck however carried away from this contest feelings entirely hostile to Luther, and to the great detriment of the pontiff and the Romish church, was resolved on ruining him.

10. Among the witnesses and spectators of this dispute was Philip Melancthon, professor of Greek at Wittemberg, who had hitherto taken no part in the controversies, and from the mildness of his temper and his love of elegant literature was averse from such disputes; yet he was friendly to Luther and to his efforts for rescuing the science of theology from the subtleties of the Scholastics.[2] As he was doubtless one of those who went home from this discussion more convinced of the justice of Luther's cause, and as he afterwards became, as it were, the second reformer next to Luther, it is proper here to give some brief account of his talents and virtues. All know and even his enemies confess that few men of any age can be compared with him, either for learning and knowledge of both human and divine things, or for richness, suavity, and facility of genius, or for industry as a scholar. He performed for philosophy and the other liberal arts what Luther performed for theology; that is, he freed them from the corruptions which they had contracted, restored them, and gave them currency in Germany. He possessed an extraordinary ability to comprehend and to express in clear and simple language, the most abstruse and difficult subjects and such as were exceedingly complicated. This power he so happily exerted on subjects pertaining to religion, that it may be truly said no literary man by his genius and erudition has done more for their benefit. From his native love of peace, he was induced most ardently to wish that religion might be reformed without any public schism, and that the visible brotherhood among Christians might remain entire. And hence it was that he frequently seemed to be too yielding. Yet he by no means spared great and essential errors; and he inculcated with great constancy that unless these were clearly exposed and plucked up by the roots, the Christian cause would never flourish. In the natural temperament of his mind there was a native softness, tenderness, and timidity. And hence when he had occasion to write or to do anything, he pondered most carefully every circumstance, and often indulged fears where there were no real grounds for them. But, on the contrary, when the greatest dangers seemed to impend and the cause of religion was in jeopardy, this timorous man feared nothing and opposed an undaunted mind to his adversaries. And this shows that the power of the truth which he had learned had diminished the imperfections of his natural temperament without entirely eradicating them. Had he possessed a little more firmness and fortitude, been less studious to please everybody, and been able wholly to cast off the superstition which he imbibed in early life, he would justly deserve to be accounted one of the greatest of men.[3]

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chief advantage he gained was, that he drew from Luther assertions which might hasten his condemnation at Rome; assertions, which a man of more worldly cunning than Luther would have kept concealed a long time. But still Eck lost much of his popularity by this discussion, and on the other hand the truth gained more adherents and Luther's zeal became more animated.—*Schl.*

[1] A very full account of this dispute at Leipsic is in Loescher's *Acta et Documenta Reformat.* tom. iii. cap. vii. p. 203. [The English reader will find the best summary of this disputation in Merle D'Aubigné's *Hist. of the Reformation*, book v. vol. ii. p. 1, &c. and more succinctly in Ranke's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 441, &c.—*R.*

[2] See his letter on this conference in Loescher's *Acta et Documenta Reformat.* tom. iii. cap. viii. p. 215 [and in Gerdes, *Historia Reform.* tom. i. Append. p. 203—209. It exhibits a lucid and candid statement of the whole proceeding.—*Mur.*

[3] There is a Life of Melancthon written by Joach. Camerarius, which has been often printed. But the cause of literature would be benefited by a more accurate history of this great man, composed by some impartial and discreet writer; and also by a more perfect edition of his whole works than we now possess. [This great man [whose German name was Schwartzerd, in Greek Melanchthon.—*Mur.*] was born at Bretten in the lower Palatinate, A.D. 1497, studied at Heidelberg, and was a lecturer at Tubingen, when he was invited A.D. 1518, by Reuchlin and Luther, to become professor of Greek at Wittemberg. He taught, wrote, and disputed, in furtherance of the same objects with Luther, but with more mildness and gentleness than he. He composed so early as 1521 the first system of theology which appeared in our schools, under the title of *Loci Communes Rerum Theologicarum* [which passed through sixty editions in his lifetime.—*Mur.*] and greatly helped forward the Reformation. He also composed the Augsburg Confession and the Apology for it. During the Reformation he rendered service to many cities of Germany. He was also invited to France and England, but declined going. In the latter years of his life, from his love of peace he manifested more indulgence towards the Reformed than was agreeable to the major part of the divines of our church; and his followers were therefore called Philippists, to distinguish them from the more rigid Lutherans. In the year 1530 he did not entertain such views. There is a letter of his to John Lachmann, a preacher at Heilbronn, in which he warns him to beware of the leaven of Zwingli, and says:—Ego non sine maximis tentationibus didici, quantum sit vitii in dogmate Cinglii. Scis mihi veteram cum Œcolampadio amicitiam esse. Sed optarim eum non incidisse in hanc conjurationem. Non enim vocari aliter libet, quia prætextu ejus dogmatis vides quos tumultus excitent Helvetii. See Büttinghausen's *Beyträge zur Pfälzischen Geschichte*, vol. ii. p. 138, &c. But the death of Luther, correspondence with Calvin, his own timid and mild character, and perhaps also political considerations, rendered him more indulgent. Among the superstitious notions imbibed in his

11. While the empire of the pontiffs was thus tottering in Germany, another mortal wound was inflicted on it in the neighbouring Switzerland, by the discerning and erudite Ulrich Zwingli, a canon and priest of Zurich. The fact must not be disguised that he had discovered some portion of the truth, before Luther openly contended with the pontiff. But afterwards being excited and instructed by the example and the writings of Luther, he not only expounded the Holy Scriptures in public discourses, but in the year 1519 successfully opposed Bernardin Samson of Milan, who was impudently driving among the Swiss the same shameful traffic which had awakened Luther's ire.[1]

youth and of which he could not wholly divest himself, was his credulity in regard to premonitions and dreams, and his inclination towards astrology, with which he even infected some of his pupils. (The most learned men of that age, Melancthon, Chemnitz, Neander, were believers in this art; indeed, such as were not, could scarcely pass for learned men. Henke's *Kirchengesch.* vol. iii. p. 580.) He died in 1560. His works were published, collectively, A.D. 1562 and onward in 4 vols. fol. See also Strobel's *Melancthoniana*, Altdorf, 1771, 8vo.—*Schl.* [German literature is singularly deficient in works on this most distinguished ornament of their *Vaterland*. All parties appear to have contented themselves with successive editions of the meagre life of Melancthon or Melanthon, as he in later life preferred to write his Greek name, compiled by Camerarius and first published in 1566. Of late however some steps have been taken to supply this deficiency, which may probably lead to a biography worthy of the subject. There has been recently published, Matthes, *P. Melanchthon, sein Leben u. Wirken, aus den Quellen dargestellt*, Altenb. 1841. But by far the most important preparation for such a work is the edition of his writings now in course of publication at Halle, edited by Bretschneider of Gotha, under the rather ambitious title, not likely to be realised, of *Corpus Reformatorum;* for though 14 volumes 4to have appeared since 1834, or one every year, only a portion of the works of only one of the Reformers, to wit, Melancthon, has yet been overtaken. Of these volumes, nine and part of the tenth contain his voluminous correspondence, arranged chronologically like Luther's, illustrated with notes, and containing many letters from unpublished sources, thus forming an invaluable collection for the future biographer of this eminent scholar, reformer, and divine. The only attempt in our language is Cox's *Life of P. Melancthon*, Lond. 1815, 8vo, but it is meagre and superficial.—*R.*

[1] See Hottinger's *Helvetische Reformationsgeschichte*, p. 28, &c. or his *Helvetische Kirchengeschichte*, tom. ii. lib. vi. p. 28, &c. For the former (which is often published separately) differs very little from the latter, though it is often sold as being the first part of the latter work. [Also his *Hist. Eccles. N. Test. Saecul.* xv. par. ii. p. 198, &c.—*Mur.*] Ruchat's *Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse*, tome i. livr. i. p. 4, &c. p. 66, &c.; Gerdes, *Hist. Reformationis*, tom. ii. p. 288, &c. [or rather tom. i. p. 99, &c.—*Mur.*] Fuesslin's *Beyträge zu der Schweitzer-Reformations Geschichte*, in 5 parts or volumes. [Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformation*, vol. i. p. 103, &c. and Henke's *Algem. Geschichte der Christl. Kirche*, vol. iii. p. 74, ed. Brunswick, 1806.—Luther and his followers had long and severe contests with Zwingli and the Reformed, respecting the corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist; and this caused much alienation and prejudice between the two bodies during the whole of the sixteenth century, nor has entire harmony been restored between them to this day. Hence for more than two centuries, the Lutherans and the Reformed contended whether Luther or Zwingli was entitled to the honour of leading the way to the Reformation. Mosheim manifestly gives the precedence to Luther. Hottinger, Gerdes, and others, give it to Zwingli. Schroeckh, Henke, Schlegel, Von Einem, and others of the Lutheran church, now divide the praise between them. The facts appear to be these. Zwingli discovered the corruptions of the church of Rome at an earlier period than Luther. Both opened their eyes gradually, and altogether without any concert, and without aid from each other. But Zwingli was always in advance of Luther in his views and opinions, and he finally carried the reformation somewhat farther than Luther did. But he proceeded with more gentleness and caution not to run before the prejudices of the people; and the circumstances in which he was placed did not call him so early to open combat with the powers of the hierarchy; Luther therefore has the honour of being the first to declare open war with the pope, and to be exposed to direct persecution. He also acted in a much wider sphere. All Germany and even all Europe was the theatre of his operations. Zwingli moved only in the narrow circle of a single canton of Switzerland. He also died young, and when but just commencing his career of public usefulness. And these circumstances have raised Luther's fame so high, that Zwingli has almost been overlooked. Luther doubtless did most for the cause of the Reformation, because he had a wider field of action, was more bold and daring, and lived longer to carry on the work. But Zwingli was a more learned and a more judicious man, commenced the Reformation earlier, and in his little circle carried it farther.—Ulrich Zwingli was born at Wildhausen, district of Toggenburg, and canton of St. Gall, A.D. 1484. At the age of ten he was sent to Basil for education, and afterwards to Berne. Here the Dominicans endeavoured to allure him into their order, to prevent which his father sent him to Vienna. Returning to Basil at the age of eighteen he became a schoolmaster, and prosecuted theology at the same time under Thomas Wittenbach, who was not blind to the errors of the church of Rome, and who instilled principles of free inquiry into his pupils. He preached his first sermon in 1506, and was the same year chosen pastor of Glarus, where he spent ten years. He had been distinguished in every branch of learning to which he had applied himself, and particularly in classical and elegant literature. He now devoted himself especially to Greek and Hebrew, and had no respect for human authorities in theology, but relied wholly on the Scriptures, which he read and explained to his people from the pulpit with great assiduity. His fame as a preacher and divine rose high. In 1516, he was removed to the abbey of Einsiedlin, as a field of greater usefulness. He had before cautiously exposed some of the errors of the Romish church, and he now more openly assailed the doctrines of monastic vows, pilgrimages, relics, offerings, and indulgences. The next year he was chosen to a vacancy in the cathedral of Zurich; and before he accepted the office, stipulated that he should not be confined in his preaching to the lessons publicly read, but be allowed to explain every part of the Bible. He continued to read the best Latin and Greek classics, studied diligently the more eminent fathers, as Augustine, Ambrose, and Chrysostom, and prosecuted the study of Hebrew and the kindred dialects. He now publicly expounded the Scriptures, as the Gospels, the Epistles of Paul and Peter, &c. and inculcated that the Bible is the only standard of religious truth. While he was thus leading the people gradually to better views of religion, in the year 1518 Samson came into Switzerland to sell indulgences; and the year following, on his arrival at Zurich, Zwingli openly opposed him and procured his exclusion from the canton. The progress of the people in knowledge was rapid, and the Reformation went forward with great success. Luther's books were circulated extensively and by Zwingli's recommendation, though he chose not to read them himself, lest he should incur the charge of being a Lutheran. He was however assailed by the friends of the hierarchy, and at length accused of heresy before the council of Zurich, Jan. 1523. He now presented sixty-seven doctrinal propositions before the council, containing all the fundamental doctrines since held by the Reformed church, and offered to defend them by Scripture against all opposers. His enemies wished to bring tradition and the schoolmen to confute him. But the council declared that the decision must rest on the Scriptures. Zwingli of course triumphed, and the council decreed that he should be allowed to preach as heretofore, unmolested; and that no preacher

This was the first step towards purging Switzerland of superstition. Zwingli now vigorously prosecuted the work he had begun; and having obtained several learned men educated in Germany for his associates and fellow-labourers in the arduous work, he with their assistance brought the greatest part of his fellow-citizens to renounce their subjection to pontifical domination. Yet Zwingli proceeded in a different way from Luther; for he did not uniformly oppose the employment of force against the pertinacious defenders of the old superstitions, and he is said to have conceded to magistrates more authority in religious matters than is consistent with the nature of religion.[1] But in general he was an upright man, and his intentions are worthy of the highest praise.

12. We now return to Luther. While Miltitz was negotiating with him for a peace, and with some prospect of success, John Eck burning with rage after the debate at Leipsic, hurried away to Rome in order to hasten his destruction. Taking as associates the most powerful Dominicans in the pontifical court, and particularly their two first men, Cajetan and Prierias, he pressed Leo to excommunicate Luther forthwith. For the Dominicans most eagerly thirsted to avenge the very great injury which they conceived Luther had done to their whole order, first in the person of their brother Tetzel and then in that of Cajetan. Overcome by their importunate applications and by those of their friends and abettors, Leo X. most imprudently issued the first bull against Luther on the 15th of June, 1520, in which forty-one of his tenets were condemned, his writings adjudged to the flames, and he was commanded to confess his faults within sixty days and implore the clemency of the pontiff, or be cast out of the church.[2]

13. As soon as Luther heard of this first sentence of the pontiff, he consulted for his own safety by renewing his appeal from the pontiff to the supreme tribunal of a future council. And foreseeing that this appeal would be treated with contempt at Rome, and that as soon as the time prescribed by the pontiff was elapsed he would be excommunicated by another bull, he soon formed the resolution to withdraw from the Romish church before he should be excommunicated by the new rescript of the pontiff. In order to proclaim this secession from the Romish community by a public act, on the 10th of December, 1520, he caused a fire to be kindled without the walls of the city, and in presence of a vast multitude of spectators, committed to the flames the bull issued against him together with a copy of the pontifical canon law. By this act he pub-

in the canton should inculcate any doctrine but what he could prove from the Scriptures. The next year, 1524, the council of Zurich reformed the public worship according the advice of Zwingli. Thus the reformation of that canton was now completed. Zwingli continued to guide his flock, and to lend aid to the other portions of the church, till the month of Oct. 1531; when a Catholic force from the popish cantons marched against Zurich, and Zwingli, according to the usage of his country, bore the standard amid the citizens who attempted to repel them. The enemy were victorious, and Zwingli was slain near the commencement of the battle, and his body cut to pieces and burned to ashes. See the writers before referred to, particularly Hottinger, Gerdes, and Schroeckh; also the article *Zwingli*, in Recs' Cyclopædia.—His works were printed, Zurich, 1544-45, 4 vols. fol.—*Mur.* [In addition to the works mentioned in the beginning of this note on the Swiss reformation, the following may be added: The continuation of Ruchat, *Hist. de la Réform.* mentioned in note 3, page 562; Wirz, *Neuere Helvetische Kirchenges.* continued by Kirchhofer, Zur. 1813—19, 2 vols.; Hess, *Ursprung, Gang, u. Folgen der in Zurich Glaubensverbesserung*, &c. Zur. 1819, 4to. There are several lives of Zwingli. One by Hess in French, translated into English by Lucy Aikin, Lond. 1812. A much better one by Schuler, entitled, *Huldreich Zwingli, Geschichte seiner Bildung zum Reformator des Vaterlandes*, Leip. 1818. The same writer, a Swiss pastor, in connexion with Professor J. Schulthess of Zurich, have been for some years engaged in publishing a new edition of Zwingli's works, the first volume of which appeared at Zurich in 1829 and the eighth or last volume in 1843. The seventh volume contains the Latin letters of Zwingli, with those addressed to him by his correspondents, arranged chronologically; but they are not edited with the same care as those of Luther or Melancthon. M. Kirchhofer, mentioned above as the continuator of Wirz's history, has published lives of the following Swiss reformers; *Bertold Haller, oder die Reformation von Bern*, Zur. 1828; *Das Leben W. Farells aus den Quellen bearbeitet*, Zur 1831—33, 2 vols. translated and abridged by the London Tract Society, in one volume, 12mo. Lond. 1836. To these biographies of German Swiss Reformers may be added the following, which supplies a long felt want in that department; Herzog, *Das Leben Johannes Oekolampads und die Reformation der Kirche zu Basel.* Basil, 1843, 2 vols. We still want a complete edition of the collected works of this eminent reformer, who was not inferior to any of his contemporaries though much less known. The Reformers in French Switzerland will be noticed afterwards.—*R.*

[1] This charge against Zwingli in both parts of it appears to be wholly groundless. See Gerdes, *Hist. Reform.* tom. i. p. 287, *Supplementa.*—*Mur.*

[2] The friends of the pontiffs confess that Leo erred greatly in this matter. See Mayer's *Diss. de Pontificiis Leonis X. processum adversus Lutherum Improbantibus*, which is a part of the work he published at Hamburg, 1698, 4to, with the following title: *Ecclesia Romana Reformationis Lutheranæ Patrona et Cliens.* And there were at that time many wise and circumspect persons at Rome who did not hesitate publicly to avow their disapprobation of the violent counsels of Eckius and the Dominicans, and who wished to wait for the issue of Miltitz's embassy. [See Riederer's *Nachrichten zur Kirchen-Gelehrten-und Buchergeschichte*, Stuck ii. n. 18, p. 178, where there is an anonymous letter from Rome to Pirkheimer, saying: Scias neminem Romæ esse, si saltem sapiat, qui non certo certius sciat et cognoscat, Martinum in pluribus veritatem dicere, verum boni ob tyrannidis metum dissimulant, mali vero, quia veritatem audire coguntur, insaniunt. Inde illorum oritur indignatio pariter et metus; valde enim timent, ne res latius serpat. Hæc causa fuit, cur bulla tam atrox emanaverit, multis bonis et prudentibus viris reclamantibus, qui suadebant maturius consulendum, et Martino potius modestia et rationibus quam detestationibus occurrendum esse, hoc enim decere mansuetudinem, illud vero tyrannidem sapere, et rem mali exempli videri.—*Schl.*

licly signified that he would be no longer a subject of the Roman pontiff, and consequently that the second decree which was daily expected from Rome, would be nugatory. For whoever publicly burns the statute-book of his prince, protests by so doing that he will no longer respect and obey his authority; and one who has excluded himself from any society cannot afterwards be cast out of it. I must suppose that Luther acted in this matter with the advice of the jurists. Luther withdrew however only from the Romish church which looks upon the pontiff as infallible, and not from the church universal, the sentence of which pronounced in a legitimate and free council he did not refuse to obey. And this circumstance will show why wise men among the papists who were attached to the liberties of Germany, looked upon this bold act of Luther without offence.[1] Before one month after this heroic deed of Luther had elapsed, on the 4th day of January, 1521, the second bull of Leo against Luther was issued, in which he was expelled from the bosom of the Romish church for having contemned the authority of the pontiff.[2]

14. When these severe bulls had been issued against the person and doctrines of Luther and his friends, nothing remained for him but to attempt to found a new church opposed to that of Rome, and to establish a system of doctrine consonant to the holy Scriptures. For, to subject himself to the dominion of his most cruel enemy, would have been madness; and to return again contrary to the convictions of his own mind, to the errors he had opposed and rejected, would have been base and dishonest. From this time therefore he searched for the truth with redoubled ardour, and not only revised and confirmed more carefully the doctrines which he had already advanced, but likewise boldly attacked the very citadel of the pontifical authority and shook it to its foundation. In his heroic enterprise he had the aid of other excellent men in various parts of Europe, as well as of the doctors at Wittemberg who joined his party, and especially of Philip Melancthon. And as the fame of Luther's wisdom and heroism and the great learning of Melancthor, drew a vast number of young men to Wittemberg, the principles of the Reformation were spread with amazing rapidity through various nations.[3]

15. In the mean time [January 12th, 1519] the emperor Maximilian I. died, and his grandson Charles V. king of Spain was elected his successor on the 28th of July, A.D. 1519. Leo X. accordingly reminded the new emperor of the office he had assumed of advocate and defender of the church, and called upon him to inflict due punishment upon that rebellious member of the church Martin Luther. On the other hand, Frederick the Wise of Saxony counselled him not to proceed rashly and improperly against Luther, but to conduct the whole business according to the rights of the Germanic churches and the laws of the empire. Charles was under greater obligations to Frederick than to any other of the German princes. For it was principally by his efforts and zeal that Charles had obtained the imperial dignity, in preference to his very potent rival Francis I. king of France.[4] In order therefore to gratify both this friend (to whom he owed everything) and likewise the pontiff, he determined to give Luther a hearing before the diet to be assembled at Worms, prior to the passing of any decree against him. It may seem strange and contrary to ecclesiastical law, for an ecclesiastical cause to be discussed and subjected to examination before a diet. But it must be recollected that as the archbishops, bishops, and some of the abbots had seats among the princes, those Germanic diets were at the same time provincial councils of the German nation, to which, according

[1] Some modern jurists, as Schlegel tells us, have condemned this act of Luther as being a treasonable act against the established laws of the land. But it was not so in that age. For the canon law contained enactments only of the popes and councils, with which the civil powers were supposed to have no concern. It was the statute-book of a foreign and spiritual sovereign, who claimed jurisdiction equally over the temporal sovereigns of Germany and over their subjects. To burn this book therefore was treason against that foreign sovereign the pope; but not so against the temporal sovereigns of Germany. Luther's motives for this act he himself stated in a tract on the subject. Among them were these—first, that his enemies had burned his books and he must burn theirs in order to deter the people from reverencing them and being led astray by them; and secondly, that he had found thirty abominable assertions in the canon law, which rendered the book worthy of the flames.—*Mur.*

[2] Both these bulls are in the *Bullarium* [ed. Cherub. Luxemb. 1742, tom. i. p. 610, &c. p. 614, &c.—*Mur.*] and also in Pfaff's *Histor. Theol. Liter.* tom. ii. p. 42, &c. [The excommunicating bull was an attack upon the rights of the German churches. For Luther had appealed to an ecclesiastical council, and in consequence of this appeal the pope could no longer have jurisdiction of the case. Hence the number of Luther's friends increased the more after the publication of this bull.—*Schl.*

[3] On the rapid progress of the Reformation in Germany Gerdes treats particularly in his *Hist. Reform.* tom. ii.; also Grosch, in his *Vertheidigung der Evangelischen Kirche gegen Arnold*, p. 156, &c.

[4] During the six months of the interregnum, Frederick had been at the head of the Germanic empire, had refused the imperial crown offered to himself, and had greatly exerted himself to secure the election of Charles.—*Mur.* [On all these politico-religious incidents, the most satisfactory information is in Ranke's *Hist. of the Reformation.*—*R.*

to ancient canon law, the trial of such causes as that of Luther properly belonged.

16. Luther therefore appeared at Worms, protected by a safe conduct from the emperor, and on the 17th and 18th of April boldly pleaded his cause before the diet. Being called upon and admonished to renounce the opinions he had hitherto defended, and to become reconciled to the pope, he replied with great constancy that he would never do so, unless first convinced of error by proofs from the Holy Scriptures or from sound reason. And as neither promises nor menaces could move him from his purpose, he obtained indeed from the emperor the liberty of returning home unmolested, but after his departure on the 27th of May, by the joint voices of the emperor and the princes, he and his adherents were proscribed and declared to be enemies of the Roman-Germanic empire. His prince Frederic foreseeing this storm, caused him to be intercepted on his return near Eisenach by persons in disguise, and to be conducted to the castle of Wartburg (perhaps with the privity of the emperor); and in that castle, which he called his Patmos, he lay concealed ten months, beguiling the time very profitably with writing and study.[1]

17 From this his Patmos Luther returned to Wittemberg in the month of March, 1522, without the knowledge or consent of the elector Frederic; being influenced by the commotions which, he was informed, Carlstadt and others were exciting, hurtful to religion and the commonwealth. For in Luther's absence Andrew Carlstadt a doctor of Wittemberg, a man of learning and not ignorant of the truth, whom the pontiff at the instigation of Eck had excommunicated in conjunction with Luther, but a man of precipitancy and prone to an excess of ardour, had begun to destroy images and had put himself at the head of a fanatical sect who in several places greatly abused,

[1] See the writers mentioned by Fabricius, *Centifolium Lutheranum*, par. i. cap. xliii. p. 79—84, and par. ii. p. 563, &c. [This journey to Worms was a very perilous undertaking for Luther. His friends advised him not to go; and even the electoral prince, his sovereign, did not allow him to go till he had obtained for him a safe conduct from the emperor. This safe conduct however would have afforded him no protection against the operations of the papal bulls and the snares of his enemies, if the high-minded emperor had been willing to listen to those who whispered in his ear the inhuman and unchristian maxim, that a man is not to keep his promise to a heretic. But the emperor had nobler views; and Luther himself was so unshaken, that he would let nothing deter him from the journey; so that when he arrived in the territory of Worms and some persons in the name of his friend Spalatin warned him of his danger, he replied that he would go thither, if there were as many devils there as tiles on the roofs of their houses. [See the exact expression in Ranke's *Hist. of the Reform.* v. i. p. 533.—*R.*] He therefore proceeded fearlessly to Worms, and when there showed indescribable fortitude. He was conducted in his monkish dress from his lodgings to the assembled diet, by the marshal of the empire, Von Pappenheim; and two questions were now put to him by the official of the archbishop of Treves, namely, whether he acknowledged those books which were laid upon a bench before him, to be his productions; and whether he would recall the opinions contained in them. To the first question, Luther was on the point of answering at once affirmatively; but Dr. Jerome Schurf, a jurist of Wittemberg who had been assigned to him as his counsellor, reminded him that he should first ascertain whether there were not some books among them that were not his. So he heard the titles read over; and then answered to the first question, Yes. But to the second question, at the suggestion of his counsellor, he requested to be allowed till the next day to consider of his answer. The following day he appeared, and the question being repeated he answered by making distinctions. Some of his writings, he said, treated of a Christian's faith and life, others were directed against the papacy, and others against private individuals who defended the Romish tyranny and assailed his holy doctrines. As for the first, he could not renounce them, because even his enemies admitted that they contained much good matter; nor could he renounce the second, because that would be lending support to the papal tyranny; in those of the third class, he freely acknowledged that he had often been too vehement; yet he could not at once renounce them, unless it were first shown that he had gone too far. As the official now demanded of him a categorical answer, whether he would renounce, or not; he replied, that he could not, unless he was first convicted of error either by Scripture or by reason. And the official alleging that he must have erred, because he had contradicted the pope and the councils; he answered: The pope and ecclesiastical councils have often erred and have contradicted themselves. He at last closed with this declaration—Here I stand; I can say no more; God help me. Amen. After this, Luther appeared no more before the diet; but the emperor caused him to be informed that as he would not be reconciled to the church, the emperor would do as law required; he must however repair to his usual residence within twenty-one days. On the eighth of May, the bill of outlawry was drawn up against him; and it was published a few days after his departure. [Pallavicini says, *Hist. concil. Trident.* lib. i. c. xxviii. sec. vii. that the bill was drawn up May 25th, and signed May 26th, but dated back to May 8th. The reason it was said was, that the bill was passed at the close of the diet and when many of the members had retired, and it was wished to disguise that fact.—*Mur.*] By virtue of this bill, after the twenty-one days of the safe conduct expired, no man might harbour or conceal Luther on pain of treason; but whosoever might find him in any place, was to apprehend him and deliver him up to the emperor; and all his adherents were to be seized in the public streets, imprisoned, and stripped of all their goods. This arbitrary decree of the emperor contravened all the laws of humanity, as well as the rights of the German churches. For it required a man to renounce what he was not convinced was wrong; and on the assumption of the infallibility of the pope, condemned him against an intervening appeal to a council. This bill of outlawry however produced very little effect; and indeed the emperor does not seem to have been much in earnest in respect to it. For although the perplexed state of his affairs, the political movements of Europe, and the internal disquietude of his private territories, might call his attention to very different subjects from the execution of the edict of Worms, yet it is difficult to comprehend how Luther could safely return to Wittemberg, and there preach, and write, and teach, if the emperor did earnestly wish to give him trouble. Nay, he might easily have discovered his retreat at the Wartburg. But probably the emperor took no pains to discover him, in order to avoid collision either with the pontiff or the elector of Saxony. At the Wartburg Luther prosecuted the study of the Hebrew and Greek languages, commenced his German translation of the Scriptures, expounded some portions of the Bible, composed his Postills, and some other works.—*Schl.*

as usual, the dawning of liberty.[1] He therefore first energetically repressed the impetuosity of this man, wisely declaring that errors must first be extirpated from people's minds, before the objects of those errors can be advantageously removed. And to establish this principle by facts and by his own example, inviting certain learned men to aid him, he proceeded gradually to perfect and to finish the German translation of the Bible which he had commenced.[2] The event confirmed the excellence of his plan, for the parts of this work being successively published and circulated, the roots of inveterate errors were soon extirpated from the minds of vast numbers.

18. In the mean time Leo X. died, A.D. 1522. Hadrian VI. of Utrecht succeeded him by the aid of Charles V. whose tutor he had been. He was an honest man, and so ingenuous as to confess that the Christian church laboured under ruinous maladies, and to promise readily that he would correct them.[3] By Francis Chieregato, his legate to the diet of Nuremberg A.D. 1522 and onward, he indeed earnestly intreated that the punishment decreed against Luther and his adherents by the edict of Worms might no longer be delayed; but at the same time he showed himself ready to correct the evils which had armed so great an enemy against the church. The German princes, deeming this a favourable opportunity while the emperor was absent in Spain, demanded a free council, which should be held in Germany and should deliberate in the ancient manner on a general reformation of the church. They also exhibited a list of one hundred grievances of which the Germans complained as proceeding from the Romish court; and they passed a decree forbidding any further innovations in religious matters, till the council should

[1] Andrew Bodenstein, born at Carlstadt in Franconia and hence called in Latin Carolostadius, was a doctor of biblical learning, a canon, and archdeacon of the church of All Saints at Wittemberg, and professor of the university there. He supported Luther in the work of reformation, as appears from the history of the conference at Leipsic, and was highly esteemed by him, and is mentioned with praise in his writings. But in respect to the manner of effecting the reformation, these two men had very different views. Carlstadt would have the abuses of popery abolished at once, but Luther preferred a gradual process. The monks of Luther's fraternity at Wittemberg, the Augustinians, had, during his absence, begun to reform their monastery and to abolish the mass; and they now wished to effect the same reform in the city. But the court were afraid lest it should give offence both to other princes and cities and also to the citizens themselves; and the elector therefore called for the opinion of the professors at Wittemberg. Their opinion was in favour of abolishing the mass; but this did not satisfy the court. Luther, whose opinion was also asked, assumed the rational principle, that the reformation should commence not with the pictures nor with other external things, among which he accounted the mass, but with the understandings of the people; and to his opinion all the professors now subscribed, except only Carlstadt. He gathered around him the common people; and as soon as he thought himself strong enough, he broke out, and with a throng of enthusiastic followers rushed into the cathedral church, destroyed the pictures and the altar, and hindered the clergy from any longer saying mass. Melancthon was too timid to control this uproar. Luther therefore came forward, preached against these violent innovations, and restored tranquillity. From that time onward, there was a coldness between Luther and Carlstadt, which at length broke out into hostilities that were no honour to either of them.—*Schl.* [Luther has been taxed with opposing Carlstadt from motives of ambition, or from unwillingness that another should take the lead in anything. And this censure is repeated by Maclaine, Bower, &c. But Seckendorf (*Historia Lutheranismi*, lib. i. sec. cxxi. p. 197, 198), seems to have confuted the charge; which has no support except a single sentence in one of Luther's letters, in which he charges Carlstadt with wishing to be foremost; a charge, which Melancthon advanced in quite as strong terms. For an account of Carlstadt prior to 1522, see Gerdes, *Miscellan. Groning.* tom. i. p. 1, &c.—*Mur.* [Gerdes's work is entitled, *Scrinium Antiquarium sive Miscellanea Groningana*, in 4 vols. 4to, and contains a number of important papers. In the 4th vol. p. 221, &c. Gerdes has also collected fifty-one letters of Carlstadt addressed to Spalatin between the years 1516 and 1521, which throw further light on his character.—*R.*

[2] A history of Luther's German translation of the Holy Scriptures, which contributed more than anything else to establish the Lutheran church, was published by Mayer, Hamb. 1701. 4to. A much fuller history was long expected from Kraft, than whom no one laboured upon the subject with greater care, assiduity, and success, during many years. But a premature death frustrated our expectations. Compare Fabricius, *Centifolium Lutheranum*, par. i. p. 147, &c. and par. ii. p. 617, &c. [What Kraft was prevented by a premature death from accomplishing, has since been performed by Palm, in his *Historie der teutschen Bibelübersetzung Luthers*; which was published with notes by Götze, Halle, 1772, 4to; and Giese, *Historische Nachricht von dieser Bibelübersetzung*, published by Reiderer, Altdorf, 1771, 8vo.—*Schl.*

[3] See Burmann's *Hadrianus VI. sive Analecta historica de Hadriano VI. Papa Romano*; Utrecht, 1727, 4to. [This is a collection of historical papers relating to the life of this pope. Hadrian was of humble parentage, but of great attainments in scholastic theology; and therefore had long filled the office of a professor at Louvain. He had a natural aversion to pomp, extravagance, and luxury, and a very upright disposition. He therefore did not grasp the fire and sword in order to still the complaints of the Germans, but commenced with the reformation of his own court, curtailed his own table, dismissed all superfluous servants, and required of the cardinals a more retired life, and retrenchment in their expenses. But this was so displeasing to the Romans that they not only lampoored him much during his lifetime, but spoke very ill of him after his death. Indeed it has been suspected that they were instrumental to his death. So gratifying to the Romish populace was his decease, that the night after it took place the front door of his principal physician was decorated with a wreath of flowers, surmounted with the inscription — For the deliverer of his country.— *Schl.* [This pontiff was deeply sensible of vast corruption in the Romish church, and he was sincerely resolved to reform it as fast as possible. In his instructions to his legate to the diet of Nuremberg A.D. 1522, he authorized him to say: Scimus in hac sancta sede aliquot jam annis multa abominanda fuisse, abusus in spiritualibus, excessus in mandatis, et omnia denique in perversum mutata. Nec mirum si ægritudo a capite in membra a summis pontificibus in alios inferiores prælatos descenderit. Omnes nos (the prelates) et ecclesiastici declinavimus, unusquisque in vias suas, nec fuit jam diu, qui faceret bonum, non fuit usque ad unum. See Raynald's *Annales Eccles.* ad ann. 1522, sec. 70.—*Mur.* [See Ranke's very favourable estimate of Adrian's character, and his view of the difficulties by which this pope was surrounded, in his *History of the Popes of Rome*, &c. Austin's transl. v. 1. p. 92.—*R.*

decide what ought to be done.[1] For so long as the princes of Germany were ignorant of the plans under consideration in Saxony for establishing a new church in opposition to that of Rome, they were pretty well united in opposing the pontifical power, which they all felt to be excessive; nor were they much troubled about Luther's controversy with the pontiff, which they regarded merely as a private affair.

19. The honest pontiff Hadrian, after a short reign [of two years and eight months], died [September 24th] in the year 1523; and was succeeded, on the 19th of November, by Clement VII. a man less ingenuous and open hearted.[2] By another legate Lorenzo Campeggi in the same diet A.D. 1524, Clement censured immoderately the lenity of the princes in tolerating Luther, at the same time craftily suppressing all notice of the promise of a reformation made by Hadrian. The emperor seconded the demands of Campeggi, requiring by his minister that the decree of Worms should be confirmed. Overcome by these remonstrances, the princes changed indeed the language of the decree, but in reality corroborated it. For they engaged to enforce the edict of Worms to the extent of their power, but at the same time renewed their demand for a council, and referred all other questions to the next diet to be held at Spire. After the diet the pontifical legate retired with a number of the princes, most of whom were bishops, to Ratisbon; and from them he obtained a promise, that they would enforce the edict of Worms in their territories.

20. While the religious reformation by Luther was thus daily gathering strength in almost all parts of Europe, two very serious evils arose to retard its progress, the one internal and the other external. Among those whom the Romish bishop had excluded from the privileges of his community, a pernicious controversy respecting the manner in which the body and blood of Christ are present in the sacred supper, produced very great disunion. Luther and his adherents, while they rejected the dogma of the Romish school that the bread and wine are transmuted into the body and blood of Christ, yet maintained that persons coming to the sacred supper participated truly, though in an inexplicable manner, of the body and blood of Christ together with the bread and the wine.[3] His colleague Carlstadt held a different opinion.[4] And after him, Ulrich Zwingli much more fully and ingeniously maintained in his publications that the body and blood of the Lord are not present in the holy supper, but that the bread and the wine are merely symbols or emblems, by which people should be excited to commemorate the death of Christ and the blessings resulting to us from it.[5]

[1] See Georgius, *Gravamina Germanorum adversus sedem Romam.* lib. ii. p. 327. [The Gravamina are also inserted in Flacius, *Catalogus Testium veritatis*, No. 187.—*Schl.*

[2] See Ziegler's *Historia Clementis* VII. in Schelhorn's *Amœnitates Hist. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 210, &c. [Clement VII. was a kind of Leo X. and was previously called Julius de Medicis. He was of a very different spirit from Hadrian, was crafty and faithless, and made it his great aim through his whole reign to advance the interests of the pontifical chair. He therefore took all pains to thwart the designs of the Germans in regard to a general council for reforming the abuses of the papal court. See Walch's *Hist. der Römischen Päpste*, 379, &c.—*Schl.* [See also Ranke's *Hist. of the Popes of Rome*, v. i. p. 98.—*R.*

[3] Luther denied transubstantiation, that is, a transmutation of the substance of the bread and wine into the flesh and blood of Christ; yet he held consubstantiation, that is, a real and corporeal presence of the body and blood of Christ in, under, or along with, the bread and wine; so that the sacramental substances after consecration, became each of them twofold; namely, the bread became both bread and the flesh of Christ, and the wine became both wine and the blood of Christ. Sometimes however he represented the union of the two substances in each element as constituting but one substance, just as the union of the divine and human natures in Christ, still constituted but one person. The ubiquity of Christ's body was an obvious consequence of his doctrine, and one which he did not hesitate to admit. See Hospinian's *Historia Sacramentaria*, par. ii. p. 5, &c.—*Mur.*

[4] Carlstadt supposed that when Christ said, This is my body, he pointed to his body; so that the affirmation related solely to his real body and not to the sacramental bread. His foes charged him with denying any kind of presence of Christ in the sacrament, even a spiritual or sacramental presence. See Hospinian, *ubi supra*, p. 50, &c.—*Mur.*

[5] See Lœscher's *Hist. Motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformatos*, par. i. lib. i. cap. ii. p. 55; and on the other side, Scultetus, *Annales Evangelii*, in Von der Hardt's *Hist. Literar. Reformat.* p. 74, &c.; Hospinian [*Hist. Sacram.* par. ii.], and the others among the Reformed, who give account of the origin and progress of the controversy. [The Romish doctrine of the real or corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist, which was brought into the church principally by the efforts of Paschasius Radbert in the ninth century, (see above, p. 312, &c.), but which was warmly contested by Berengarius in the eleventh century, (see above, page 380, &c.), and openly denied by Wickliffe in the fifteenth (see above, page 498), was too absurd not to engage the attention of the Reformers. As early as A.D. 1513, Conrad Pelican and Wolfgang Fabricius Capito, in a private interview disclosed to each other their conviction of the absurdity of this doctrine. (See Gerdes, *Hist. Reform.* tom. i. p. 113.) Luther however while he denied the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation, yet maintained the real presence in the way called consubstantiation. Most of the other Reformers, especially in southern Germany and Switzerland, disbelieved the real or corporeal presence of Christ, and maintained only a spiritual presence. Yet they did not think it expedient to write or preach on the subject, till the public mind should be ripe for such a discussion. Indeed they were not fully settled in their own minds what form to give to the doctrine, or what interpretation to put upon the texts relied on in proof of the real presence. In the month of January, 1524, Zwingli offered to the senate of Zurich 67 doctrinal theses; in No. 18 of which he declared the eucharist to be not a sacrifice (non esse sacrificium), but a commemoration of the sacrifice once offered on the cross, and a seal of the redemption by Christ (sed sacrificii in cruce semel oblati commemorationem et quasi sigillum redemptionis per Christum). (See Gerdes, *ubi supra*, Append. p. 223.) These theses were cordially adopted by the senate of Zurich, and they met the general approbation of the Reformed in that vicinity. As early as the year 1521

As this doctrine was embraced by nearly all the Swiss, and by not a few divines in Upper Germany, and as Luther and his friends on the other hand strenuously contended for his doctrine, a long and painful controversy commenced in the year 1524, which at last, after many fruitless attempts at a compromise, produced a lamentable schism among those who seceded from the papal jurisdiction.

Cornelius Hone, a learned Dutch jurist, in a letter which was privately circulated, explicitly denied the corporeal presence and maintained that the word is, in the declaration of Christ, This is my body, is equivalent to, represents or denotes. (See the Letter, in Gerdes, *ubi supra*, Append. p. 228—240.) This letter Zwingli first read in 1524, and approving of it perfectly he the next year caused it to be published. In the same year, 1524, Zwingli wrote a letter to a friend in which he fully declares his belief that the bread and wine were merely emblems or representatives of Christ's body and blood; but he charged his friend not to make the letter public, lest it should produce commotion. The letter however was published the next year. At Wittemberg, Carlstadt was the first to reject and impugn the doctrine of the real presence. After his rebuke from Luther (for destroying the altars and images at Wittemberg in 1522), he retired to Orlamund not far from Leipsic, and there becoming a parish minister, he inveighed against images and the mass, and denied the doctrine of the real presence. The people fell in with his views to the great dissatisfaction of the elector and Luther. Therefore in Aug. 1524, Luther was sent to reclaim the wandering people. At Jena he declaimed against the innovators with great warmth. Carlstadt was present, and feeling himself injured by this public attack, went to Luther's lodgings and complained of his abuse. Hard words were used on both sides. Carlstadt taxed Luther with erroneous doctrine, particularly in regard to the real presence. Luther challenged him to a public controversy on the subject. Carlstadt accepted the challenge; but being soon banished from Saxony, and retiring first to Strasburg and then to Basil, it was from the last of these places he issued his first publication. (See the account of the dispute at Jena, in Luther's works, vol. ii. fol. 446, &c. ed. Jena, 1580.) Among the tracts here published by Carlstadt, one was entitled: On the words of Christ, This is my body. He supposed Christ to have pointed to his body when he uttered these words, and to have intended to indicate that the sacramental bread was an emblem of his body. Luther now wrote to the Strasburgers against Carlstadt. Capito and Bucer both published tracts on the dispute between Luther and Carlstadt, endeavouring to exhibit the difference in doctrine as not material, and to stop controversy on the subject. But early the next year, 1525, Luther issued his full and keen reply to Carlstadt, entitled, *Against the Heavenly Prophets*, in two parts. Œcolampadius, Zwingli, and others in South Germany and Switzerland, viewed Carlstadt as substantially correct in doctrine, but not happy in his statements and reasonings. Zwingli compared him to a new recruit who did not know how to put on his armour. And as the subject of the eucharist was now under discussion, and the writings of both Luther and Carlstadt circulating around them, they deemed it proper to engage in the controversy, and endeavour to enlighten and guide their people to right conclusions. Both Œcolampadius and Zwingli, therefore, published their views of the controversy. [In November, 1524, Zwingli first published his opinion on this question in a letter to a parish priest at Reutlingen.—*R.*] And in March, 1525, Zwingli published his *Commentarius de vera et falsa Religione*; in which he distinctly but concisely stated his views of the eucharist. And in June following, he enlarged on that point in his *Subsidium de Eucharistia*. Œcolampadius's principal publication was in the form of a letter addressed to his friends in Swabia, and entitled, "A Genuine Exposition of the Words of our Lord, 'This is my body,' according to the most ancient authors." Zwingli and Œcolampadius both maintained the bread and wine to be mere symbols or representatives of Christ's body and blood. But they differed as to the interpretation of the words, "This is my body." Zwingli adopted Hone's opinion, that the word is, is used catachrestically for represents; but Œcolampadius placed the trope on the word body, supposing it to be used metonymically for memorial or emblem of my body. Bugenhagen of Wittemberg, now wrote against Zwingli and Œcolampadius, and Zwingli replied to him. In the year 1526, Brentius and fourteen other ministers of Swabia replied to Œcolampadius, in a work entitled, *Syngramma Suevicum;* which was soon translated into German, and published with a harsh preface by Luther. Œcolampadius and Zwingli both replied to Luther's preface. Luther now published his sermon against the Enthusiasts, to which Zwingli wrote two letters in reply. Martin Bucer also wrote to Brentius and the other Swabians, censuring their indiscreet zeal. On the other side, Bugenhagen of Wittemberg published a letter against Zwingli and the Reformed; to which Zwingli and also Michael Cellarius of Augsburg replied. Conrad Pellican and Leo Juda appeared on the side of the Reformed; and Erasmus, Bilianus, and Osiander, on that of the Lutherans. In the year 1527, Zwingli addressed a work to Luther entitled, *Amica Exegesis, id est, Expositio Eucharistiæ Negotii.* And about the same time Luther published his very severe German work, entitled, "That the Words of Christ, 'This is my body,' still stand fast, against the enthusiastic spirits." Œcolampadius replied, and also Zwingli; the latter, in a German work entitled, "That the words of Christ, &c. will ever have their ancient and only meaning, and that M. Luther, in his last work, has not substantiated his and the pope's sense." In this year, Bugenhagen, Pirkheimer, Clichtovius, and bishop Fisher of England, came out against the Reformed; but Regiusand Billicanus espoused their cause. In 1528, Luther published his most methodical work on this subject, entitled a Confession of Faith respecting the Lord's Supper; to which both Œcolampadius and Zwingli replied; the latter in a long and elaborate work, addressed to John elector of Saxony and Philip landgrave of Hesse. Bucer also replied to it. And Œcolampadius wrote to Melancthon, requesting him to use efforts for moderating the hostility of the Lutherans towards the Reformed, who only claimed toleration and brotherly affection. In 1529, several letters passed between Œcolampadius and Melancthon. The Strasburgers and Erasmus also exchanged polemic letters on the doctrine. In September of this year, Philip landgrave of Hesse, invited the Lutheran and Reformed champions to a friendly conference at Marpurg. The Lutherans reluctantly attended, being resolved not to make peace with those who should deny the real presence, and despairing of convincing the Reformed on that subject. Luther, Melancthon, and Justus Jonas, from Saxony, Andrew Osiander of Nuremberg, Brentius of Halle in Swabia, and Stephen Agricola of Augsburg, were present on the side of the Lutherans. On the side of the Reformed, Zwingli, Œcolampadius, Bucer, and Hedio, attended without hesitation. In the discussion, Luther and Œcolampadius were pitted against each other; and also Zwingli and Melancthon. They agreed perfectly on fourteen essential articles of faith, but could not agree respecting the real presence. The landgrave wished them nevertheless to view each other as brethren. Zwingli and his friends heartily consented, but Luther refused. In November of this year the Lutheran states entered into an alliance, called the league of Smalcald; but refused to admit the Strasburgers and the other reformed cities and states into it. In 1530, the Lutherans, the Strasburgers, and also Zwingli, severally presented confessions of their faith to the diet of Augsburg; all drawn up with moderation and care. The princes perceived their agreement in all essential points, and were disposed to admit the Reformed to the league. But Luther and Melancthon opposed it, and prevailed. Philip however, landgrave of Hesse, entered into a league with the Reformed for mutual defence against the papists. And Strasburg, Zurich, Basil and Berne formed an alliance for the same purpose, for fifteen years. In this year, Melancthon published his testimonies from the fathers in favour of

21. Unconnected with the Lutheran community there arose in the year 1525, like a sudden tornado, an innumerable multitude of seditious and delirious fanatics in various parts of Germany, who declared war against the laws and the magistrates, and spread rapine, conflagration, and slaughter through the community. The greatest part of this furious rabble consisted of peasants, who were discontented under the government of their lords; and hence this calamity has been commonly called the war of the peasants.[1] Yet it is manifest there were not a few persons of various descriptions engaged in it; some were fanatics, others vicious and idle persons allured by the hope of living comfortably on the fruits of other people's labour. This sedition at its commencement was altogether of a civil nature, as appears from the paper published by them; for these peasants only wished to be relieved of some part of their burdens and to enjoy greater freedom. Respecting religion there was no great dispute. But when the fanatic Thomas Munzer, who had before deceived several by his fictitious visions and dreams, and some other persons of a similar character, had joined this irritated multitude, from being a civil commotion it became, especially in Saxony and Thuringia, a religious or holy war. The sentiments however of this dissolute and infuriate rabble were very different. Some demanded an unintelligible freedom from law and the abrogation of all lordships; others only wished to have their taxes and their burdens as citizens made lighter; others contemplated the formation of a new and perfectly pure church and pretended to be inspired; and others again were hurried away by their passions and their hatred of the magistrates, but without having any very definite object in view. Hence though it must be admitted that many of them misunderstood Luther's doctrine concerning Christian liberty, and thence took occasion to run wild, yet it is a great mistake to ascribe to the influence of Luther's doctrines all the blame of this phrensy. Indeed Luther himself sufficiently refuted this calumny by publishing books expressly against this turbulent faction. The storm subsided after the unfortunate battle of the peasants with the army of the German princes at Mulhausen A.D. 1525, in which Munzer was taken prisoner and subjected to capital punishment.[2]

the real presence; and Œcolampadius replied elaborately in the form of a dialogue. In 1531, Zwingli and Œcolampadius both died; and the Reformed, weakened by the loss of these two great men and pressed with danger from the papists, against whom their Lutheran brethren would not befriend them so long as they denied the real presence, began to waver and try to swallow the Lutheran creed. Bucer led the way, and the Strasburgers followed him. The controversy subsided in a great measure. Yet the Swiss and numerous others continued to deny the real corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist. It was this controversy which produced the division of the Protestants into the two great bodies of Lutherans and Reformed. See, for the facts here condensed, the authors mentioned at the beginning of this note, and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. i. p. 351, &c. and p. 420, &c.—*Mur.* [See Ranke's account of the commencement of this unhappy controversy, *Hist. of the Reform.* vol. iii. p. 88, &c.; of the conference at Marpurg, p. 189, &c.; and of Butzer's (Bucer's German name) attempt at reconciliation. p. 381, &c. Much additional light is cast upon these incidents by this candid and philosophic historian.—*R.*

[1] Such insurrections of the peasants had been very common before the time of Luther, as appears from numerous examples. Hence the author of the *Chronicon Danicum*, published by Ludewig, *Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum*, tom. ix. p. 59, calls them the common evil (*commune malum*). See also p. 80 and 133. This will not appear strange, if it be recollected that the condition of the peasants in most places was much more insupportable than at the present day; and that the oppression of many of the barons, prior to the reformation, was really intolerable. [In many places the peasants were treated as slaves or serfs, and bought and sold with the lands to which they were attached. And the landlords, the barons, bishops, abbots, and priests, were generally disposed to oppress and grind their tenants to the utmost. Hence they were perpetually rebelling in one place or another. Thus A.D. 1492, the Netherland peasantry appeared in arms to the number of 6,000; and about the same time, there was an insurrection against the abbot of Kempton in Swabia. In the bishopric of Spire there was another in 1503, and one at Wittenberg in 1514. The next year there was one in the Austrian dominions, in which 2,000 peasants were slain. It spread into Hungary and some other countries, 400 of the nobility and gentry were butchered by the insurgents; and the whole number that perished on both sides was estimated at 70,000. In 1517 there was another on the borders of Austria and Croatia. See Seckendorf's *Comment. De Lutheranismo*, lib. ii. sec. 1.—*Mur.*

[2] Gnodalius, *Historia de Seditione Repentina Vulgi, præcipue Rusticorum* A.D. 1525, *tempore vesno, per Universam fere Germaniam Exorta*, Basil, 1570, 8vo. See also Cyprian's additions to Tenzel's *Hist. Reformat.* tom. ii. p. 331, &c. [This commotion of the peasants commenced in the year 1524, and in Swabia where some subjects of the spiritual princes, civil dukes, and nobles complained of their heavy burdens and feudal services, and demanded a relaxation. Their lords repulsed them harshly, cast some of them into prison, and even put some to death. This enkindled their rage, and presently a host of peasants were to be seen in Swabia and Franconia, who roamed from one district to another and united the disaffected to their standard. Their rulers now gave them kind words, but it was too late; and they refused to lay down their arms till certain articles were conceded to them. Among these the first was, the right of electing their own preachers. And this was the only article which related to religion. They wished for preachers who would have no respect of persons. Yet they afterwards dropped this demand. They demanded further the abolition of personal slavery. The tithe of produce they were willing to pay; but it must go to the support of the preachers and the poor, and to promote the public interests of the people and the country. From the tithe of cattle or the lesser tithe, they demanded to be made free. They also demanded that hunting and fishing should be free in the public forests, seas, and rivers, and the cutting of timber, and required a diminution of the personal services to be rendered to their landlords, and a reduction of the fines and penalties imposed, &c. At the same time they declared that they would withdraw their demands and return to obedience to their lords, if it could be shown that their demands were unreasonable: for they were not insensible that the Scriptures required obedience to magistrates. [See their own statement of their grievances in Luther's works, ed. Jena, 1580, vol. iii.

22. When this alarming insurrection was at its height Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, died A.D. 1525. While he lived he had been a kind of mediator between the Roman pontiff and Luther; nor would he give up the hope that a righteous and honourable peace might finally be established between the contending parties, without the formation of separate communities under different regulations. Hence he did not thwart but even favoured Luther's designs of purifying and reforming the church; yet he took little pains to organise and regulate the churches in his territories. John his brother and successor was of a very different character. Being fully satisfied of the truth of Luther's doctrines, and clearly perceiving that either those doctrines must be sacrificed or the papal authority be discarded, he assumed to himself the entire jurisdiction in religious matters, and had no hesitation to establish and organise a church totally distinct from that of the pontiff. He therefore caused regulations in regard to the constitution and government of the churches, the form and mode of public worship, the official duties and salaries of the clergy, and other things connected with the interests of religion, to be drawn up by Luther and Melancthon, and to be promulgated in the year 1527 by his deputies; and he likewise took care that pious and competent teachers should be placed over all the churches, and that unsuitable ones should be excluded. His example was soon followed by the other princes and states of Germany who had cast off the dominion of the Roman pontiff; so that nearly the same institutions as he had introduced were adopted by them. This prince may therefore not improperly be considered the second parent and founder of the Lutheran church, since he it was who gave it salutary regulations and the supports of law, and separated it wholly from the Romish church. But it was from the time of this elector John that the dissensions of the German princes in regard to religious and ecclesiastical subjects had their commencement, having previously been very slight. The prudence of Frederick the Wise had kept their minds under restraint and in a good degree united. But when the various proceedings of John made it obvious that he designed to separate the churches of his territory entirely from the church of Rome, instantly the minds of the princes who had heretofore moved in tolerable harmony became at variance, some preferring the old religion of their fathers and others the reformed religion.

23. The patrons of the old religion, without much disguise, consulted together respecting an attack to be made upon the Lutheran party by force of arms. And they would undoubtedly have carried their plans into operation, if they had not been prevented by the troubled state of Europe. The leading men among those who embraced the reformed religion, perceiving the designs of the other party, began also to consult together about forming an alliance among themselves.[1] The diet of Spire in 1526, at

fol. 111, followed by Luther's comments and exhortations to the peasants.—*Mur.*] They named Luther for their arbiter; and he endeavoured to enlighten them by his sermons and writings. But the rulers themselves were the cause of the spread and prevalence of the insurrection. Fair promises were made to those who would lay down their arms, but the promises were not fulfilled; nay, many were violently seized and put to death. In this state of things fanatics came among them and prompted the irritated multitude to renew their first demand, to aim higher, and to wage war against the clergy and nobility with the greatest cruelty. The most prominent of these fanatics were Thomas Munzer and one Pfeiffer, a renouncing Præmonstratensian monk. Munzer was a friend of those visionaries, Nicholas Stork, Mark Stubner, and Martin Cellarius, who had commenced the disturbances at Wittemberg under the patronage of Carlstadt, but who were expelled from Wittemberg on Luther's return thither from Wartburg. He had been a preacher at Zwickau and at Altstadt, and had clearly shown by his writings and his sermons that he was not satisfied with Luther's reformation. (See Loescher's *Stromata*, sec. x. p. 218, &c.; and Fuesslin's *Beyträge*, vol. v. p. 136, 410.) He wished to abolish all distinctions of rank and all subordination, and to introduce a perfect equality in society; and he believed that Christ himself would soon come and set up the heavenly Jerusalem on the earth, in which there would be no civil laws, no penalties, no burdens imposed, &c. As he met with resistance generally in Saxony, he travelled over Thuringia, Franconia, and Swabia, as far as the boundaries of Switzerland; and he blew the fire of insurrection everywhere by his influence, until it finally burst into a flame.—*Schl.* [Meeting opposition at the south, he returned to the north and headed the insurgents of Thuringia, hoping for co-operation from those of Swabia. But the Swabian insurgents were attacked and slaughtered in their several camps to the number, it is said, of 70,000. In the mean time those of Thuringia, to the number of 8,000, were assembled at Mulhausen, with Munzer for their prophet and leader. The neighbouring princes offered them capitulation which they refused, relying on the assurance of Munzer that God would miraculously destroy their adversaries and preserve them. In the battle 4,000 of the peasants (some say more) were slain. Munzer and Pfeiffer were taken and beheaded. Thus ended this war of the peasants in the summer of 1525, in which, according to some, near 130,000 persons lost their lives. See Seckendorf, *Comment. de Lutheran.* lib. ii. sec. i. &c.; Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. i. p. 339, &c.; and Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzer Historie*, part ii. b. xvi. chap. ii. vol. i. p. 626—630, ed. 1741.—*Mur.* [No one in this country can well understand this distressing episode in German history who has not read Ranke's exposition of its causes, and his account of its progress and issue, in his *Hist. of the Reform.* vol. ii. p. 202, &c. See also Mrs. Sinnett's *Bye-ways of History*, Lond. 1847, 2 vols. the second volume of which is devoted to the history of this insurrection and an exposition of its causes.—*R.*

[1] The war of the peasants had caused repeated consultations between the neighbouring princes. And when the danger from that source began to diminish, the indications of a combination among the Catholic princes under the countenance of the emperor, led the Lutheran princes and states to hold correspondence and conventions, and at length to form alliances. In the winter of 1526 the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse invited the senate of Nuremberg to meet

which Ferdinand the emperor's brother presided, had a more favourable issue for the Lutheran cause than could have been anticipated. The emperor by his envoys required that all contentions respecting religious subjects should cease, and that the edict of Worms against Luther and his associates should be confirmed. But many of the princes declared that it was not in their power to carry this edict into operation, or to pass any definite decisions on the subject until a general council duly assembled should have examined and judged the case; for to such a body it pertained to take cognizance of such matters. This sentiment prevailed after long and various discussions; and a unanimous resolve was passed that a petition should be presented to the emperor, urging him to call a free council without delay; and that in the mean time every one should be at liberty to manage the religious concerns of his own territory in the manner he saw fit, yet under a due sense of his accountability to God and to the emperor for the course he might pursue.

24. Nothing could have taken place more favourable to the cause of those who deemed a religious reformation necessary than this decree. For the emperor was so occupied and perplexed with his French, Spanish, and Italian affairs, that during several years he could not give much attention to the affairs of Germany, and especially to the difficult subject of religion. And if he had been able to do something favourable to the pontifical interests during the religious disputes in Germany, he doubtless lacked the inclination. For the Roman pontiff Clement VII. after Francis I. the king of France had been vanquished, dreading the power of the emperor in Italy, entered into an alliance with the French and the Venetians against him; and this so inflamed the resentment of Charles that he abolished the pontifical authority throughout Spain, made war upon the pope in Italy, captured the city of Rome in 1527 by his general Charles of Bourbon, besieged the pontiff himself in the castle of St. Angelo, and permitted him to be treated with much personal abuse and indignity.[1] The professors of the reformed religion therefore improved this opportunity and [the liberty given by] the edict of Spire with great advantage for strengthening and extending their cause. Some whom the fear of punishment had hitherto restrained from attempting any innovations, now unhesitatingly banished the old superstition from their territories, and caused that system of religion and those forms of worship to be introduced which had been adopted in Saxony. Others, though they did not themselves attempt anything against the papal interests, yet gave no molestation to those who persuaded their people to renounce the pontiff; nor did they oppose the assembling in private of such as had withdrawn from his allegiance. And all those in Germany who had before rejected the Romish authority, now carefully employed the liberty afforded them to strengthen their cause and to regulate properly their religious affairs. During this period Luther and his associates, especially those who resided with him at Wittemberg, by their writings, their preaching, their admonitions, and their refutations, added courage to the irresolute and imparted light and animation to all.[2]

them at Torgau for such a consultation. The senate excused itself; but the two princes met on the 4th of May, and entered into an alliance for mutual defence, much the same as the league of Smalcald a few years after. They also invited other Lutheran states to come into this alliance, which was renewed at Magdeburg on the 12th of June of the same year. See Seckendorf, *Comment. de Lutheranismo*, lib. ii. sec. xv. addit. ii.—*Mur.*

[1] See Robertson's *History of Charles V.* vol. ii. (book iv.); Sleidan's *Commentar. de Statu Relig. et Reipubl.* lib. iv. and others.—*Schl.*

[2] It was in this interval, or from A.D. 1526, that the elector of Saxony caused the noted visitation of the churches throughout his dominions. Luther being sick, Melancthon with the aid of two or three civilians drew up the instructions to the visiters. The elector's territories were divided into four districts, and different sets of visiters appointed for each, consisting of one or two clergymen and three or more civilians. Luther was the clerical visiter for Saxony Proper, and Melancthon was a visiter for Misnia. The visiters were to take account of the state of all the parishes, monasteries, schools, and cathedrals. They were to examine into the character and conduct of all the clergy, the monks, and school teachers, with power to remove improper men, to supply vacancies, and to assign and regulate the salaries of all. They were also to appoint superintendents, who were to be competent clergymen, commissioned to examine all young ministers and to watch over the clergy within certain limits, to admonish the unfaithful, and if they did not reform to report them to the civil authorities that the sovereign might call them to account or dismiss them as he saw fit. The visiters were also to see that schools were set up in all the parishes and provided with competent teachers, to assign the salaries of the masters, and to prescribe rules and regulations for the schools. They were directed not to spare the vicious and profligate, but to deal tenderly with the ignorant, the aged, and infirm, and such as laboured under honest prejudices. They must cause the true faith and sound practical religion to be everywhere preached; and if they found any who conscientiously desired other preaching, they were to afford them every facility to remove to places where they could enjoy it. Similar visitations were instituted by other Lutheran princes. On his return from this visitation Luther was so impressed with the ignorance of both the clergy and laity in a large part of the country, that he sat down to write his catechisms for their use. See an account of this visitation in Seckendorf's *Comment. de Lutheranis.* lib. ii. sec. xxxvi. xxxvii. p. 100–108.—*Mur.* [It was at the very commencement of this favourable interval, or immediately after the Diet of Spire, that the enterprising Landgrave of Hesse effected the reformation of his principality, and was the first to constitute a national church in conformity with the newly recovered doctrines, under the guidance of Francis Lambert. The Hessian church constitution, which was organized and established so early as October 1526, is a very remarkable one, not only as being the

25. This tranquillity was interrupted by the second diet of Spire in 1529, which the emperor called in the spring after settling in some measure the disquieted affairs of his empire, and coming to a compromise with the pontiff Clement VII. For a decree was passed by a majority, by which the power granted three years before to every prince to regulate religious matters in his own territories as he saw fit until the meeting of a general council, was revoked; and all changes in the public religion were declared to be unlawful until the decision of the council should take place. This decree could not fail to appear grievous and insupportable to the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the other patrons of the Reformation. For no one could be so ignorant as not to know that the promises of a council to be soon assembled, were intended only to soothe their feelings; and that anything could be sooner obtained of the Roman pontiff than a legitimate and free council. Therefore when they found that their arguments and reasonings made no impression upon Ferdinand, the emperor's brother who presided in the diet, and upon the adherents to the old religion who were guided by the pontifical legate, they publicly remonstrated against this decree, or, in the language of the jurists, they protested against it on the 19th of April and appealed to the emperor and to a future council. Hence originated the name of Protestants, borne from this time onward by those who have forsaken the communion of the Roman pontiff.[1]

26. The protectors of the reformed churches, or the Protestant princes as they were called, immediately despatched envoys to the emperor then on his way from Spain to Italy, to acquaint him with the stand they had taken at the diet of Spire. But these envoys fulfilling their commission in a manly style, and daring to manifest the same firmness as those who sent them, were put under arrest by order of the emperor and were held in that situation for a number of days. The princes anxious for the Reformation, on learning this fact, concluded that their own safety depended wholly on their union and their power to defend themselves; and therefore they held several conventions at Rothach, Schwabach, Nuremberg, Smalcald, and other places, for the purpose of entering into a closer alliance for repelling the attacks of their enemies. But nothing definite was agreed upon, in consequence of the diversity of their opinions and views.[2]

27. Among the hinderances to a cordial union among those who withdrew from the Romish church, the greatest was the disagreement between the Saxon and Helvetic reformers respecting the Lord's Supper. Hence in order to bring this controversy to a close, Philip landgrave of Hesse appointed a conference between Luther and Zwingli and some other principal doctors of both parties, to be held at Marpurg in 1529, with a view to a compromise. But this truly magnanimous prince, as he was properly styled, was disappointed in his expectations. The assembled theologians disputed in presence of the landgrave four days, or from the first day of October till the fourth, and particularly Luther with Œcolampadius and Melancthon with Zwingli, on the various allegations against the Helvetians. For Zwingli was regarded by the Saxons as not only teaching falsely respecting the Lord's Supper, but as holding erroneous views respecting the divinity of the Saviour, the efficacy of the divine word, original sin, and some other subjects. Zwingli and his companions replied to these accusations in such a manner as to satisfy Luther in regard to most of them. But the disagreement respecting the Lord's Supper could not be at all removed, both parties firmly persisting in their respective opinions.[3]

first which emanated from the Reformation, but still more so, as being based on the most popular principles. In its foundation it was congregational, but its superstructure was presbyterian; and that too of a freer and more scriptural type than what was afterwards established by Calvin in Geneva. Both it and its founder, Lambert, deserve to be better known than they are in this country.—*R.*

[1] The princes and states which joined in this protest were, the elector John of Saxony, the margrave George of Brandenburg, Onolzbach and Culmbach, the dukes Ernest and Francis of Luneburg, the landgrave Philip of Hesse, Wolfgang prince of Anhalt, and fourteen imperial cities—namely, Strasburg, Ulm, Nuremberg, Constance, Reutlingen, Windsheim, Memmingen, Lindau, Kempten, Heilbron, Isny, Weissenburg, Nordlingen and St. Gall. They appealed to the emperor, to a future general or free council of the German nation, and lastly to every impartial judge. For they believed that a majority of votes in a diet could decide a secular question, but not a spiritual or religious question. They appealed to the emperor, not as recognising him as their judge in a matter of religion, but merely that he might allow their appeal to a council to be valid. And they subjoined the appeal to a council because, according to the ecclesiastical law of Germany, religious controversies are not to be decided by decrees of a diet, but by a national council. We may also here remark that this was not the first protest; but that in the year 1523, at the diet of Nuremberg, the elector of Saxony and the evangelical dukes and imperial cities protested against the decree of the diet. See Walch's *Diss. Historica de Liberis Imperii Civitatibus a pace Religionis nunquam exclusis*, Gotting. 1755, 4to.—*Schl.*

[2] See Salig's *History of the Augsburg Confession*, written in German, vol. i. book ii. chap. i. p. 128; but especially Muller's *Historie von der Evangelischen Stände Protestation gegen den Speyerschen Reichsabschied von* 1529, *Appellation*, &c. Jena, 1705, 4to.

[3] Lœscher's *Historia Motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformatos*, tom. i. lib. i. cap. vi. p. 143, &c.; Bullinger's *Historia Colloquii Marpurgensis*, in Fueslin's *Beyträge zur Schweitzer. Reformat. Geschichte*, vol. iii. p. 156; also Fueslin's *Preface*, p. 80; Scultetus.

The only advantage therefore derived from the conference was, that the parties entered into a kind of truce, and depended on God and the influence of time to heal the dissension.

28. The ministers of the churches which embraced the doctrines of Luther were preparing a new embassy to the emperor, when it was announced that he was coming into Germany, and intended to examine and decide the controversies respecting religion at the diet to be held at Augsburg. For the emperor, after learning the opinions of wise men respecting the momentous business, had become softened down in his feelings, and had laboured with great earnestness first at Bologna to persuade the pontiff of the necessity of calling a council. But being utterly unable to prevail, and the pontiff urging in return that it was the emperor's duty to succour the church, and to punish without delay the perverse faction of the heretics, he came to the conclusion that it would be unjust and a violation of the imperial laws of Germany, to condemn worthy citizens unheard and to make war upon them. At that time there was not extant any good formula of the religion professed by Luther and his friends, from which might be learned clearly what were their views on religious subjects, and what the grounds of their opposition to the Roman pontiffs; and as the approaching solemn investigation of the whole subject rendered such a paper exceedingly necessary, John the elector of Saxony directed Luther and some other of the most eminent doctors, to draw up a brief summary of the doctrines of the reformed religion. Luther conceived that the seventeen articles agreed to in the convention at Schwabach in the year 1529, were sufficient; and accordingly he exhibited them to the elector at Torgau, whence they were called the Articles of Torgau.[1] From these articles as the basis, Philip Melancthon by order and authority of the princes drew up and put into more free and agreeable language partly at Coburg and partly at Augsburg holding consultation all the while with Luther, that confession of faith which is called the Augsburg Confession.[2]

29. During these transactions there was scarcely any part of Europe on which the light of the religious reformation by Luther did not shed its radiance, and likewise animate with the hope of regaining its liberty. Some of the more important countries also had now openly rejected the Romish institutions and laws. The Romish bishop therefore had sufficient reason to represent to the emperor the necessity of hastening the destruction of the factious people, and to fear the overthrow of his whole empire. Not long after the commencement of Luther's attack upon the Romish church, Olaus Petri a disciple of Luther first imbued the Swedes with a knowledge of the truth. His efforts were nobly seconded by Gustavus Vasa, whom the Swedes, after expelling Christiern king of Denmark, had created king [A.D. 1523—1561] and who was a heroic prince and very zealous for the public good. He had been in exile while Christiern was laying waste his country, and had acquired at Lubec some knowledge of the Lutheran religion, which he considered not only as the true religion of the Scriptures but also as salutary for Sweden in its present state. That he might not appear to do anything rashly, while the minds of the people were distracted between the old religion and the new, and not to depart from the principles of the Lutheran religion, he determined to proceed gradually and with caution. He therefore first invited learned men from Germany who were competent teachers, and directed them to instruct the people in a knowledge of the Bible; and he caused the Holy Scriptures as translated by Olaus Petri to be published and disseminated. He next in the year 1526 directed this translator of the Swedish Bible, to hold a public discussion on religious subjects at Upsal with Peter Gallius a strenuous defender of popery. And Gallius being vanquished in the discussion, he at length in the assembly of the states at Westeras A.D. 1527, so powerfully and ju-

Annales Reformat. ad ann. 1529; Hospinian's *Historia Sacramentaria*, par. ii. p. 72, &c. [See above, p. 577, note 5. Hospinian's History contains (par. ii. p. 123, &c. ed. Geneva, 1681) the whole proceedings of the conference by Rodolph Collin, a schoolmaster of Zurich who attended Zwingle to Marpurg, took minutes of all the discussions, and then drew them out into a regular account; likewise accounts of this conference, given in private letters to their friends, by Melancthon (p. 132 and 134), by Luther (p. 135), by Œcolampadius (p. 137), and by Bucer (p. 138); also a reply of the ministers of Zurich A.D. 1544, to false reports respecting the conference.—*Mur.*

[1] See Heumann's *Diss. de Lenitate Augustanæ Confess.* in the *Sylloge Dissert. Theologicar.* tom. i. p. 14, &c.; Müller's *Historie von d. Evang. Stände*, &c. and most of the historians of the Reformation and of the Augsburg Confession. [For instance, Walch's *Introductio in Libros Eccles. Luth. symbolicos*, lib. i. c. iii. sec. 2—9.—*Mur.*

[2] On the whole of the previous history of the Reformation up to the close of the diet at Augsburg, the reader should consult Merle D'Aubigné's *Hist. of the Reformation*, whose fourth or last published volume closes the narrative of the German Reformation with this diet. See also on the Diet and Confession of Augsburg, Ranke's admirable account, in his *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 254, &c. The Confession itself may be seen in any of the collections of the symbolical books of the Lutheran or Evangelical (*i. e.* the modern Prussian) church by Walch, Tittmann, Hase, and others.—*R*

diciously recommended the reformed religion of Luther to the representatives of the nation, that after long discussions and strenuous opposition from the bishops, it was harmoniously decreed that the reformed religion should be introduced. This decision was the effect especially of the firmness and resolution of the king; who declared publicly that he would rather resign his crown and retire from the kingdom, than rule over a people subjected to the laws and the authority of the Roman pontiff, and more obedient to their bishops than to their king.[1] From this time onward therefore the whole power of the Roman pontiffs among the Swedes was entirely prostrate.

30. Christian II. commonly called Christiern, king of Denmark [A.D. 1513—1523], who was either from natural temperament or from the influence of bad counsels an oppressive and cruel monarch, endeavoured to imbue the Danes with a knowledge of the Lutheran religion as early as the year 1521. For he first invited Martin Reynhard a disciple of Carlstadt from Saxony in the year 1520, and made him professor of theology at Copenhagen; and on his leaving the kingdom in 1521 he invited Carlstadt himself to Denmark, who however soon returned to Germany. The king even invited Luther to come to Denmark but without success, and he adopted other measures calculated to subvert the authority of the Roman pontiff in his territories. But in all this Christiern was not actuated by zeal for true religion, but by the desire of increasing his own power and grandeur. At least it seems evident from his conduct that he patronised the Lutheran religion in order to obtain by it absolute dominion, and to wrest from the bishops their possessions and their power.[2] But his projects were unsuccessful. For the different orders of the realm conspired against him in 1523, and deposed and banished him from the kingdom on account of his various acts of cruelty and oppression, and particularly for his attempts to destroy the liberties of Denmark and to abolish the established religion.[3] In place of him Frederic duke of Holstein and Sleswick, uncle to Christiern, was called to the throne.

31. This Frederic the successor of Christiern [A.D. 1523—1533] proceeded with more prudence and moderation. He permitted George Johanson [Johannis], Jo. Tausan, and others publicly to preach in the realm the doctrines they had learned from Luther:[4] but he did not venture to change the ancient government and constitution of the church. He moreover greatly aided the progress of the reformed religion, by procuring a decree of the senate at the diet of Odensee A.D. 1527, by which the citizens were left at liberty either to continue in the old religion or to embrace the new. For under the protection of this decree the preachers of the reformed religion discharged their functions with so much success, that the greatest part of the Danes at length abandoned the Roman pontiff. Yet the glory of delivering Denmark altogether from the Roman bondage was reserved for Christian III. [A.D. 1534—1559], a king of distinguished piety and prudence. For after stripping the bishops of their odious power, and restoring to their rightful owners a great part of the possessions which the church had got into her hands by base arts, he called John Bugenhagen from Wittemberg, and with his aid regulated the religious affairs of the whole realm in an enlightened and judicious manner; and then in the assembly of the states at Odensee in 1539, persuaded

[1] Baaz, *Inventarium Eccl. Sueo-Gothorum*, Lincoping, 1642, 4to, Scultetus, *Annales Evangelii renovati*; in Von der Hardt's *Historia liter. Reformat.* pars. v. p. 83 and 110, &c.; Raynal's *Anecdotes Histor. politiques, militaires*, tom. i. par. ii. p. 1, &c. and others. [Gerdes, *Historia Reformationis*, tom. iii. p. 277, &c. Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. ii. p. 3, &c.—*Mur.*

[2] See Gramm's *Diss. de Reformatione Daniæ a Christierno tentata*; in tom. iii. *Scriptor. Societ. scientiar. Hafniensis*, p. 1—90.

[3] See the causes which induced the states of Denmark to renounce subjection to king Christiern, in Ludewig's *Reliquiæ Manuscriptor.* tom. v. p. 315, &c. where those states thus express themselves, p. 321 Lutheranæ hæresis pullulatores contra jus pietatemque, in regnum nostrum Catholicum introduxit, Doctorem Carolostadium, fortissimum Lutheri athletam, enutrivit. [The grounds of the Reformation were much the same in Denmark as in Sweden. The interests of the state demanded a depression of the clergy. Denmark was an elective monarchy; and the power of the kings was greatly limited by the council of the state, which consisted partly of clergymen and partly of civilians. The civil counsellors were from the highest nobility, the clerical were archbishops and bishops. The revenues of the kings were small, and the clergy were in possession of the most important castles and fortresses. Hence there was constant jealousy between the nobility and the clergy, and the former wished to see the latter humbled. Christiern so dexterously availed himself of this jealousy, that by it he stripped the clergy of their power, and introduced the Reformation into the kingdom. He forcibly took from the papal preacher of indulgences, Arcimbold, a large sum of money collected by the sale of indulgences; and he caused a Danish translation of the New Testament to be made. After his deposition he heard Luther preach in Germany with great pleasure; yet as he was hoping for succour from Charles V. he did not openly profess the Lutheran doctrines. But his queen Isabella, sister to the emperor Charles V. professed it and died in it with great constancy in the year 1525.—*Schl.* [Ranke represents Christiern as an adherent of Luther up to the eve of the Diet at Augsburg, when he met the emperor at Innsbruck, and returned to popery in order to secure the imperial countenance and support, *Hist. of the Reform.* vol. iii. p. 257.—*R.*

[4] See Möller, *Cimbria literata*, tom. ii. p. 886, &c. Olivarius, *Vita Pauli Eliæ*, p. 108, &c.; Pontoppidan's *Annales eccles. Danicæ*, tom. iii. p. 139, &c.

the chiefs of the nation to sanction the begun reformation in religion.[1]

32. In regard to the Reformation however both in Sweden and Denmark, we should carefully discriminate between a reformation or change of religion, and a reformation of the bishops; two things nearly related indeed, yet so distinct that either may exist without the other. For the religion of a people might be reformed, while the rank and power of the bishops remained the same; and on the other hand, the bishops might be deprived of a portion of their wealth and authority, and yet the old religion be retained. In the reformation of religion and worship [in these countries] there was nothing that deserved censure, for no violence or imposition was practised, but everything was done in a reasonable and religious manner. But in the reformation of the bishops and clergy, there appears to have been something defective. For violent measures were adopted; and the bishops, against their wills and their efforts to the contrary, were deprived of their honours, prerogatives, and possessions. Yet this reformation of the clergy in both those northern kingdoms was not a religious, but a mere civil and secular transaction; and it was so necessary that it must have been undertaken, if no Luther had arisen. For the bishops had by corrupt artifices got possession of so much wealth, so many castles, such revenues, and so great authority, that they were far more powerful than the kings, and were able to govern the whole realm at their pleasure; indeed they had appropriated to themselves a large portion of the patrimony of the kings and of the public revenues. Such therefore was the state both of the Danish and the Swedish commonwealths in the time of Luther, that either the bishops who shamefully abused their riches, prerogatives, and honours, must be divested of the high rank they held in the state, and be deprived of a large portion of their ill-gotten wealth; or the ruin of those kingdoms, the irreparable detriment of the public safety and tranquillity, and the sinking of their kings into contempt with an utter inability to protect the people, must have been anticipated.

33. In France, Margaret [born 1492, died 1549] queen of Navarre and sister to Francis I. king of France, the perpetual enemy and rival of Charles V. was pleased with the light of the reformed religion; and hence several pious men well acquainted with the Scriptures and sustained by her protection, ventured to teach this religion and to form religious societies in various places. It appears from documents of unquestionable authority that as early as the year 1523, there were in most of the provinces of France a multitude of persons opposed to the principles and the laws of the Romish church; and among them were men of high character and even prelates. As this number continually increased, and as religious commotions took place here and there, the king and the magistrates protected the ancient religion by the sword and by penal inflictions, and a large number of pious and good persons were cruelly put to death.[2] But this cruelty advanced

[1] Pontoppidan's *Concise History of the Reformation in Denmark*, written in Danish, Lubec, 1734, 8vo, and his *Annales ecclesiæ Danicæ*, tom. ii. p. 793. &c. tom. iii. p. 1, &c.; Muhlius, *De Reformatione religionis in vicinis Daniæ regnimbus et potissimum in Cimbria*: in his *Dissert. Historico-Theologicæ*, p. 24, &c. Kiel, 1715, 4to. [Also Gerdes, *Historia Reformationis*, tom. iii. p. 338, &c.; Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. ii. p. 59, &c. A still better account may be expected in the Ecclesiastical History of Denmark, now preparing, and partially published by Fr. Münter, bishop of Seeland.—*Mur.* [It is entitled, *Kirchengeschichte von Dänemark und Norwegen*, Leip. 1823-33, 3 vols.—*K.*

[2] See Beza's *Histoire des Eglises Réformées de France*, tom. i. livr. i. p. 5, &c.; Benoit's *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, tome i. livr. i. p. 6, &c.; Salig's *Historie der Augsburgischen Confession*, vol. ii. p. 190, &c. and others. [Gerdes, *Hist. Reform.* tom. iv. p. 1, &c. Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 208, &c.—"France was the first country, where the reformation which commenced in Germany and Switzerland, very soon and under the severest oppressions found many adherents. No country seems to have been so long and so well prepared for it as this; and yet here it met the most violent opposition, and nowhere was it later before it obtained legal toleration. Nowhere did it occasion such streams of blood to flow, nowhere give birth to such dreadful and deadly civil wars. And no where have state policy, court intrigue, political parties, and the ambition of greatness, had so powerful an influence on the progress and fortunes of the Reformation, as in France."—*Schroeckh.* The friendship of Francis I. to the sciences, and his attachment and generosity to learned men induced many persons of genius who were favourable to the Reformation to take up their residence in France; and thus the writings of the Reformers, which were in general better compositions than the books of the papists, were introduced extensively into France, and were there eagerly read; and by these writings such as had before taken no part in the religious contests, were convinced of the necessity of a reformation, and brought to desire it. The university of Paris indeed had already in 1521 declared expressly against Luther and his writings. (See the *Determinatio Facultat. Theol. Paris. super doctrina Lutherana*; in Gerdes, *Hist. Reform.* tom. iv. Append. No. ii. p. 10, 11.) Yet the doctrine of Luther and Melancthon from the first had many friends in France; indeed, there was a time when Francis I. to gratify the wishes of his sister, Queen Margaret, was disposed to invite Melancthon to take up his residence in France. The first movement with a direct view to produce a reformation was at Meaux, where the devout and learned bishop William Brissonet gave support and protection to James le Fevre, William Farrell, and Gerard Roussel, and permitted them openly to preach against the old superstitions and abuses of the Romish church, and to gather a small congregation. But as soon as the thing became extensively known, the parliament in the year 1533 ordered a rigorous investigation of the subject. John le Clerc, a woollen-spinner, but who had become a preacher to the new congregation at Meaux, published in this year a letter against indulgences in which the

rather than retarded the progress of the new religion. The friends of reformation however in France experienced various fortunes, sometimes adverse and sometimes tolerable, during the reign of Francis I. [A.D. 1515—1547]. For the king, being either of no religion or of a dubious one, conducted himself towards them just as his own advantage or state policy seemed to require. When he wished to conciliate the good-will of the German Protestants, and by them inflict a wound upon his enemy Charles V. he was mild, humane, and equitable towards them; but on a change of circumstances, he assumed a different character and showed himself implacable towards them.

34. The other countries of Europe did not exhibit so many and so clear indications of a defection from the Romish institutions and customs, prior to the presentation of the confession of Augsburg. And yet it can be proved by the most credible testimonies, that Spain,[1] Hungary,[2] Bohemia,[3]

pope was represented as Antichrist. He was therefore beaten with rods, branded with a hot iron, and banished; and afterwards died a martyr at Metz. The congregation were dispersed all over France. Brissonet, terrified by the resentment of the king, drew back, and now condemned the doctrines he had hitherto approved. Farrell went to Switzerland, reformed Mümpelgard, and adhered firmly to the reformed doctrines till his death. Le Fevre and Roussel betook themselves to Navarre to Queen Margaret, where they did not indeed openly break with the Romish church, yet greatly promoted the spread of pure doctrine. In the mean time, the reformed party multiplied exceedingly in Bearn and Guienne, through the protection of Margaret. Francis therefore being prompted by the bishops sent for this queen, and rebuked her for suffering these innovations to take place. She promised him she would go no farther in this thing, provided the following concessions were granted her: 1st, That no mass should be said unless there were persons to receive the eucharist. 2d, That the elevation of the host should cease. 3d, The worship of it also. 4th, That the eucharist should be administered in both kinds. 5th, That in the mass there should be no mention made of Mary and the saints. 6th, That common, ordinary bread should be taken, broken, and distributed. And 7th, That the priests should not be compelled to a life of celibacy. But these propositions were rejected; and the preachers she had brought with her to Paris were thrown into prison, and with great difficulty, at her intercession, set at liberty. At last cardinal Tournon so far wrought upon the king by his fierce persecuting zeal, that he strictly commanded his sister to avoid all innovations in religious matters; and notwithstanding the intercession of the Protestant princes of Germany, he caused the evangelical to be punished in the most cruel manner. Gallows were erected and the flames kindled against the professors of the reformed doctrine; and yet they were so far from being exterminated that their number increased continually. The persecution became still heavier in the year 1534, when some inconsiderate persons in their rash zeal posted up satirical papers against the popish mass in various places, and even on the royal palace. The blood of the unhappy Protestants now smoked till the death of the king. Especially the honest Waldensians in the mountains of Provence, at Merindol and Cabrieres, became the victims of a most cruel persecution. Merindol was destroyed, and its inhabitants, who had chiefly taken refuge at Cabrieres, were either butchered, or burned alive, or sent to the galleys. Cardinal Tournon was the instigator, and Oppeda the president of the parliament of Aix was the chief actor in the bloody scene. Yet all was done with the consent of the king; though in the end he could not approve of all that had taken place, but execrated this worse than barbarian deed, and on his deathbed enjoined upon his successor to subject it to an investigation.—*Schl.* [On the early portion of the history of the Reformation in France the most accessible work is Merle D'Aubigné's *Hist. of the Reformation*, in the third volume of which he treats of this branch of the history from 1500 to 1526.—*R.*

[1] The emperor Charles V. being king of Spain, and carrying on extensive wars in Italy, Germany, and Spain, his Spanish and German subjects of all ranks and professions were necessarily brought into close contact. Many Spanish officers and soldiers and also statesmen and theologians of course learned something of the reformed religion, and not a few of them embraced it. Yet the rigours of the Inquisition and the complete ascendancy of popery in Spain, induced the evangelical Spaniards for a long time either to conceal their religious sentiments or to propagate them in the most covert manner. Yet before the year 1550, the Protestants had become so numerous in Spain that they ventured to appear openly. They could number a great many persons of distinction, and had increased so rapidly that it seemed as if the whole nation would soon embrace the reformed religion. But the Catholics taking the alarm, a most violent persecution ensued, which raged till not a heretic dared to show his head in that country. See Michael Geddes, *Martyrology of Protestants in Spain*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 515, &c. and Latin, in Mosheim's *Dissert. Hist. Eccles.* vol. i. p. 663, &c.; Gonsalvus [or Gonzalez de Montes], *Relatio de Martyribus Protestantium in Hispania*, in Gerdes's *Miscellanea Groning.* tom. iv. p. 681, &c.; and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. ii. p. 791, &c.—*Mur.* [These earlier authorities are now superseded by M'Crie's *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain*, Edin. 1829.—*R.*

[2] Hungary is one of the countries which early received some light from the Reformation, but in which it was resisted so strenuously that it never absolutely triumphed, and never became the religion of the state. As early as 1522, several Hungarians educated at Wittemberg introduced the Lutheran doctrines into their native country. These doctrines spread rapidly, and other Hungarians trained in the school of Luther became successful preachers to their countrymen. But persecution commenced in 1525, and was renewed from time to time with such success as nearly to destroy the reformed churches. There were some Moravians or Hussites in the country before the time of Luther, and likewise some Waldensians. Mary, widow of Lewis II. and sister to Charles V. was friendly to the Lutherans; and she checked the persecuting zeal of king Ferdinand, who was her brother. In the year 1530 five free cities in the northern part of Hungary declared for Lutheranism, and presented a confession of their faith to the king. The next year Matthias Devay, the Luther of Hungary, began his career. The most rapid increase of the reformed was about the year 1550. In the year 1555 the five above-named free cities, and also twelve market towns in the county of Zipf, with a few towns in Lower Hungary and several noblemen, obtained liberty to practise the reformed religion. See Schroeckh, *ubi supra*, vol. ii. p. 723, &c.—*Mur.*

[3] As early as the year 1519 the Hussites in Bohemia opened a friendly correspondence with Martin Luther, and exhorted him to persevere in the good work, assuring him there were very many in Bohemia who prayed night and day for the success of his cause. (Luther's Lat. Works, ed. Jena, tom. i. p. 366, &c.) The intercourse continued free, and was salutary both to the Bohemians and the Lutherans till the year 1525, when it was suspended for ten years in consequence of some slanderous reports respecting Luther propagated in Bohemia. But in 1535 the intercourse was renewed, evangelical doctrines spread in the country, and the Hussites corrected their former creed without entirely abandoning it. The evangelical were divided among themselves and were exposed to persecution, yet they multiplied greatly and finally obtained free toleration. See Regenvolscius [or Wengierski], *Systema Historico-Chronolog. Ecclesiar. Slavonicar.* lib. i. cap. ix. p. 54, &c.; and Elsner's *Brevis Conspectus Doctrinæ Fratrum Bœmorum*, in Gerdes, *Miscellanea Groning.* tom. vi. par. i. p. 381, &c.—*Mur.*

Britain,[1] Poland,[2] and the Netherlands,[3] now abounded in great numbers of friends to the doctrines inculcated by Luther, some of whom repaired to Wittemberg, for the sake of enjoying the instructions of so great a master and guide. Some of these countries afterwards made themselves wholly free from the Romish yoke; in others, numerous congregations arose which rejected the decrees of the pontiff, and which have existed down to the present times, though amid various molestations; in others, the most cruel persecutions and inhuman laws after a short time extinguished the knowledge of the reformed religion, which had been obtained and widely circulated. It may be unhesitatingly asserted,—for the adherents of the Roman pontiffs themselves admit it,—that the entire fabric of the Romish church would have been quickly demolished, had not its defenders opposed the multitude of assailants, already in the breach, with fire and sword.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, FROM THE PRESENTATION OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION [1530] TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR OF SMALCALD [1546].

1. CHARLES V. made his entry into Augsburg on the 15th of June [1530], and on the 20th of the same month the diet was opened. As the members had agreed that the religious affairs should be despatched before discussing the subject of a Turkish war, the Protestant members present received permission from the emperor to exhibit a summary view of the religion they professed, in the session of the princes on the 25th of June. Accordingly, in the palace of the bishop of Augsburg, that confession of faith, which from the place where it was exhibited was called the Augsburg Confession, was read in German by Christian Bayer, the chancellor of Saxony. There was not one of the princes who did not listen to it with eager attention; and some of them, who before did not correctly understand the religious views

[1] In England, the Wickliffites, though obliged to keep concealed, had not been exterminated by 150 years' persecution. Luther's writings were early brought into England, and there read with avidity. This quickened persecution, and six men and one woman were burned at the stake in Coventry on Passion Week, A.D. 1519. In 1522, king Henry VIII. wrote a confutation of Luther's doctrines, but to no purpose. Bilney, Latimer, and others at Cambridge, formed a society which read and circulated Luther's books, as early as 1523. William Tindal made an English translation of the New Testament, which he printed at Antwerp and circulated in England in 1526. The next year, king Henry began to question the legality of his marriage with his brother's widow, and proceeded to solicit from the pope a divorce. The negotiation was protracted till the king was out of all patience, and he proceeded without the pope's consent to divorce his queen. The pope censured his conduct, and a quarrel ensued, the result of which was, that Henry with the consent of the parliament abolished the papal authority in England, A.D. 1533. During this period, though persecution had been kept up, the number of the Reformed had greatly increased, and the nation was ripe for a secession from Rome. See Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, book i. ii.; Gerdes, *Historia Reformationis*, tom. iv. p. 172, &c.; Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit d. Ref.* vol. ii. p. 505, &c.—Through England some of the writings of the early Reformers might reach Scotland, then sunk in ignorance, superstitiously devoted to its priests, and still more passionately attached to its nobles, the heads of the Scottish clans. Patrick Hamilton, a young nobleman and abbot of Ferne, eager to know more of the reformed religion, went to Germany and studied some time at Marpurg. Returning with one of his three companions to Scotland, he began to preach the doctrines of the Reformers. The priests arraigned him for heresy, convicted him, and he was burned alive at St. Andrews, February, 1528, in the 24th year of his age. From this time the Protestant doctrines made a slow but constant progress amid ever-wakeful persecution in Scotland, till the year 1547, when the famous Scottish reformer, John Knox, arose. See Schroeckh, *ubi supra*, p. 435, &c.; Robertson's *History of Scotland*, b. ii.; Gerdes' *Hist. Reform.* vol. iv. p. 210, &c. 229, 234, 291, &c. 304, &c. 321.—*Mur.* [The history of the Reformation in Scotland may be best learned from the early volumes of Calderwood's *Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland*, Wodrow Society edit. Edin. 1842-48, 8 vols.; Knox's *History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, Wodrow Society edit. Edin. 1847—only one volume of this valuable edition has yet been published; Cook's *Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland*, Edin. 1819, 3 vols.; and M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, Edin. 1818, 4th edit. 2 vols.—*R.*

[2] Before the Reformation, a considerable body of Hussites had removed from Bohemia to Poland, where their doctrines spread considerably especially among the nobility, and roused the spirit of persecution. Luther's writings at once circulated among the dissenters from the church of Rome, corrected their views, and strengthened their opposition to popery. Even some of the bishops favoured evangelical doctrines; and as early as 1525, there were several evangelical preachers in Poland, and also in Polish Prussia. But so vigorous a persecution was kept up, that Protestant worship could be maintained only in private till near the middle of the century. See Regenvolscius, *Systema Hist. Chronol. Ecclesiar. Slavonicar.* lib. i. c. xiii. p. 71, &c.; Schroeckh, *ubi supra*, vol. ii. p. 666, &c.—*Mur.* [See also a recent work by Count Valerian Krasinski, entitled, *Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Reformation in Poland*, Lond. 1838-40, 2 vols.—*R.*

[3] The seventeen Belgian provinces composing the Netherlands were a part of the hereditary dominions of Charles V. which he governed by his viceroys. Here, from the fourteenth century, various religious reformers had appeared, as Gerhard Groot, John Wesselius, Thomas à Kempis, John Goch, and Cornelius Grapheus. Here also wrote the famous Erasmus. The writings of Luther were early and eagerly read by the Netherlanders. The Catholics were alarmed; and through their instigation, the government introduced the Inquisition in the year 1522, and kept up a hot persecution of the Reformed for a long course of years. It was computed that in these provinces, during the reign of Charles V. not less than 50,000 persons lost their lives, in consequence of their defection from the church of Rome. Yet the number of the Reformed continually increased; and when at length seven of these provinces revolted and became an independent state, they adopted the Protestant religion. See Gerdes, *Hist. Reformationis*, tom. iii. p. 1, &c.; Schroeckh, *ubi supra*, vol. ii. p. 348, &c.—*Mur.* [To these works may be added Brandt's *History of the Reformation in the Low Countries*, Lond. 1720-23, 4 vols. folio, translated from the Dutch. It extends from the eighth century to the Synod of Dort.—*R.*

of Luther, expressed approbation of the purity and innocence of the doctrines. John elector of Saxony, and four princes of the empire, viz. George marquis of Brandenburg, Ernest duke of Luneburg, Philip landgrave of Hesse, and Wolfgang prince of Anhalt, with the two imperial cities, Nuremberg and Reutlingen, subscribed their names to the copies [the one Latin, the other German] delivered after the reading to the emperor, in testimony of the accordance of the doctrines there expressed with their own views.[1]

2. As the Augsburg Confession was adopted as a public standard of faith by the whole body of [Lutheran] Protestants, no one of them should be ignorant of its character and contents. The style is Philip Melancthon's; which is as much as to say, it was drawn up in polished, perspicuous language, well adapted to the subject. The matter or contents, it is certain, were supplied principally by Luther, who was at Coburg, a town not far from Augsburg, at the time of the diet, and who examined and approved the form and style which Melancthon gave to it.[2] It was comprised in twenty-eight articles; of which twenty-one stated distinctly the religious faith of those who had receded from the church of Rome, and the other seven recounted the errors or abuses as they were called, on account of which they had separated from the Romish community.[3]

[1] A history of this diet, in a large folio volume, by George Cœlestine [a Lutheran], was published at Frankfort-on-the-Oder, in 1577. Histories of the Augsburg Confession were composed by Chytræus, and by others; and especially in the eighteenth century by Cyprian, and by Salig, in the German language. Salig's work is prolix, and is more properly a history of the Reformation than a history of the Augsburg Confession. Cyprian's history is more concise and dense, and is corroborated by well-selected documents. It therefore deserves to pass to a third edition. [Webber's *Critical History of the Augsburg Confession*, Frankfort-on-Mayne, 1783, &c. 2 vols. 8vo. The original subscribers to the confession are mentioned in the text. Before the diet rose, the cities Kempten, Heilbronn, Windsheim, and Weissenburg, also subscribed, and afterwards many more. It was immediately printed and soon spread all over Europe, and was translated into various foreign languages. It thus became of great service to the Protestant cause; for it was a very able document, and was drawn up in a most judicious manner. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. i. p. 445, &c.—*Mur.*

[2] Ranke has, as usual, given an admirable sketch of the proceedings and results of this memorable diet, comprising additional matter from unpublished sources, in his *Hist. of the Reformation*, Mrs. Austin's transl. vol. iii. p. 254, &c. Dr. Merle D'Aubigné has devoted an entire book to the proceedings of this Diet (*Hist. of the Ref.* Edin. edit. vol. iv. p. 103—260); and at this point he proposes to close his account of the German Reformation. Milner's *History of the Church* also terminates at this period—the opening of the Diet at Augsburg. Scott, the continuator of Milner, opens his first volume with a detailed account of this Diet and an elaborate analysis of the confession. See also the excellent work of Dean Waddington on both these points—the Diet and the Confession; and also on Luther's views and sentiments at Coburg during that eventful period. *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. chap. xxxv.—xxxix.—*R.*

[3] The articles in this Confession, or as it might be called Apology, are of very unequal length. Some are in the form of answers to slanders against the Lutherans, others are short essays, most of them include proofs or argumentation, and several of them are followed by renunciations of the opposite tenets held by heretics ancient or modern. As this celebrated creed is not accessible in English, the following summary of its contents is here subjoined:—

Art. 1st treats of God and the Trinity, in accordance with the Nicene Creed.

Art. 2d affirms that all men since the fall are born with sin—that is, destitute of faith and the fear of God, and with corrupt propensities; for which hereditary sin they are exposed to eternal death, until they are regenerated by baptism and the Holy Spirit. It rejects the Pelagian doctrine, and denies man's ability to obtain justification by his own works.

Art. 3d treats of the person and mediation of Christ, in accordance with the Apostles' Creed.

Art. 4th asserts justification to be, solely, on the ground of Christ's righteousness imputed to the believer, and not on the ground of his personal righteousness, agreeably to Rom. chap. iii. iv.

Art. 5th asserts that the word, preaching, and the sacraments, are the medium through which God imparts the Holy Spirit to whom he will, in consequence of which they believe unto righteousness. It rejects the doctrine of the Anabaptists, that men can obtain the Holy Spirit by their own efforts and without the means above stated.

Art. 6th asserts that true faith always produces good works; which every man is bound to perform, yet must not rely upon them for salvation.

Art. 7th affirms the existence of a holy Catholic church consisting of all the faithful, and which is known not by a uniformity in ceremonies, but by the efficacious preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments in their purity.

Art. 8th asserts that the Christian church, though composed of saints, yet has hypocrites in it; and that the efficacy of the sacraments is not destroyed by hypocrisy in the administrators.

Art. 9th asserts that baptism is necessary, and is a means of grace, and that infants are to be baptized.

Art. 10th asserts that the real body and blood of Christ are truly present in the eucharist under the elements of the bread and wine, and are distributed and received.

Art. 11th retains private confession of sins to the pastors, and absolution by them; but denies the necessity of a particular enumeration of all sins.

Art. 12th maintains that those who sin after baptism, if they repent, should always be restored by the church; that repentance consists in sorrow and regret for sin and reliance on Christ for pardon, and is productive of good works. It denies sinless perfection in this life, the Novatian error of refusing absolution to the penitent, and all dependence on our own satisfactions for sin.

Art. 13th asserts that the sacraments are not merely significant signs, but are tokens and evidence of God's gracious disposition towards us, calculated to awaken and strengthen our faith, and requiring faith to a worthy receiving of them.

Art. 14th asserts that no one should preach publicly and administer the sacraments unless duly called.

Art. 15th. Rites of human institution, so far as they are not sinful and tend to peace and good order in the church (as certain feasts, fasts, &c.) are to be observed. But all human institutions designed to appease God, are contrary to the Gospel.

Art. 16th. Civil government is ordained of God, and Christians may lawfully hold offices, civil and military, and may pursue the various occupations of citizens; contrary to the views of the Anabaptists, and such as deem all worldly business inconsistent with a truly religious life.

Art. 17th asserts that at the last day Christ will come, will raise the dead, and will adjudge the believing and elect to eternal life, and wicked men and devils to hell and eternal torment. It rejects the Anabaptist notion of a final restoration of devils and the damned;

3. The friends of the pontiff present at the diet drew up a confutation of the Protestant Confession, of which, John Faber afterwards bishop of Vienna, with the aid of John Eck and John Cochlæus, is said to have been the composer. This confutation being likewise read before the diet on the 3d of August, the emperor required the Protestants to acquiesce in it, and to abandon their whole cause and controversy. But they declared themselves not satisfied with this answer of the papal divines, and wished to have a copy of it that they might point out its fallacies. The emperor, more obedient to the exhortations of the pontiff's legate and his companions than to the demands of right and equity, refused their request and would not allow the controversy to be protracted by any new writings about it. Nevertheless the Protestants caused an answer to be drawn up by Philip Melanc-

and also the Jewish notion of a temporal reign of Christ on the earth prior to the resurrection.

Art. 18th asserts that men have some free will to live reputably, to choose among objects which their natural reason can comprehend; but that without the gracious aids of the Holy Spirit they cannot please God nor truly fear him, exercise faith, or overcome their sinful propensities, 1 Cor. ii.

Art. 19th asserts that God is not the cause and author of sin; but that the perverse wills of ungodly men and devils are the sole cause of it.

Art. 20th maintains that the Reformers do not discourage good works, though they inculcate the doctrine of justification by faith alone; but only discourage useless works, as the rosary, worshipping saints, pilgrimages, monastic vows, stated fasts, &c.; and it evinces at considerable length, from Scripture and the fathers, that a man cannot be justified by works.

Art. 21st admits that the saints are to be respected, and to be imitated as patterns of piety; but denies that they are to be worshipped, prayed to, or regarded as mediators.

Such for substance (say they) is the doctrine taught in our churches; and being the doctrine of the Bible, we cannot but hold to it. All should embrace it.

The abuses (they say) which have crept into the church, and which we could not conscientiously endure, are chiefly the following:—

Art. 22d. Denying the sacramental cup to the laity, contrary to Scripture and early Christian practice.

Art. 23d. Imposing celibacy on the clergy, contrary to reason and Scripture and the practice of the purer ages, and with very injurious consequences.

Art. 24th. The Protestants are falsely taxed with abolishing the mass. They only purified it, and discarded the idea of its being a work of merit, an offering for the sins of the living and the dead, which militates with the scriptural doctrine that Christ's sacrifice is the only sin-offering.

Art. 25th. The Protestants had not abolished private confession, for they made it a necessary preparation for the eucharist. Yet they did not consider it a sacrament, nor require a particular enumeration of sins.

Art. 26th censures the multitude of fasts and other ceremonies of human invention, and the undue stress laid upon them as meritorious acts; thus obscuring the doctrine of salvation by faith, holding these human prescriptions more sacred than the commands of God, and burdening the consciences of men with them.

Art. 27th represents the whole system of monkery as a great abuse, and exceedingly injurious to piety.

Art. 28th discriminates between civil and ecclesiastical power, and allows neither to infringe upon the other. The spiritual or episcopal power is limited to preaching, administering the sacraments, and loosing and binding sins. If bishops teach contrary to the Scriptures, they are and must be treated as false prophets. If allowed to try causes relating to marriage and tithes, it is only as civil officers. They have no legislative power over the church; and they can bind the conscience only by showing that the Gospel enjoins what they inculcate. As to Sundays and other holy days and rites and forms of worship, bishops may and should appoint such as are convenient and suitable, and the people should observe them, not as divine ordinances, but as conducive to good order and edification.

Though the Lutherans expressed their doctrine of consubstantiation in the most inoffensive terms which would be explicit, yet the Reformed or Zwinglians could not subscribe to the Augsburg Confession. Hence the imperial cities of Strasburg, Constance, Lindau, and Memmingen, offered a separate confession called the Confession of the Four Cities, *Confessio Tetrapolitana*. It agreed substantially with the Augsburg Confession, except in regard to the corporeal presence. They maintained a real yet a spiritual or sacramental presence, a presence which the devout soul could feel and enjoy, but which implied no physical presence of Christ's body. Yet they expressed themselves in terms which need not have given offence to the Lutherans. They say: "All that the evangelists, Paul, and the holy fathers have written respecting the venerable sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, our preachers teach, recommend, and inculcate, with the greatest fidelity. Hence, with singular earnestness, they constantly proclaim that goodness of Christ towards his followers, whereby, no less now than at his last supper, to all his sincere disciples as oft as they repeat this supper, he condescends to give, by the sacraments, his real body and his real blood, to be truly eaten and drunken as the food and drink of their souls, by which they are nourished to eternal life, so that he lives and abides in them and they in him." This confession they presented to the emperor in Latin and German, but he would not allow it to be read in public. Yet when the popish priests had made out a confutation of it, he called them before him to hear that confutation read; and then, without allowing discussion or permitting them to have a copy of the confutation, demanded of them submission to the church of Rome. They refused. This confession of the four cities, which was drawn up by Martin Bucer and had been adopted by the senate and people of Augsburg, was the confession of that city for a number of years. But afterwards the four cities, feeling the necessity of a union with the Lutherans lest their popish enemies should swallow them up, brought themselves to believe that the Lutherans and they differed more in words than in reality; and therefore they subscribed to the Augsburg Confession, and became a part of the Lutheran church. See Hospinian's *Historia Sacramentaria*, par. ii. p. 162, &c.—At the same Diet Zwingli presented his private confession, which is a long and elaborate performance. He says: "Grace is conferred along with the sacraments, but not by them as the channels; or in other words, that the Holy Spirit imparts grace to the devout communicants in the ordinance; but does not annex the grace to the sacrament, so that it may go along with it as water through a channel, or by a physical process." And respecting the Lord's Supper he says: "I believe that in the holy eucharist or supper of thanksgiving, the real body of Christ is present to the eye of faith (*fidei contemplatione*); that is, to those who thank the Lord for the benefits conferred on us in Christ his Son, acknowledge that he assumed a real body, truly suffered in it, and washed away our sins in his own blood; and thus the whole that Christ has done is, as it were, present to the eye of their faith. But that the body of Christ in substance and reality, or that his natural body is present in the supper, and is received into our mouth and masticated by our teeth—as the papists and some who look back upon the fleshpots of Egypt represent—that I not only deny but unhesitatingly pronounce an error and contrary to the word of God." He subjoins elaborate proofs from the Scripture, reason, and the fathers, in support of these views. To this confession Eck, the Catholic divine, replied; and Zwingli on the 27th of August defended himself in a letter addressed to the emperor and to the Protestant princes. See Hospinian, *ubi supra*, p. 167, &c.—*Mur.* [See also on this Confession the works of Scott and Waddington referred to in the preceding note.—*R.*

thon, to so much of the pontifical confutation as the theologians had been able to gather from hearing it read; and on the 22d of September they presented it to the emperor, who refused to receive it. This answer (though afterwards corrected and enlarged by Melancthon upon obtaining a copy of the pontifical confutation) is that *Apology for the Augsburg Confession*, which was afterwards published in the year 1531, and which constitutes a part of the symbolical books of the Lutheran church.[1]

4. Three modes of getting rid of these very troublesome contentions remained. One was, to allow those who would not obey the mandates of the pontiff to enjoy their own sentiments on religion, and to worship God as they saw fit, without allowing the public tranquillity to be thereby destroyed. Another was, to compel them by force of arms to cease from dissenting from the Romish church, and make them return to the spurned friendship of the Roman prelate. A third was, to attempt an honourable and equitable compromise, by each party's relinquishing some portion of what it considered as its just claims. The first method was accordant with reason and justice, and would meet the wishes of the wise and good; but it was totally repugnant to the arrogant claims of the pontiff and to the ignorance of the age, which abhorred all liberty of opinion concerning religion. The second accorded with the customs and views of the age, and with the violent counsels of the Romish court; but it was opposed to the prudence, the moderation, and the equity, both of the emperor and of all good men. The third therefore was adopted, and met the approbation of all who were solicitous for the good of the empire; nor did the sovereign pontiff himself seem to be wholly averse from it. Hence various consultations were held between select individuals of both parties, and every means was adopted which seemed calculated to allay mutual hatred, and bring discordant minds to harmonize. But the parties were too wide apart in their first principles, for any thing to be effected. In these discussions the character of Philip Melancthon, whom, as the principal doctor among the Protestants, the adherents to the pontiff took special pains to conciliate, very clearly appeared. He seemed easy of access, and ready to make concessions when his opposers dealt in compliments and promises; but when they would terrify him by threats and denunciations, he seemed quite another man, bold, courageous, and regardless of life and fortune. For in this great man, a mild and tender spirit was united with the strictest fidelity and an invincible attachment to what he regarded as the truth.

5. This middle course having been tried in vain for a sufficient length of time,[2] it was resolved, in order to terminate these religious controversies, to resort to the method so repugnant to reason and to the principles of Christianity, but which the perverseness of the times recommended. Accordingly on the 19th of November, a severe decree was passed by command and authority of the emperor, in the absence of the two leaders of the Protestants, the landgrave of Hesse and the elector of Saxony; in which there was nothing that could solace the Protestants, except an equivocal and deceptive promise of a council to be called within six months by order of the pontiff. For, the dignity and excellence of the old religion were extravagantly extolled; new energy was imparted to the edict of Worms against Luther and his followers; the religious reformations entered upon in one place and another were severely censured; and the princes and cities which had been alienated from the pontiff were admonished to return to their duty within some months, unless they wished to incur the vengeance of the emperor, as the patron and protector of the church.[3]

6. On learning the sad issue of the diet, the elector of Saxony and his associates, in the year 1530 and the year following, assembled at Smalcald and afterwards at Frankfort, and formed a league among themselves, for their mutual protection against the evils which the edict of Augsburg portended, but excluding all offensive operations against any one. They also

[1] Melancthon composed the *Apology* in Latin, but afterwards Justus Jonas translated it into German, in which language it was published in the first collection of all the symbolical books of the Lutheran church, Dresden, 1580, fol. 21—134 The Augsburg Confession in German immediately precedes it, fol. 3—20. See Walch's *Introductio in Libros Symbolicos*, lib. i. cap. iv. p. 409, &c.—*Mur.*

[2] The conferences continued, with repeated changes of the delegates, from the second day of August till the end of the month.—*Mur.*

[3] See, in addition to the authors before mentioned, Müller's *Historie der Protestation und Appellation der Evangelischen Stände*, book iii. chap. xlviii. p. 997.

[4] The first meeting of the Protestants subsequently to the diet, was held at Smalcald on the 22d of December, 1530. But it was found that many of the representatives of cities had received no instruction in regard to a confederacy, and that many other cities were to be invited to join them. As the emperor had entered into a coalition with the Catholic states against them, they assembled again in the following year on

took measures to bring the kings of France, England, and Denmark, as well as other princes and states, into the confederacy.[1] When things began to wear this warlike aspect, the electors of Mentz and the Palatinate interposed as mediators between the parties. And the emperor Charles V. for various reasons was very anxious for peace. For the Protestants would not afford their aid to a Turkish war which the emperor exceedingly needed; and they also contended that Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, who had been created king of the Romans by the major part of the princes in the diet of Cologne, A.D. 1531, had been elected contrary to the laws of the empire.

7. After various consultations, therefore, in the year 1532 a peace was concluded at Nuremberg between the emperor and the Protestants on the following terms—that the latter should contribute money for the Turkish war, and should acknowledge Ferdinand as king of the Romans; and that Charles should annul the edicts of Worms and Augsburg, and should allow the followers of Luther full liberty to regulate their religious matters as they pleased, until either a council (which was to be held within six months) or a diet of the empire should determine what religious principles were to be adopted and obeyed. Scarcely was the apprehension of war removed by this convention, when John, the elector of Saxony, died and was succeeded by his son, John Frederick, an unfortunate prince though possessed of invincible fortitude and magnanimity.

8. The truce of Nuremberg with the emperor, gave so much courage and fortitude to the concealed and feebler enemies of the pontiff, that they would no longer obey his mandates. This is attested by various regions and towns of Germany, which year after year from this time onward fearlessly made profession of the religion which Luther had restored. Moreover, as the only hope of removing the disagreement about religion now depended on the promised council, the emperor did not cease to urge the sovereign pontiff Clement VII. to hasten its meeting. But Clement, whom the recollection of former councils filled with apprehensions, contrived to put it off, and wished the cause of his see might be decided rather by arms than by arguments.[2] He promised indeed by his legate in 1533, that a council should be called in Italy either at Mantua, Placentia, or Bologna. But the Protestants declared themselves not satisfied with an Italian council, and maintained that a controversy arising in Germany ought to be decided within the limits of Germany.

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the 29th of March, to form a closer union for their mutual defence. The landgrave of Hesse took great pains to have the Swiss included in the confederacy. But the elector of Saxony, who was guided by Luther, absolutely refused to admit them. And in general, Luther had great scruples in regard to the whole transaction, and the jurists had much debate with him respecting the lawfulness of such a confederacy; for according to his monkish principles, he held all human means for preserving peace in religious matters to be unallowable, and supposed that men should repose themselves wholly on the providence of God, without venturing upon any measures suggested by policy in such cases. But the jurists informed him that the constitution of the empire allowed the states to combine together, and probably also to declare war against the emperor; for, by virtue of the compact between the emperor and the states, the emperor engaged not to infringe upon the laws of the empire and the rights and liberties of the Germanic church. This compact the emperor had violated, and therefore the states had a right to combine together against him. Luther replied that he had not been aware of this, and that if it was so, he had no objections to make; for the gospel was not opposed to civil government. Yet he could not approve of an offensive war.—*Schl.* [The fullest and most authentic information respecting these negotiations, accessible to the English reader, is to be found in Ranke's *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. book vi. chap. 1 and 5.—*R.*

[1] In their meeting at Smalcald, A.D. 1531, after forming a league for mutual defence for six years, they drew up an apology for their conduct; in which they gave a concise history of the Reformation, the necessity there was for it, and the sufferings and dangers to which they were exposed on account of it. Copies of this apology they sent both to Francis I. the king of France, and to Henry VIII. of England. Both those kings returned very civil answers; but nothing was said on either side about an alliance for mutual defence. See Seckendorf's *Historia Lutheranismi*, lib. iii. sec. i.; Gerdes, *Historia Evang. Renovati*, tom. iv. p. 222, &c. In 1535, the Protestants had another meeting at Smalcald, in which they extended their league of 1531 for 10 years longer. About this time, Dr. Barnes, an English clergyman, arrived in Saxony, as envoy from the king of England; and he was soon followed by Edward Fox, bishop of Hereford, and Nicholas Heath, an English archdeacon. They attended the convention at Smalcald, and a negotiation was held for forming a coalition of some sort between the German confederates and the king of England. See Seckendorf, *ubi supra*, lib. iii. sec. 39. In 1538, the German confederates sent an embassy to the king of France (which however effected very little), and also three ambassadors to the king of England. They proposed to king Henry to adopt the Augsburg Confession, and consent to be the head and patron of the Protestant confederacy; they also stated what aid each should afford to the other in case of attack from the enemy. But Henry was not yet prepared to go so far in the Reformation, nor did he wish to embroil himself with the emperor. See Seckendorf, *ubi supra*, lib. iii. sec. 166, p. 197, &c.; Gerdes, *ubi supra*, p. 287, &c.; Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, book iii. vol. i. p. 329, &c. ed. London, 1825.—*Mur.*

[2] Besides the causes which, since the councils of Constance and Basil, had divested the popes of all relish for such clerical parliaments, pope Clement had his own peculiar reasons. It was his misfortune to be the illegitimate son of Julius de Medicis, and he was afraid his enemies in the council might avail themselves of this circumstance, to pronounce him unworthy of the papal dignity. For it was a disputed point, which had never been decided, whether a bastard could be a legitimate pope. That a profligate might be, had been decided by usage long since, especially by the example of Alexander VI. See Paul Sarpi, tom. i. page 54, &c.; and Ziegler's *Historia Clementis VII.* in Schelhorn's *Amœnitat. Hist. Eccles et Literar.* vol. i. p. 210, &c.—*Schl.*

And the pontiff himself managed so artfully as to get rid of his own promise, and soon after died in the year 1534.[1]

9. His successor, Paul III. seemed more tractable, when the emperor addressed him on the subject of a council. For he first made a promise in 1535, that he would assemble a council at Mantua; and afterwards, A.D. 1536, he actually proclaimed one by letters despatched through all the Catholic countries. The Protestants, on the other hand, foreseeing that in such a council everything would go according to the opinion and pleasure of the pontiff, declared in a convention held at Smalcald in 1537, their entire dissatisfaction with such a servile council; yet they procured a new summary of their religious faith to be drawn up by Luther, which they might present to the assembled bishops if occasion should call for it. This production of Luther is called the *Articles of Smalcald;* and it was admitted among the books from which the religious sentiments of those called Lutherans are to be learned.[2]

10. During these consultations two most important events occurred, the one very injurious to the general interests of religion and especially to the cause of the Reformation, the other no less so to the papal dominion. The former was, a new sedition of the furious and fanatical tribe of the Anabaptists; the latter was, a revolt of Henry VIII. the king of England from the Roman pontiff. In the year 1533, certain persons of the class of Anabaptists, who were more insane and distracted than the rest, came to Munster, a city of Westphalia, and gave out that they were divinely commissioned to set up a sort of holy empire on the ruins of all human institutions. The whole city being excited and thrown into great commotion, they proceeded to erect the new commonwealth conformably to their crude opinions and fancies; and placed John Bockholt, a tailor of Leyden, at the head of it. But the city being taken in the year 1535, by the bishop of Munster who was aided by other German princes, this delirious king and his associates were executed without mercy; and the new republic was thus overthrown soon after its establishment. This seditious procedure of certain Anabaptists induced most of the princes of Europe to enact severe laws against the entire sect; in consequence of which, in subsequent years vast numbers of them, both the innocent and the guilty, were miserably put to death.[3]

11. Henry VIII. king of England, who had before warmly opposed Luther, a prince falling behind none of that age either in vice or in talents, being smitten with the charms of Anne Boleyn, an English virgin

[1] Everything pertaining to this council is fully and intelligently stated, pre-eminently by Paul Sarpi, *Historia Concilii Tridentini*, lib. i.—[The Protestants met at Smalcald to consider the proposed plan of an Italian council, and remonstrated against it, as being to be held in Italy. They also insisted that the pope, as one of the parties whose cause was to be tried, should have no authority over the council; and that the decision should be founded solely on the Holy Scriptures.—*Mur.*

[2] The Articles of Smalcald were drawn up in German by Luther, in his own acrimonious style. The Augsburg Confession was intended to soften prejudice against the Lutherans, and to conciliate the good will of the Catholics. Of course the gentle Melancthon was employed to write it. The Articles of Smalcald, on the contrary, were a preparation for a campaign against an enemy with whom no compromise was deemed possible, and in which victory or death was the only alternative. Of course all delicacy towards the Catholics was dispensed with, and Luther's fiery style was chosen and was allowed full scope. In words, the Articles flatly contradict the Confession in some instances; though in sense they are the same. Thus the Confession (Article xxiv.) says: "We are unjustly charged with having abolished the mass. For it is manifest that without boasting we may say, the mass is observed by us with greater devotion and earnestness than by our opposers." But in the Articles of Smalcald, (Part II. Art. II.) it is said: "That the popish mass is the greatest and most horrid abomination, as militating directly and violently against these articles; and yet it has become the chief and most splendid of all the popish idolatries." In the Confession, they applied the name of the mass to the Lutheran form of the eucharist. But in these Articles, they confine that term to its proper import, the ordinary public service among the Catholics.—The Articles of Smalcald cover 28 folio pages, and are preceded by a preface and followed by a treatise on the power and supremacy of the pope. The first part contains four concise articles, respecting God, the Trinity, and the incarnation, passion, and ascension of Christ, in accordance with the Apostles' and the Athanasian Creeds. On these Articles the Protestants professed to agree altogether with the papists. The second part also contains four articles of fundamental importance, but in which the Protestants and papists are declared to be totally and irreconcilably at variance. They relate to the nature and the grounds of justification, the mass and saint worship, ecclesiastical and monkish establishments, and the claims of the pope. The third part contains 15 articles, which the Protestants considered as relating to very important subjects, but on which the papists laid little stress. The subjects are, sin, the law, repentance, the gospel, baptism, the sacrament of the altar, the keys (or spiritual power), confession, excommunication, ordination, celibacy of the clergy, churches, good works, monastic vows, and human satisfactions for sin. When the Protestants subscribed these Articles, Melancthon annexed a reservation to his signature, purporting that he could admit of a pope, provided he would allow the gospel to be preached in its purity, and would give up his pretensions to a divine right to rule, and would found his claims wholly on expediency and human compact. In consequence of this dissent from Luther, Melancthon was requested to draw up an article on the power and supremacy of the pope. He did so; and the Protestants were well pleased with it and subscribed to it. It is annexed to the Articles of Smalcald. See Walch's *Introductio in Libros Symbol.* lib. i. cap. v.—*Mur.*

[3] Hamelmann's *Historia Ecclesiast. renati Evangelii, per Inferiorem Saxoniam et Westphaliam*, par. ii. p. 1196, &c. in his collected works; Von Printz, *Specimen Historiæ Anabaptist.* cap. x. xi. xii. p. 94. [Sleidan, *Commentarii de Statu Relig. et Reipublicæ, sub Carolo V.* lib. x.; Gerdes, *Scrinium Antiquarium*, tom. ii. p. 377, &c. 569, &c.; Robertson's *History of the Reign of Charles V.* book v. p. 245—250.—*Mur.*

of high birth, in order to marry her wished to be divorced from his queen, Catharine of Aragon aunt to Charles V. and he applied to the sovereign pontiff Clement VII. to sanction such a measure.[1] He declared however that his conscience would not allow him to cohabit with his queen Catharine, because she had been married to his deceased brother Arthur, and a marriage with a brother's widow was contrary to the law of God. Clement through fear of offending Charles V. contrived various evasions, and endeavoured to delude and disappoint Henry. He therefore became impatient, and at the suggestion of Thomas Cranmer, who was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury and a secret friend to the Reformation by Luther, consulted nearly all the universities of Europe on the question; and as most of them pronounced marriage with a brother's widow to be unlawful, the king divorced Catharine without the consent of the pontiff, and married Anne Boleyn. Henry's defection from the pontiff soon followed. For the king being declared by the lords and commons of England, supreme head of the British church, he in the year 1533 ejected the monks, disposed of all their property, and abolished altogether the authority of the Roman pontiff in England.[2]

12. This downfall of the popish power in England, however, was of little advantage to the lovers of a purer religion. For the king, though he destroyed the empire of the pontiff, yet retained for the most part the old religion; and he persecuted and sometimes punished capitally those who thought differently from himself on religious subjects. Besides, he understood the title he had assumed of supreme head of the British church, to invest him with the powers of the Roman pontiff; so that he had a right to make decrees respecting religion, and to prescribe to the citizens what they must believe and practise. During his life therefore religion in England was coincident with the king's character, that is, uncertain and changeable. Yet the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, who had the king's confidence and was a patron of the reformed religion, exerted himself by his writings and his actions, as much as he prudently could and as the instability of the king and other difficulties would allow, to diminish gradually the old superstition and ignorance, and to increase the number of the friends of Luther.[3]

13. After the pontiff's first proposed council was set aside, various negotiations for restoring peace and harmony were held between the emperor and the Protestants, but without any determinate and solid benefit; because the pontiff, by his legates and others, generally disconcerted all their measures. In the year 1541 the emperor, much to the displeasure of the pontiff, ordered select individuals of both parties to confer together respecting religion at Worms. Accordingly, Philip Melancthon and John Eck held a discussion during three days.[4] The discussion was then

[1] Mosheim errs in representing Henry's passion for Anne Boleyn as the first and grand cause of the king's wish to be divorced from his queen. His father had scrupled the legitimacy of the marriage; a foreign court had made it an objection to intermarriage with his children by this wife; and his subjects very generally entertained apprehensions respecting the succession to his crown from the same cause. It was state policy which first led to the marriage, but it appears never to have given entire satisfaction to any one. Doubtless Henry was sincere in professing to have scruples of conscience on the subject. But there were also other causes. The queen's beauty had faded, and some diseases had rendered her person less agreeable. Political considerations or apprehensions respecting his successor had influence. And after these causes had operated some time, Anne Boleyn came to court and the king was charmed with her. This, though the last, was henceforth probably not the least reason for his final resolution to divorce his queen. See Hume's *History of England*, ch. xxx. vol. iii. p. 288, &c. Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. book ii. at the beginning.—*Mur.*

[2] Besides Burnet and others who have composed Histories of the Reformation in England, the Acts of this memorable event as collected by David Wilkins, in his *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ*, tom. iii. p. 434, &c. should be consulted. See also Raynal's *Anecd. Historiques, Politiques, Militaires*, tome i. par. ii. p. 50, &c. and the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Crit.* tome ii. p. 388, article *Bokna.*

[3] Besides Burnet, see Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. chap. i. p. 11, &c. [In the year 1536, king Henry, with the sanction of the convocation, prescribed what doctrines should be taught in the churches; the substance of which may be seen in Burnet, *Hist. Reform.* vol. i. p. 280, &c. ed. London, 1825, and in Neal, *ubi supra*, p. 69, &c. Mr. Neal remarks upon these instructions: "One sees here the dawn of the Reformation; the Scriptures and the ancient creeds are made the standards of faith, without the tradition of the church or decrees of the pope; the doctrine of justification by faith is well stated; four of the seven sacraments are passed over, and purgatory is left doubtful. But transubstantiation, auricular confession, the worshipping of images and saints are still retained." In the year 1539, the king and the opposers of the Reformation procured a statute to be passed in both houses of parliament, making it penal to speak or write at all against any one of the six following articles:—"First, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remained no substance of bread and wine, but under these forms the natural body and blood of Christ were present. Secondly, that communion in both kinds was not necessary to salvation to all persons, by the law of God; but that both the flesh and blood of Christ were together in each of the kinds. Thirdly, that priests, after the order of priests (after admission to orders), might not marry, by the law of God. Fourthly, that vows of chastity ought to be observed, by the law of God. Fifthly, that the use of private masses ought to be continued; which, as it was agreeable to God's law, so man received great benefit by them. Sixthly, that auricular confession was expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the church." This, which was called "the bloody statute," was enforced during the residue of Henry's reign or till the year 1547. It brought many to the stake and to prison, and caused the Reformation to go back rather than advance during these eight years. See Burnet, *ubi supra*, p. 334, &c. and Neal, *ubi supra*, p 75, &c.—*Mur.*

[4] See Rœder's Tract, *De Colloquio Wormatiensi*, Nu-

transferred for certain reasons to the diet of Ratisbon of the same year; in which the project of a nameless writer who proposed conditions for a peace, was especially subjected to examination.[1] But the protracted deliberation had no other effect than to bring the parties to agree, that this very difficult subject should be more fully examined in the future council, or if a council should not be called, then in the next diet of Germany.

14. After this a very disturbed state of things ensued, which required the deliberations for settling religious controversies to be deferred. In the diet of Spire in 1542, the pontiff by his legate renewed his promise of a council, and signified that it should be held at Trent, if that place was agreeable. The king of the Romans, Ferdinand, and the Catholic princes gave their assent; but the Protestants rejected both the place and the council proposed by the pontiff, and demanded a legitimate and free council, that is, one which should be exempt from the laws and the authority of the pontiff. Nevertheless, the pope with the consent of the emperor, proceeded to appoint the council; and at the diet of Worms, A.D. 1545, the emperor negociated with the Protestants to bring them to approve of the council at Trent. But these negotiations failing, and the emperor seeing no prospect that the Protestants would ever subject themselves to the council, listened to the advice of Paul III. who urged a resort to arms, and in conjunction with that pontiff he secretly prepared for war. The leaders of the Protestants, the landgrave of Hesse and the elector of Saxony, took measures not to be overwhelmed in a defenceless state, and raised forces on their side.[2] While this storm was gathering, Luther, who was disposed to contend with prayers and patience rather than with arms, met a peaceful death at Eisleben his native town, on the 18th of February, 1546.[3]

remb. 1744, 4to. [and Sleidan's *Comment. de Statu Relig. et Reipubl.* lib. xiii. sub finem.—*Mur.*

[1] See Bleck's *Dreyfaches Interim*, Leip. 1721, 8vo, ch. i. p. 1, &c. [This conference was held in April, 1541. The emperor selected the disputants; on the part of the Catholics, John Eck, Julius Pflug, George Gropper; on the part of the Protestants, Ph. Melancthon, Martin Bucer, and John Pistorius. The author of the written project (called *the first Interim*), here read and discussed, was supposed to be Gropper. See Sleidan, *ubi supra*; Robertson's *Charles V.* book vi. p. 294, &c.—*Mur.*

[2] See Robertson's *Hist. of Charles V.* book vii. p. 322, &c.—*Mur.*

[3] See Bower's *Life of Luther*, chap. xl.—*Mur.* [On the latter days of Luther, besides this meagre compilation by Bower, the English reader should refer to Waddington's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 341, &c.; Scott's *Continuation of Milner*, &c. 3d edition, vol. i. p. 464, &c.—*R.*

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR OF SMALCALD [A.D. 1546], TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE RELIGIOUS PEACE [A.D. 1555].

1. THE destruction of those who should oppose the council of Trent had been agreed on between the emperor and the pontiff, and the opening of the council was to be the signal for taking up arms. Accordingly, that council had scarcely commenced its deliberations at the beginning of the year 1546, when it was manifest from various indications that an imperial papal war impended over the Protestants. At the diet of Ratisbon indeed of this year, a new conference or dispute between the principal theologians of the two parties had been instituted; but its progress and issue clearly showed, that the cause was to be decided not by arguments but by arms. The fathers at Trent passed their first decrees, which the Protestants again firmly rejected at the diet of Ratisbon; and soon after the emperor proscribed the Protestant leaders, and began to assemble an army against them.

2. The Saxon and Hessian princes led their forces into Bavaria to meet the emperor, and they cannonaded his camp at Ingolstadt. A battle was expected to ensue. But as Maurice duke of Saxony (who coveted the riches and the high rank of his uncle John Frederic, and was seduced by the promises of the emperor) now invaded the Saxon territories, and as the confederates of Smalcald were not harmonious in their views, and as the money promised them from France did not arrive, the Protestant army was broken up and the elector of Saxony returned home. The emperor pursued him by forced marches, and fell upon him unawares near Mühlberg on the Elbe, the 24th of April, 1547, where after an unsuccessful battle, and betrayed probably by his friends, he was taken prisoner. The other Protestant prince, Philip of Hesse, by advice of his son-in-law Maurice and of the elector of Brandenburg, threw himself upon the mercy of the emperor, expecting according to the emperor's promise to be forgiven and to be set at liberty. But he was nevertheless kept a prisoner; and it is reported that the emperor violated his promise in this instance and deluded the Hessian prince by the ambiguity of some German words. But this part of the history has not yet been so investigated as to make the imprisonment of the land-

grave and the grounds of it altogether clear.[1]

3. After this victory, the cause of the Protestants appeared irrecoverably ruined, and that of the Roman pontiff triumphant. In the diet held soon after at Augsburg and which was surrounded by troops, the emperor demanded of the Protestants to submit the decision of the religious controversy to the council of Trent. The greater part consented, and in particular Maurice of Saxony who had received from Charles the electoral dignity, of which together with a part of his territories John Frederic had been deprived, and who also was extremely solicitous for the liberation of his father-in-law, the landgrave of Hesse. But the emperor lost the benefit of this assent to the council of Trent. For upon a rumour that the pestilence had appeared at Trent, a great part of the fathers retired to Bologna; and thus the council was broken up.[2] Nor could the emperor prevail upon the pope to re-assemble the council without delay. As the prospect of a council was now more distant, the emperor deemed it necessary in the interim to adopt some project, which might preserve the peace in regard to religion until the council should assemble. Hence he caused a paper to be drawn up by Julius Pflug, bishop of Naumburg, Michael Sidonius a papist, and John Agricola of Eisleben, which should serve as a rule of faith and worship to the professors of both the old religion and the new, until the meeting of the council; and this paper, because it had not the force of a permanent law, was commonly called the Interim.[3]

4. This paper called the Interim, though very favourable to the papal cause, was equally displeasing to the pontiff and to the professors of the true or Lutheran religion. When the emperor communicated it to the diet of Augsburg, the elector of Mentz without taking the sense of the members rose and, in the name of the diet, assented to it. Most of the princes, therefore, though with reluctance, acquiesced. Those who opposed it were for the most part compelled by the power and arms of the emperor to submit, and the calamities and oppressions which followed in Germany are almost indescribable. Maurice, elector of Saxony, who occupied middle ground between those who approved and those who rejected the Interim, held several consultations at Leipsic and other places, in the year 1548, with his theologians and principal men, of whom Philip Melancthon was most distinguished, that he might determine what course to pursue. The result of the protracted deliberation was, that Melancthon (whom the other theologians followed) partly from fear of the emperor and partly from condescension to his sovereign, decided that the whole instrument called the Interim could by no means be admitted, but that there was no impediment to receiving and approving it, so far as it concerned things not essential in religion or things indifferent (adiaphoræ). This decision gave rise to the Adiaphoristic controversy among the Lutherans, which will be described in the history of the Lutheran church. In this state of things the cause of the reformed religion of Luther was in imminent peril; and had the pontiff and the emperor known how to take advantage of their good fortune,

[1] Besides the accounts of the common historians, Grosch has well described all these transactions in his *Vertheidigung der Evangelischen Kirche gegen Gottfr. Arnold*, p. 29, &c. [See Sleidan's *Comment. de Statu Relig. et Reipubl.* lib. xviii. and the very full history of this war in Robertson's *Hist. of Charles V.* book viii. p. 338, &c. and book ix. p. 360, &c.—*Mur.* [See also Ranke's *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter d. Reformat.* vol. iv. not yet translated into English. This valuable work terminates at the death of Charles V.—*R.*

[2] The report of a pestilence was a mere pretence. The pope, Paul III. was equally jealous of the council, which had not been disposed in all respects to govern itself by his orders, as he was of the growing power of the emperor, which he did not wish to see farther increased by the council. He indeed hated the Protestants; but he did not wish to see the emperor, under colour of enforcing the decrees of the council, acquire a more absolute authority over Germany. He had already withdrawn his troops from the imperial army, and he now wished to see the council dispersed. The Spanish members opposed him, but he found means to prevail.—*Schl.*

[3] See Bieck's *Dreyfaches Interim*, Oslander's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, cent. xvi. lib. ii. c. lxviii. p. 425, and others. Respecting the authors and the editions of the *Interim*, see a disquisition in the *Dänische Bibliothek*, part v. p. 1, &c. and part vi. p. 185, &c [The *Interim* may be seen at large in Goldast's *Constitutiones Imperiales*, tom. i. p. 518, &c.; also in J. C. Fabre's continuation of Fleury's *Ecclesiastical History*, lib. cxlv. sec. 21—23, Latin, by R. P. Alexander, vol. xxxix. p. 540—586. See also Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformat.* vol. i. p. 674, &c.; Robertson's *Hist. of Charles V.* book ix. p. 377, &c. The *Interim* consisted of twenty-six articles drawn up with great care, and in a very conciliatory spirit. On most doctrinal points, such as man's primitive rectitude, apostacy, original sin, redemption by Christ, necessity of divine grace, human merit, &c. it adopted, very much, scriptural views and language; and might have been assented to by the Protestants, without sacrificing perhaps any fundamental truths. But it retained the mass, all the seven sacraments, the hierarchy, the traditions, the ceremonies, in short the whole exterior of the Catholic establishment and worship, with the sole exceptions of tolerating the marriage of the clergy and communion in both kinds. Yet it limited the authority of the pontiff, and so explained the grounds and uses of the Romish rites, as to make them the least offensive possible.—*Mur.* [On this perplexing passage of Lutheran church-history to which reference will afterwards be made, see Gieseler, *Lehrbuch neueren Kirchenges.* Bonn, 1840, vol. i. p. 342, &c. This work has not yet been translated into English, though fully as valuable as his other one. The section (sec. 9) in particular which treats of the *Interim* is marked by all the characteristic excellencies of this accurate and judicious compiler. See also Scott's *Continuation of Milner*, &c. vol. ii. p. 24, &c.—*R.*

they might doubtless have either totally crushed the Lutheran church, or depressed it greatly and brought it into embarrassment.

5. In the midst of these contests Julius III. who succeeded Paul III. in the government of the Romish church A.D. 1550, being overcome by the entreaties of the emperor, consented to revive the council of Trent. The emperor therefore at the diet of Augsburg, which he again surrounded with his troops, conferred with the princes on the prosecution of the council. The major part agreed that the council ought to go on, and Maurice, elector of Saxony, consented yet only on certain conditions.[1] At the close of the diet therefore, A.D. 1551, the emperor directed all to prepare themselves for the council, and promised to use his endeavours that everything should there be done in a religious and Christian manner, and without passion. Hence confessions of faith to be exhibited to the council were drawn up, one in Saxony by Melancthon, and another at Würtemberg by John Brentius. Besides the ambassadors of the duke, some of the theologians of Würtemberg also repaired to Trent. But the Saxons, at the head of whom was Melancthon, though they set out, advanced no farther than Nuremberg; for their sovereign [the elector Maurice] only made a show of obedience to the will of the emperor, while he was really designing to subject Charles to his own pleasure.

6. What plans and purposes Charles V. was pursuing amid these commotions in Germany will appear if we consider the circumstances of the times, and compare the different parts of his conduct. The emperor, relying more than prudence would dictate upon his own powers and good fortune, wished to make these disquietudes arising out of religion subservient to the enlargement and establishment of his power in Germany, and to the diminution of the resources and the rights of the princes. Moreover, as he had in like manner long wished to see the authority and dominion of the Roman pontiffs diminished and confined within some definite limits, so that they might no longer interrupt the progress of his designs, so he hoped by means of the council this wish might be realized, since by means of the councils formerly held at Constance and Basil, a check was laid upon the exorbitant lust of power in the Romish bishops. For he had no doubt that by means of his ambassadors and bishops, those of Spain and Germany and others, he should be able so to control the deliberations of the council that all its decrees and acts would be conformable to his plans and wishes.[2] But all these expectations and designs were frustrated by that very Maurice, by whose assistance principally Charles had been able to break down the power of the Protestants.

7. Long had Maurice in vain solicited for the liberation of his father-in-law, Philip of Hesse; and long had the greatest princes of Germany and Europe importunately petitioned the emperor to set at liberty both the landgrave of Hesse and the late elector of Saxony. When therefore Maurice perceived that he had been duped, and that Charles had hostile designs upon the liberties of Germany, he entered into an alliance with the king of France and with certain German princes, for asserting the rights of the Germanic nation; and in the year 1552 he led forth a well-appointed army against the emperor. And he conducted the business with such celerity and vigour, that he was very near falling upon Charles unawares and in a state of security at Innspruck. This sudden storm so terrified Charles, that he appeared quite ready to agree to any terms of peace; and soon after at Passau, he not only gave present tranquillity to the Protestants, but promised to assemble a diet within six months, at which the long-protracted religious contests should be wholly terminated. Thus the very man who had given a severer blow perhaps than any other to the Protestant cause, was the man to establish and give triumph to that cause, when it was nearly given up and abandoned. Yet Maurice did not live to see the result of his undertaking; for the next year he fell in a battle against Albert of Brandenburg, at Sievershausen.[3]

[1] These conditions were, that the council should rescind all its past acts and begin anew; that the divines of the Augsburg Confession should not only be heard, but have the right of voting; that the pontiff should place himself under the jurisdiction of the council, and should not have the presidency of it; and that he should release the bishops from their oath of allegiance to him, so that they might give their opinions freely. The assent under these conditions was read before the diet, and request made that it might be entered entire upon the journals, but this request was refused. See Sleidan's *Comment.* &c. lib. xxii. fol. 576, ed. 1556.—*Mur.*

[2] This is clearly and satisfactorily shown in Robertson's *History of Charles V.* vol. iii. p. 58, 207.—*Schl.*

[3] Maurice was all his life a Protestant at heart. But he was selfish, ambitious, and ungrateful. His base attack upon the dominions of his uncle John Frederick during the war of Smalcald was the chief cause of the unhappy termination of that war, and of all the calamities endured by the Protestants from the year 1548 to 1552. During this period he sided with the emperor, for the sake of acquiring an increase of territory and the rank of an elector. Yet he did not abandon the Protestant religion, nor so enforce the Interim as to restrain the exercise of that religion among his subjects. He probably had been deceived by the emperor's hollow promises not to injure the cause of Protestantism. When he perceived this, and also discovered the emperor's designs to overthrow the liberties of Germany, he was mortified, stung by his conscience, and roused to indignation. He therefore

8. The Diet which the emperor promised at the pacification of Passau could not be assembled on account of commotions that arose in Germany and other impediments, until the year 1555. But in this year at Augsburg, and in presence of Ferdinand the emperor's brother, that memorable convention was held which gave to the Protestants, after so much slaughter and so many calamities and conflicts, that firm and stable religious peace which they still enjoy. For on the 25th of September, after various discussions, all those who had embraced the Augsburg Confession were pronounced free and exempt from all jurisdiction of the pontiff and the bishops, and were bidden to live securely under their own laws and regulations; and liberty was given to all Germans to follow which of the two religions they pleased; and lastly, all those were declared to be public enemies of Germany who should presume to make war upon others or to molest them on the ground of their religion.[1] Nothing scarcely could more clearly demonstrate the superstition, ignorance, and wretchedness of that age, and consequently the necessity which existed for a reformation in the prevalent views of religion and things sacred, than the fact that most of the Germans needed to be instructed by so many writings, controversies, and wars, before they could assent to regulations so equitable, and so consonant to reason and the holy Scriptures.

9. While these events were taking place in Germany, the English were deploring the very near extinction of the light of pure religion; and witnessing the continual persecution of their countrymen, they esteemed those Germans happy who had escaped from the Romish tyranny. Henry VIII. whose vices obstructed the progress of the Reformation, died in the year 1547. His son and successor Edward VI. a child in years but mature in wisdom, intelligence, and virtue, having collected around him learned men from every quarter, and particularly some from Germany of the mildest character, as Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, ordered the kingdom to be purged entirely of the popish fictions, and a better religion to be publicly taught. But he was removed by death in 1553, to the immense grief of his subjects.[2] His sister Mary, daughter

determined to bring down the power of the emperor, and to rescue both the Protestant religion and the liberties of his country from oppression. See Robertson's *History of Charles V.* book x. p. 285, &c. The treaty of Passau between the emperor and Maurice, August 2d, 1552, laid the foundation of the liberties of the German Protestant church. "Its chief articles were,—That before the 12th of August the confederates shall lay down their arms and disband their forces; That on or before that day the landgrave shall be set at liberty, and be conveyed in safety to his castle of Rheinfels; That a Diet shall be held within six months, in order to deliberate concerning the most proper and effectual method of preventing for the future all disputes and dissensions about religion; That in the mean time, neither the emperor nor any other prince shall, upon any pretext whatever, offer any injury or violence to those who adhere to the confession of Augsburg, but shall allow them to enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion; That, in return, the Protestants shall not molest the Catholics, either in the exercise of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction or in performing their religious ceremonies; That the imperial chamber shall administer justice impartially to persons of both parties, and Protestants be admitted indiscriminately with the Catholics to sit as judges in that court; That if the next Diet should not be able to terminate the disputes with regard to religion, the stipulations in the present treaty in behalf of the Protestants shall continue for ever in full power and vigour; That none of the confederates shall be liable to any action on account of what had happened during the course of the war; That the consideration of those encroachments which had been made, as Maurice pretended, upon the constitution and liberties of the empire, shall be remitted to the approaching Diet; That Albert of Brandenburg shall be comprehended in the treaty, provided he shall accede to it, and disband his forces before the 12th of August." Robertson's *Charles V. ubi supra*, p. 414, &c. See also Sleidan's *Comment.* &c. lib. xxiv. folio 661.—*Mur.*

[1] See Schilter's tract, *De Pace Religiosa*, published in 1700, 4to; Lehmann's *Acta Publica et Originalia de Pace Religiosa*, Frankf. 1707, fol. [The compact entitled the religious peace, as extracted from the acts of the Diet of Augsburg of Sept. 25, 1555, may be seen at large in Struve's *Corpus Juris Publici Academicum*, ed. 2d. Jena, 1734, p. 169—214. It embraces twenty-two articles, and is founded on the treaty of Passau described in the preceding note. It places the believers in the Augsburg Confession and the Catholics on the same ground, as citizens and as members of the empire, and forbids all molestation of the one class by the other; prohibits proselytizing, but allows voluntary transition from one religion to the other. Yet beneficed Catholics, if they turned Protestants, were to lose their benefices. All other denominations of Christians, except Catholics and Lutherans, are expressly excluded from the privileges of this compact. (Art. IV. "Attamen cæteri omnes, qui alteri prænominatarum harum binarum Religionum non sint adhærentes, sub hac pace, non comprehensi, sed plane exclusi esse debent.") The Zwinglians, Calvinists, or Reformed, were therefore left in the same state as before. The treaty still contemplated a more full adjustment of all points of controversy in a general or national council or in a future diet; yet it contained an express stipulation that the principles here settled should remain inviolate for ever. In the imperial cities, and wherever the professors of both religions had hitherto enjoyed equal religious liberty, they were to continue to enjoy the same. The pope was exceedingly displeased with this peace; and he tried to persuade the emperor to renounce it, promising to absolve him from his oath. But the emperor would not consent. Yet the Catholics were never satisfied with it. And some ambiguities in the language of it and some of its odious provisions, such as excluding all but Lutherans and Catholics from a participation in it, and subjecting beneficed Catholics to the loss of their livings if they became Lutherans, led on to contention, and at last produced in the next century the Thirty Years' War, which nearly ruined Germany.—*Mur.* [Scott's *Continuation of Milner*, &c. vol. ii. p. 85, &c.—*R.*

[2] By the act of supremacy, the sole right of reforming the church was in the crown. This right the regents claimed and exercised during the king's minority, notwithstanding the objections of the opponents of reform. Henry had assigned to his son sixteen regents of the kingdom, besides twelve privy counsellors; and a majority of these were friendly to the Reformation. The leading reformers at that time were, king Edward himself, the duke of Somerset lord protector, the archbishops Cranmer and Holgate, Sir W.

of that Catherine whom Henry VIII. had divorced, was heiress of the kingdom; and being a woman bigotedly devoted to the religion of her ancestors and governed by her passions, she again obtruded the Catholic religion upon the English; nor did she hesitate to put to the most cruel death great numbers of those who resisted, and even persons of the highest rank, among whom Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury and author of the recent prostration of the papal power in England, stood conspicuous. But the death of the queen, who died without issue in 1558, put an end to this scene of rage.[1] For her successor on the British throne, Elizabeth, a woman of masculine resolution and sagacity, rescued her country entirely from the power of the pontiff, and established that form of religion and worship which still prevails in England. This is different from that form which the counsellors of Edward had devised, and approaches nearer to the usages and institutions of the previous times; yet it is very far removed from that which is held sacred at Rome.[2]

Paget, secretary of state, lord viscount Lisle high admiral, and the bishops Holbeach, Goodrick, Latimer, and Ridley. The leaders in opposition to reform were—the princess Mary, earl Wriothesley, and bishops Tonstal, Gardiner, and Bonner. The obstacles to reformation were, the profound ignorance and superstition of the people at large, the resistance of the bishops, the incompetence and selfishness of the inferior clergy, the want of ecclesiastical funds, and the deficiency of preachers who could spread the light of truth. The court ordered a visitation of all the churches, and forbade any to preach out of their parishes without a license during the visitation. The first book of Homilies was set forth, to be read in the churches where the incumbents were incompetent to preach; and thirty-six royal injunctions, regulating worship and religious order, were issued. Bishops Bonner and Gardiner refused obedience to the injunctions, and were sent to prison. The parliament which met in November, 1547, repealed the laws which sanctioned persecution, and also the statute of the Six Articles which had been a bar to reformation, ordered the communion to be given in both kinds, empowered the king to appoint all bishops, and sequestered what remained of chantry lands and other pious legacies of former days. This year, Peter Martyr of Florence was made divinity professor at Oxford, and Martin Bucer at Cambridge. Ochinus and Fagius, also foreigners, were employed in the English church. Religious controversy grew warm, and was introduced into the pulpits. In September the king forbade all preaching, till he should decree what might be preached. Some bishops were appointed to reform the offices of the church or the formulas of worship. This was the first liturgy of king Edward. In January, 1549, parliament ratified the new liturgy, and made it penal to use any other. A new visitation was appointed by the court to see that the new liturgy was introduced. Some tumults and insurrections ensued, but they were soon quieted. The Anabaptists were persecuted, and likewise all opposers of the new liturgy. In November, 1550, parliament authorised the king to revise the canon law of England. A new digest in fifty-one tituli was formed, but never sanctioned, not being completed till just before the king's death. The new ritual was pressed. The recusants were either papists who were attached to the old ritual, or Nonconformists who (like Hooper) objected to the sacerdotal garments and wished for a more simple worship. Both were persecuted. In 1551 Cranmer and Ridley drew up new articles of faith, forty-two in number, which the council published. In 1552 the Common Prayer-Book was again revised, and made nearly the same as it now is. In January, 1553, it was sanctioned by parliament. This year king Edward died, and the Reformation was arrested before it had obtained a firm establishment or that degree of perfection which its authors designed. See Burnet's *History of the Reformat.* vol. ii. par. i. book i.; and Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. i. chap. ii.—*Mur.* [To these authorities might have been added Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, 2 vols. fol. lately reprinted in 8 vols. 8vo. The more recent works on the English Reformation are Soames' *History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, Lond. 1826-28, 4 vols. 8vo, terminating at the year 1563; Carwithen's *History of the Church of England to the Revolution*, Lond. 1829-33, 3 vols. 8vo. If the reader wishes for a succinct outline of this important revolution in England, he will find a very striking one in Blunt's spirited *Sketch of the Reformation in England* (Murray's Family Library), Lond. 1832. All these writers are prejudiced, though in different degrees, against the Puritan party.—*R.*

[1] Queen Mary disguised her intentions till fully established on the throne, and then proceeded to release from prison and restore to their sees the popish bishops Bonner, Gardiner, Tonstal, &c. and to imprison the reformers, Cranmer, Hooper, Coverdale, Rogers, Holgate, and others. Eight hundred friends to reformation fled to the Continent, and settled chiefly along the Rhine. Among these were five bishops, five deans, four archdeacons, and above fifty doctors in divinity, besides noblemen, merchants, &c. The foreigners, Peter Martyr, and John à Lasco with his congregation, were expelled the country. A compliant parliament in October, 1553, repealed the laws of king Edward in favour of a reformation, restored things to the state in which Henry VIII. left them, and made it penal to practise the Reformed religion. The convocation fully agreed with the parliament. In 1554 the queen appointed a visitation of the churches to restore the former state of things. Six bishops were turned out, the mass was set up, and the popish rites everywhere restored. All the married and recusant clergy, to the number of some thousands, were deprived. This year the queen married Philip king of Spain. In November an obsequious parliament was assembled, cardinal Pole was recalled, and as papal legate he fully restored popery, and reunited England to the papal throne. The parliament proceeded in 1555 to repeal all laws in favour of a reformation passed since the time Henry VIII. first began his contest with the pope, and to revive the old laws against heretics. The fires of persecution were now kindled. John Rogers was the first martyr, and bishops Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer were among the victims. Of these executions, bishop Bonner was the chief agent. The whole number put to death during the remainder of this reign was about 288, besides those who died in prison and great numbers who fled the country. Popery was now completely triumphant, and the Reformation seemed entirely suppressed. See Burnet, *ubi supra*, book ii. and Neal, *ubi supra*, chap. iii.—*Mur.*

[2] Queen Mary died November 17th, 1558, and her sister Elizabeth was immediately proclaimed. She had a vigorous, resolute mind, and was friendly to the Reformation. Claiming supreme power both in church and state, she determined to restore forthwith the Reformed religion. In December 1558, she inhibited all preaching for the present. The exiles hastened home, and were somewhat divided among themselves in respect to their views of discipline and rites of worship, in consequence of what they had witnessed while abroad. The English bishops were all opposed to reformation. The court secured a compliant parliament, which met in January, 1559, repealed the persecuting laws of queen Mary, invested the sovereign with power to regulate the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the church, to appoint all bishops, and to establish High Commission Courts, with powers nearly equal to the Inquisition. The queen appointed doctors Parker, Grindal, Cox, and others, to revise king Edward's liturgy; which being slightly altered, was ratified by parliament in April, and enjoined upon the whole nation by law. On the rise of parliament, the bishops were called upon to take the oath of supremacy. All except one [of this one, some very curious particulars

10. Into the neighbouring kingdom of Scotland the elements of a purer religion were early introduced, by certain young noblemen who had resided in Germany. But the papal power, supported by inhuman laws and penalties, for many years prevented it from taking firm root. The principal author of the entire abolition of the Romish dominion over Scotland was John Knox, a disciple of Calvin, a man of eloquence and of a bold and fearless character. Proceeding from Geneva to Scotland in the year 1559, he in a short time so roused up the people by his discourses, that the majority of them abandoned the institutions of their fathers and destroyed every vestige of the Romish religion.[1] From that time onward the Scots have pertinaciously adhered to that form of religion and discipline, which was established at Geneva under the auspices of John Calvin, Knox's preceptor; nor could any considerations afterwards induce them to adopt the ecclesiastical institutions and forms of worship of the English.

11. In Ireland, the Reformation was exposed to the same fluctuations and fortunes as in England. When Henry VIII. upon the abrogation of the pontifical power, was declared supreme head of the English church, George Brown, an English Augustinian monk whom the king in 1535 had created archbishop of Dublin, proceeded to purge the churches of his province of their images, relics, and superstitious rites; and he exerted such influence, that the king's supremacy (by which was meant the royal power over the church) was acknowledged in Ireland. Accordingly the king soon after expelled the monks from Ireland, and destroyed their houses. Under Edward VI. the Reformation in Ireland continued to be urged forward by the same archbishop. But Mary the sister of Edward persecuted with fire and sword those who embraced the reformed religion, in Ireland as well as in England; and Brown and the other bishops who favoured the Reformation

have been lately brought to light in Lamb's *Historical Account of the Thirty-nine Articles*, 4to, p. 11.—*R.*] refused, and were turned out to the number of fourteen. New bishops favourable to the Reformation were appointed by the queen, and consecrated by the ex-bishops of king Edward's reign. The queen now ordered a general visitation of the churches; and issued fifty-two injunctions regulating worship and discipline, the lives and duties of clergymen, rites, ceremonies, holy days, &c. with penalties against recusants. Of the clergy, only about 200 refused obedience and lost their livings. In 1562, the parliament confirmed the Reformation effected by the queen. The convocation revised the forty-two articles of faith of king Edward, made some not very important alterations, and reduced the number to thirty-nine; yet they were not ratified by parliament till 1571. Respecting the forms of worship, the convocation was nearly equally divided; and they debated with great warmth, the minority urging a greater simplicity of worship. Here the Puritan party began to show itself. But the queen was fond of a splendid worship; and claiming supreme dominion in religious matters, she rigorously enforced uniformity. Thus the Reformation was arrested, and the established church in England has ever since remained substantially the same as in the year 1562. See Burnet, *ubi supra*, vol. ii. part i. book iii.; Neal, *ubi supra*, vol. i. chap. iv.—*Mur.* [See the works referred to in a previous note; with Strype's valuable *Memorials;* and more recently Todd's *Life of Cranmer*, Lond. 1831, 2 vols. The Romanist view of these transactions may be seen in Dodd's *Church History of England*, from 1500 to 1688, 3 vols. fol. newly reprinted in 8vo, and edited by Tierney, five volumes of which have already appeared. I need scarcely add that all the civil histories of England by Rapin, Hume, Lingard, Mackintosh, &c. embrace this period; and a rapid sketch may be found in Hallam's *Constitutional Hist. of Eng.* vol i. chap. ii. &c.—*R.*

[1] Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 165, &c. 232, 234, 569, and others; Calderwood's *History of the Church of Scotland*, Lond. 1680, fol.; Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xvi. sec. xxi. &c. p. 361, &c. ed. Ruddimann; Melvil's *Memoires*, tome i. p. 73, &c.; [M'Crie's *Life of John Knox;* Robertson's *Hist. of Scotland;* Scott's *Lives of the Protestant Reformers in Scotland*, Edinb. 1810, 8vo. The martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton in 1528 at St. Andrews made a deep impression on many of his countrymen. It produced inquiry on religious subjects; and from that time there were always more or fewer Scots who preached against the prevailing religion; *e.g.* friar Seaton, one Forest, and others. But the priests frequently brought the reformers to the stake. Two were burned in 1534, while others fled into England. In 1539, five were burned at Edinburgh and two at Glasgow. In the same year the famous George Buchanan went into exile. In 1542, several Scottish noblemen were carried prisoners of war into England, where some of them imbibed a favourable opinion of the reformed religion. In 1543, Hamilton, earl of Arran and lord protector, was friendly to the reformed; but he was so vigorously opposed by cardinal Beaton that he dared not openly protect them. In 1545 George Wishart was burned by cardinal Beaton, to the general disgust of the nobility. A number of young men of spirit and birth associated together, and assassinated the cardinal in his palace of St. Andrews, and then taking possession of the castle, held it for some years and thus afforded a rendezvous for the Reformed. In 1547 John Knox retired thither with his pupils, and was soon made a preacher. St. Andrews was afterwards besieged and taken; and Knox with the other prisoners was sent to France, and there kept in the galleys. In 1552 the queen-mother found it necessary to purchase the support of the reformed, now a powerful party, by affording them protection; and for six years they suffered little molestation. In 1558, the queen was obliged by her allies to withdraw her protection, and the reformed, now very numerous especially in the large towns and among the nobles, were again persecuted. The burning of Walter Mill induced them to combine and to assert their right to believe and to worship according to the dictates of their consciences. A civil war ensued, and queen Elizabeth of England aided the Scottish reformed. In 1559 John Knox returned to Scotland, and by his eloquence and activity carried forward the Reformation triumphantly. The queen regent died in June, and peace was concluded in August, 1560. The parliament assembled soon after, and in this year and the following fully established the Protestant religion according to the views of John Knox, and passed laws for the suppression of the Catholic religion throughout the country. Thus was the Scottish Reformation at last achieved.—See the authors above cited.—*Mur.* [In addition to them, and to the works mentioned in note l, page 586, above, the student should also consult Spotiswood's *History of the church and state of Scotland from* 203 *to* 1625, fol. Edin. 1677; and Keith's *History of the affairs of the church and state of Scotland from the beginning of the Reformation to the retreat of Q. Mary into England in* 1568, fol. Edin. 1734; both of whom are ardent Episcopalians; and Tytler's *History of Scotland*, volumes five and six, who, like all other Episcopalian writers, has not treated the Scottish reformers with ordinary candour or justice.—*R.*

were deprived of their offices. Under Elizabeth everything was restored, and the Irish adopted the form of religion and discipline which was established in England.[1]

12. Soon after the Scots, the inhabitants of the provinces now called the United Netherlands [or the Dutch] revolted entirely from the Roman pontiff. Philip II. king of Spain, very anxious for the safety of the Romish religion among a people so attached to liberty, determined to restrain the Belgians and secure their allegiance to the pontiff by creating an additional number of bishops, by establishing among them the iniquitous tribunal of the Inquisition, and by other harsh and intolerable laws. But this excessive care to preserve the old religion, instead of securing it from the dangers to which it was exposed, occasioned its total overthrow. In the year 1566 the nobility combined together, and remonstrated strongly against these new edicts; and meeting with repulse and contempt, they in conjunction with the people openly trampled upon the things held sacred by the Romanists.[2] As the duke of Alva, who was sent from Spain with forces for that purpose, endeavoured to suppress these commotions with unparalleled cruelty and with innumerable slaughters, that furious civil war was produced to which the very powerful republic of the seven United Provinces of Belgium owes its origin. This republic, rescued from the dominion of the Spaniards by its leader, William of Nassau, prince of Orange, with the aid of Elizabeth, queen of England, and of the king of France, adopted in the year 1573 the doctrines, the ecclesiastical organisation, and the worship of the Swiss, yet gave to all the citizens entire liberty of opinion on religious subjects, provided they attempted nothing against the peace and prosperity of the community.[3]

13. In Spain and Italy, the reformed religion made great progress, soon after the

[1] See the life of George Brown, late archbishop of Dublin, London, 1681, 4to, and which is reprinted in the collection called the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v. Lond. 1745, 4to, No. lxxi. [The Reformed religion never has had the assent of the Irish people at large. Henry VIII. attempted little more than to establish his supremacy over the church of Ireland. And though he succeeded in procuring the vote of a majority in the Irish parliament for it, the people and the clergy very generally would never admit it. He suppressed the monasteries and confiscated their funds, but this did not suppress popery. Queen Mary easily and at once restored everything in that country, except the confiscated property. She deprived archbishop Brown in 1554, but did not attempt to persecute "with fire and sword" the handful of Protestants in that country until near the close of her reign, when she sent over Dr. Cole with a commission for that purpose. His commission however was stolen from him on the way, and he had to return to England for another; but before he reached Ireland a second time the queen died, and he could not proceed to his bloody work. Queen Elizabeth caused herself to be proclaimed head of the church in Ireland, and undertook to enforce everywhere the Protestant doctrines and worship. But without success. The recusant clergy indeed lost their livings, and some Protestant clergymen were introduced into the country. But the people at large would not attend the Protestant worship. Thus, while Protestantism was the only established religion and the only one legally tolerated, it was followed by few except the officers of government, and such English families as removed to Ireland to enjoy the estates they acquired there. In the reign of James I. many Presbyterians from Scotland settled in the north of Ireland, and some English Puritans also took refuge there. Thus the Protestant population became considerably increased. But still the pure Irish, as well as the descendants of those English who settled in Ireland prior to the Reformation, constituting together the majority of the population of the country, continued to adhere to the Catholic religion. During the two last centuries the Protestant population, and particularly the dissenting portion of it, has been considerably increased; yet the Catholic population has also increased; and it is said that there have been more conversions from the Protestant to the Catholic faith in Ireland during the period, than conversions from the Catholic faith to the Protestant. Thus Ireland is still a Catholic country, if we regard the population; though Protestant and of the church of England, if we regard only the religious establishments of the country.—*Mur.* [The life of Brown, archbishop of Dublin, referred to in the beginning of this note, was first of all reprinted in the *Phœnix*, vol. i. p. 120, &c. Lond. 1707, under the pompous title of *The Reformation of the Church in Ireland*. From this work, it was translated into Latin and published by Gerdes in the fourth volume of his very curious and valuable compilation, entitled *Scrinium Antiquarium, sive Miscellanea Groningana*, &c. 1762. He retained the inappropriate title of *Historia Reformationis Hibernicæ*, of which this meagre tract is altogether unworthy. A full and impartial *History of the Reformation in Ireland* is still a desideratum in our literature. Several years ago the editor of this work attempted to give for the first time a very brief sketch of that portion of Irish history, together with an outline of the causes which retarded the progress of the truth there, in the Introduction to his *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, Edin. 1834, vol. i. Some years afterwards Dr. Mant, bishop of Down and Connor, in his bulky *History of the Church of Ireland*, Lond. 1840, surveyed the same period; but with the exception of a few facts furnished by the Rev. Dr. Todd of Trinity College, Dublin, he has supplied no new information, and his work has not met with general acceptance. Much valuable matter may be found in Phelan's *Policy of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland*, Lond. 1827.—*R.*

[2] Maclaine justly remarks that Mosheim here seems to distinguish too little between the spirit of the nobility and that of the multitude. Nothing was more temperate and decent than the conduct of the former, and nothing could be more tumultuous and irregular than the behaviour of the latter.—*Mur.*

[3] The noble work of Gerard Brandt, entitled *A History of the Reformation in the Netherlands*, written in Dutch and printed at Amsterdam, 1677, &c. in 4 vols. 4to, is especially to be consulted. [The first volume is properly the history of the Reformation, coming down to the year 1600; the other volumes contain a history of the Arminian controversy, and the events of the seventeenth century. There is a translated abridgment of Brandt both in French and English, which gives a good condensed account. See also Gerdes' *Historia Reformationis*, tom. iii. pag. 1, &c. and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. ii. p. 348—434. Philip II. king of Spain, determined to purge the Netherlands of heretics; and for this purpose increased the number of bishops from four to fourteen, enacted severe laws against heretics, and determined to introduce the Inquisition into the country. These measures were generally offensive, and to the Catholics nearly as much so as to the Protestants. In 1566 most of the nobles, though generally Catholics, entered into an association to protect and defend the liberties of the country. The Protestants, now 100,000 in number, petitioned the king for toleration; and though treated with contempt, they ventured to hold their meetings for worship openly, instead of meeting in private. They

first conflicts between Luther and the pontiffs. Very many in all the provinces of Italy, but especially among the Venetians, the Tuscans, and the Neapolitans, avowed their alienation from the Romish religion. And in the kingdom of Naples in particular, very great and dangerous commotions arose from this source in the year 1536, which were excited chiefly by the celebrated Bernardino Ochino, Peter Martyr, and others who preached against the superstitions, and which Charles V. and his viceroy for Naples had great difficulty to suppress.[1] The principal instruments used by the Roman pontiffs for repelling this danger were the Inquisitors, whom they sent into most parts of Italy, and who tortured and slew so many people, that very many of the friends of the new religion fled into exile, and others returned ostensibly at least to the old religion. But the pontiff found it utterly impossible to bring the Neapolitans to tolerate the tribunal of the Inquisition, or even to admit Inquisitors into their country. Spain became infected with the Lutheran doctrines by different ways, and among others by those very theologians whom Charles V. took with him to Germany to confute the heretics; for those theologians returned to their country tainted with the heresy. But the Spanish Inquisition, by its accustomed severities, and especially by condemning to the flames, easily extinguished in the citizens all disposition to substitute a better religion in place of the old one.[2]

14. It is unnecessary to enter into a controversy with those who say, that some of the persons who took a leading part in these great revolutions were now and then guilty of grievous faults. For the best informed do not deny that several transactions might have been conducted more discreetly, and that some of the men in power were more solicitous to promote their own interests than to advance pure religion. But on the other hand, it is beyond all question that many things which appear faulty to us of the present age should be classed among noble achievements, if we regard their respective times and places, and compare them with the frauds and enormities both of the Roman pontiffs and their supporters. However, when we inquire into the justice of the controversy which Luther first waged with the Roman pontiff, it is not a question that relates to the personal acts and virtues of individual men. Let some of these be supposed even worse men than they are generally esteemed, provided the cause for which they contended be allowed to have been just and good.[3]

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had now fifty or sixty places of meeting in Flanders, attended by 60,000 persons. Similar meetings were opened in Artois, Brabant, Utrecht, Seeland, Geldres, Friesland, &c. Attempts being made by the government to disperse their assemblies by force, they went armed to their places of worship. The same year the rabble, first in Flanders and afterwards in the other provinces, broke into the churches and destroyed the images, pictures, crosses, &c. Philip subsidized 13,000 German troops to support the government. Many of the rebellious Catholics voluntarily submitted, and the Protestants were reduced to great straits. Many were put to death, and many fled the country. The association of the nobles melted away. In 1567 the Netherlands were truly a conquered country. But Philip, not yet satisfied, determined to punish his subjects still more; and therefore sent the duke of Alva with an army of Spaniards and Italians to chastise the country. But severity only increased the number of Protestants, and drove the people to desperation. In 1568 William, prince of Orange, assembled an army of refugees, and invaded the country without success. In 1572, he attacked the northern provinces by sea, and presently made himself master of Holland and several of the other provinces. The Hollanders now proclaimed him their stadtholder; and in 1573 he was able to attack some of the more southern provinces. The war lasted many years, and the United Provinces fully set up the Protestant religion; while those who remained subject to a foreign jurisdiction were obliged to acquiesce in popery as the established religion. Respecting the toleration of other sects in the United Netherlands, Maclaine (who lived long in that country, and therefore may be considered good authority) observes that "It is necessary to distinguish between the toleration which was granted to the Roman Catholics and that which the Anabaptists, Lutherans, and other Protestant sects enjoyed. They were all, indiscriminately, excluded from the civil employments of the state; but though they were equally allowed the exercise of their religion, the latter were permitted to enjoy their religious worship in a more open and public manner than the former, from whom their churches were taken and whose religious assemblies were confined to private conventicles, which had no external resemblance of the edifices usually set apart for divine worship."—*Mur.* [There is also an English translation of the work of Brandt, in four vols. folio, published at London in 1720—23.—*R.*

[1] See Giannone, *Hist. Civile du Royaume de Naples* [lib. xxxii. cap. v. sec. i.], tome iv. p. 108, &c. The Life of Galeacius, in the *Museum Helvet.* tom. ii. p. 524, [See Gerdes, *Specimen Italiæ Reformatæ—una cum Syllabo Reformatorum Italorum*, Leyden, 1765, 4to, and De Porta, *Hist. Reformat. Eccles. Rœticarum*, Chur, 1771, vol. i. lib. ii. ch. ii. &c.—*Mur.* [These foreign works are now superseded by that admirable *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy* which was first published by the late Rev. Dr. M'Crie, of Edinburgh, in 1827. A second and enlarged edition appeared in 1833. It has been translated into Dutch, French, and German; and it had the honour of being placed in the Roman Index of prohibited books by the late pope, Gregory XVI. See also a valuable sketch by Gieseler in his *Lehrbuch d. neuern Kirchenq.* vol. i. p. 494—513, with important extracts and references in the notes.—*R.*

[2] Geddes, *Spanish Protestant Martyrology*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 445. [See also note 1, p. 585, above.—*Mur.* [It is remarkable that all the Spanish theologians who accompanied Charles V. to Germany, and were associated with him afterwards in his retirement, fell after his death into the hands of the Inquisition and were condemned, some to the flames and others to various kinds of death. These were Augustine Casal, his court preacher, Constantine Pontius, his confessor, the Dominican Bartholomew Caranza, confessor to king Philip and queen Mary, together with many others.—*Schl.* [See another valuable work by M'Crie, *The History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain*, Edin. 1829, 8vo, which has been likewise translated into German with a preface by Baur, Stuttgard, 1835; and also into Dutch. See also Gieseler, *ubi supra*, p. 513—523.—*R.*

[3] See Maclaine's Appendix No. 1, concerning the spirit and conduct of the first reformers, subjoined to his translation of this section.—*Mur.*

SECTION II.

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

1. IN extending the empire of Christ, the Spaniards and Portuguese were, if we may believe their own historians, equally active and successful.[1] They carried indeed a sort of knowledge of Christianity to both North and South America, to a part of Africa, and to the maritime parts and islands of Asia which had been subjugated by their fleets. And a large number of the inhabitants of these regions, who had before been destitute of all religion or were sunk in the grossest superstitions, ostensibly assumed the name of Christians. But these accessions to the Christian church will not be highly appreciated, or rather will be deplored by those who consider, that these nations were coerced by barbarous and abominable laws and punishments to abandon the religion of their ancestors, and that all were enrolled as Christians who had learned to venerate immoderately their stupid instructors, and to exhibit by gestures and in words certain useless rites and forms. Such a judgment has been pronounced not merely by those whom the Romish church calls heretics, but also by several of the best and most influential members of the Romish community, French, Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and others.

2. The Roman pontiffs, after losing a great part of Europe, manifested much more solicitude than before to propagate Christianity in other parts of the world. For no better method occurred to them, both for repairing the loss they had sustained in Europe, and for vindicating their claims to the title of common fathers of the Christian church. Therefore, soon after the institution of the celebrated society of Jesuits in the year 1540, that order was especially charged constantly to train up suitable men, to be commissioned and sent by the pontiffs into the remotest regions as preachers of the religion of Christ. With what fidelity and zeal the order obeyed this injunction, may be learned from the long list of histories which describe the labours and perils encountered by vast numbers of the fraternity, while propagating Christianity among the pagan nations.[2] Immortal praise would undoubtedly belong to them, were it not manifest from unequivocal testimony, that many of them laboured rather to promote the glory of the Roman pontiff and the interests of their own sects than the glory and interests of Jesus Christ.[3] It appears also from authors of high credit and authority, that the [Hindoo] Indians were induced to profess Christianity by the Inquisition established by the Jesuits at Goa in Asia, and by their arms and penal laws rather than by their exhortations and reasonings.[4] This zeal of the Jesuits excited the emulation not only of the Franciscans and Dominicans but likewise of other religious associations, and led them to renew this almost neglected work of missions.

3. Among the Jesuits who took the lead in the arduous work of missions, no one acquired greater fame than Francis Xavier, commonly called the apostle of the Indies.[5] Possessing no ordinary genius and the

[1] See, among many others, Lafitau, *Histoire des Découvertes et Conquêtes des Portugais dans le Nouveau Monde*, tome iii. p. 420. He derives his accounts from the Portuguese writers. The other writers on this subject are enumerated by Fabricius, *Lux Salutaris Evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, cap. xlii. xliii. xlviii. xlix. [A copious list of authors, who treat of both the civil and religious state of Spanish America in particular, may be seen prefixed to Robertson's *History of the Discovery and Settlement of America*. Much fuller, and extending to the whole American continent, is Rich's *Bibliotheca Americana Nova*, part i. A.D. 1701-1800, Lond. 1834, 8vo, p. 423.—*Mur.*

[2] See Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, cap. xxxii. p. 550, &c.

[3] See Weismann's *Oratio de Virtutibus et Vitiis Missionar. Roman.* in his *Orat. Academ.* p. 286, &c. [Compare also his *Introduct. in Memorabilia Eccles. Histor.* tom. ii. p. 684, &c.—*Schl.*

[4] See the *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, tome ii. p. 171, 207, &c.

[5] Pope Benedict XIV. at the request of the king of Portugal, in the year 1747 conferred on Xavier the dignity and title of Protector of the Indies. See *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses des Missions Etrangères*, tome xliii. Pref. p. xxxvi. &c. The body of Xavier was interred at Goa, and is there worshipped with the greatest devotion, he being enrolled among the saints. A magnificent church is erected to him at Cotata in Portuguese India, where he is likewise devoutly invoked by the people. See the *Lettres Edifiantes des Missions*, tome iii. p. 85, 89, 203; tome v. p. 38-48; tome vi. p. 78. [Francis Xavier was a younger son of a respectable family in the south of France, and born about A.D. 1506. He was educated at Paris, where Ignatius Loyola found him teaching with reputation, and persuaded him to join his new society of Jesuits. In 1540 the king of Portugal requested some members of that society to be sent to his capital. Xavier and Simon Rodriguez were sent the next year; and from Lisbon Xavier shipped in 1541 for the East Indies with the commission of papal legate and missionary. He arrived at Goa in 1542, and laboured with success in converting the natives and reforming the lives of the Portuguese, for about seven years. During this period he travelled extensively in Hindostan, twice visited the pearl fishery on the coast of Ceylon, and made repeated

greatest activity of mind, he proceeded to the Portuguese East Indies in the year 1542, and in a few years filled no small part both of the continent and the islands with a knowledge of the Christian or rather the Romish religion. Thence he proceeded in the year 1549 to Japan, and with great celerity laid the foundation of that very numerous body of Christians which flourished for many years in that extensive empire.[1] Afterwards, when attempting a mission to China and already in sight of that powerful kingdom, he closed his life at the island of Sancian in the year 1552.[2] After his death, other missionaries of the order of Jesuits entered China, among whom the most distinguished was Matthew Ricci, an Italian, who so conciliated the favour of some of the chief men and even of the emperor by his great skill in mathematics, that he obtained for himself and companions liberty to explain the doctrines of Christianity to the people.[3] He therefore may justly be considered as the founder and chief author of the numerous body in China which still worship Christ, though harassed and disquieted by various calamities.[4]

4. Those who had withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the pontiffs, possessing no territories beyond the bounds of Europe, could attempt almost nothing for the extension of the empire of Christ. Yet we are informed, that in the year 1556, fourteen missionaries were sent from Geneva to convert the Americans to Christ.[5] But by whom they were sent and what success attended them, is uncertain. The English moreover who near the close of the century sent out colonies to North America, planted there the religion which they themselves professed; and as these English colonies afterwards increased and gathered strength, they propagated their religion among the fierce and savage tribes of those regions. I pass over the efforts of the Swedes for the conversion of the Finns and Laplanders, no small part of whom were still addicted to the absurd and impious rites of their progenitors.

5. There was no public persecution of Christianity in this century. For those mistake the views and policy of the Mohammedans, who suppose that the Turks waged war upon the Christians in this age, for the sake of promoting their religion in opposition to that of Christ. But private enemies to all religion and especially to the Christian (as many have represented), were lurking here and there in different parts of Europe, and they instilled their nefarious dogmas both orally and by books into the minds of the credulous. Among this miserable class are

and extensive voyages among the islands to the east of the Bay of Bengal. At length in 1549 he went to Japan, and there spent two years and a half with no great success as a missionary. He then returned to Goa, and immediately prepared for a mission to China. He arrived on the Chinese coast in the autumn of 1552, fell sick of a fever, and there expired. His remains were afterwards removed to Goa and there interred. His life was written by the Jesuit Tursellinus in six books, Rome, 1594, 12mo. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. iii. p. 652, &c.—*Mur.* [The life of Xavier by Tursellinus is in four books. It was republished by Possinus who added a fifth book, Prag. 1750. The titles of various works on the Jesuit missions in the East, the progress of Christianity in India, and on the life and labours of Xavier, may be seen in Walch, *Biblio. Theol.* vol. iii. p. 355-358, and p. 508. See also Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, 2 vols. Lond. 1839, vol. i. book ii. chap. iii. &c.—*R.*

[1] On the history of the church in this remote country, the student will see a long list of works in Walch, *ubi supra*, p. 361-365.—*R.*

[2] See the writers referred to by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, cap. xxxix. p. 677, &c. Add Lafitau's *Histoire des Découvertes et Conquêtes des Portugais dans le Nouveau Monde*, tome iii. p. 419, 424; tome iv. p. 63, 102, &c.; *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, tome i. p. 92, &c.

[3] Du Halde's *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, tome iii. p. 84, &c.

[4] That certain Dominicans had gone into China before Ricci is certain. See Le Quien's *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 1354. But these had effected nothing of importance. [Three Italian Jesuits, Matthew Ricci of Macerata in Ancona, Passio of Bologna, and Roger, a Neapolitan, after devoting some years to the acquisition of the Chinese language in India, were by Vinignana, superintendent of the Jesuits' mission at Macao, in the year 1582 attached to an embassy sent to a governor in China. Ricci was acute, learned, modest, of winning address, persevering, and active. His knowledge of mathematics recommended him to the Chinese. He exhibited a map of the world, with which they were much taken. Connecting himself with the Bonzes or idolatrous priests, he assumed their dress and manners, and studied under their guidance seven years. He then assumed the garb of a Chinese man of letters, and wrote tracts on the Christian religion, and particularly a catechism. Many persons of rank put themselves under his instruction, and he at length gathered a congregation of Christians. After twenty years' labour he gained access to the emperor, to whom he presented pictures of Christ and the Virgin Mary and a clock, and obtained liberty to visit the palace with his associates at pleasure. He now made converts very fast and from all ranks of the people. Siu, one of the principal mandarins, and his grand-daughter Candida with her husband, became converts, who built thirty churches in the provinces where they lived, and assisted the missionaries to procure the erection of ninety more, besides forty chapels for prayer in another province. They also caused numerous religious tracts to be printed, with translations of comments on the Scripture, and even the great *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas. They gathered the foundlings with which China abounded, and brought them up Christians. Ricci's two companions Passio and Roger were early recalled; but when he began to be successful, assistants were sent to him, who continued to labour after his decease, which took place in the year 1610. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformat.* vol. iii. p. 677, &c.—*Mur.* [On the introduction of the gospel into this almost inaccessible empire, see the works referred to by Walch, *ubi supra*, p. 358, &c.—*R.*

[5] Pictet's *Oratio de Trophæis Christi*, in his *Orat.* p. 570. I have no doubt that the celebrated admiral Coligni was the man who sent for these Genevan teachers to come to him into France. For that excellent man in the year 1555 projected sending a colony of Protestants to Brazil and America. See Charlevoix's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, tome i. p. 22, &c. [and Thuanus, *Historia Generalis*, lib. xvi.—*Mur.*

reckoned several of the peripatetic philosophers who illumined Italy, and in particular Peter Pomponatius; and besides these, among the French were John Bodin, Francis Rabelais, Michael de Montaigne, Bonaventure des Perieres, Stephen Dolet, and Peter Charron; among the Italians, the sovereign pontiff Leo X. [Cardinal] Bembo, Angelo Politiano, Jordano Bruno, and Bernardino Ochino; among the Germans, Theophrastus Paracelsus, Nicholas Taurellus, and others.[1] Nay, some tell us that in certain parts of France and Italy there were schools opened, from which issued swarms of such monsters. And no

[1] The reader may consult Reimmann's *Historia Atheismi et Atheorum*, Hildesh. 1725, 8vo; Buddæus, *Theses de Atheismo et Superstitione*, cap. i.; Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, in various articles, and others. [Pomponatius was born at Mantua in 1462, taught philosophy at Padua and Bologna, and died about A.D. 1526. In a treatise on the immortality of the soul, he denied that reason could decide the question, and maintained that it was purely a doctrine of faith, resting on the authority of revelation. In a treatise on incantations, he denied the agency of demons in producing strange occurrences; and explained the efficacy of relics, &c. by the influence of the imagination. In a tract on fate, free will, and predestination, he declared himself utterly unable satisfactorily to solve the difficulties of the subject, commented on the usual explanations, showed their insufficiency, and wished others to investigate the subject more fully. At the same time he pronounced the stoic and the Christian exposition of the subject the most plausible, and submitted himself to the authority of the church. Many account him an atheist, and the Inquisition condemned his principles. See Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, art. *Pomponace*; and Stäudlin's *Gesch. der Moral philosophie*, p. 584.—Bodin was a French jurist, civilian, and man of letters, and died A.D. 1596, aged 67. His works were numerous, consisting of translations of the Latin classics, law, and political writings; and an unprinted dialogue between a Catholic, a Lutheran, an indifferantist, a naturalist, a Reformed, a Jew, and a Turk, on the subject of religion. Here he appears a freethinker. See Bayle, *ubi supra*, art. *Bodin*.—Rabelais was a great wit and a distinguished burlesque writer. Born about A.D. 1500 he became a Cordelier, led a scandalous life, became a Benedictine, forsook the monastic life in 1530, and studied physic; was employed as a physician and librarian, by cardinal Du Bellay; went to Rome, returned, and was curate of Meudon from the year 1545 to his death in 1553. His works, consisting of his *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua*, are comic satires, full of the burlesque; and were printed in five vols. 8vo, Amsterd. 1715, and three vols. 4to, ibid. 1741. His satire of the monks excited their enmity, and caused him trouble. But he does not appear to have been in speculation a deist or a heretic, though his piety may be justly questioned.—Montaigne was a French nobleman, born in 1533, well educated in the classics at Bourdeaux, succeeded to the lordship of Montaigne in Perigord and to the mayoralty of Bourdeaux, where he ended his life, A.D. 1592. His great work is his Essays, often printed in 3 vols. 4to, and 6 vols. 12mo. He there appears to be sceptical in regard to scientific or philosophical morals, but he was a firm believer in revelation, which he regarded as man's only safe guide. See Stäudlin, *ubi supra*, p. 606, &c.—Des Périeres was a valet-de-chambre to Margaret, queen of Navarre, and was a wit and a poet. A volume of his French poems was published after his death, which was in 1544. Previous to his death, he published in French a pretended translation of a Latin work, entitled *Cymbalum Mundi*, which consists of four dialogues not very chaste, ridiculing the pagan superstitions in the manner of Lucian. See Bayle, *ubi supra*, art. *Perieres*.—Dolet was a man of learning, though indiscreet and much involved in controversies. After various changes he became a printer and bookseller at Lyons; and having avowed lax sentiments in religion, he was seized by the Inquisition and burned, upon the charge of atheism, A.D. 1546, at the age of 37. What his religious opinions were it is not easy to state. He professed to be a Lutheran. See Bayle, *ubi supra*, art. *Dolet*; and Rees' *Cyclopædia*.—Peter Charron was born at Paris in 1541, studied and practised law several years, and then became a Catholic preacher in very high estimation for his pulpit talents. He died at Paris, A.D. 1603. He was a philosophical divine, bold and sceptical. He did not discard revelation, yet relied more upon natural religion. His most noted work was *De la Sagesse* in three books, first printed at Bourdeaux, 1601. See Bayle, *ubi supra*, art. *Charron*; and Stäudlin, *ubi supra*, p. 612, &c.—Leo X. was a man of pleasure, and gave no evidence of genuine piety. Du Plessis and other Protestants have reported remarks said to have been made by him in his unguarded moments, implying that he considered the Christian religion a fable, though a profitable one; that he doubted the immortality of the soul, &c. See Bayle, *ubi supra*, art. *Leo X.* note I. p. 83.—Cardinal Bembo was secretary to Leo X. a man of letters, a facetious companion, a poet and historian. He also is reported to have spoken equivocally of a future state, and to have despised Paul's epistles on account of their unpolished style. See Bayle, *ubi supra*, art. *Bembus*, and art. *Melancthon*, note (P).—Politian was a learned classic scholar in the preceding century, and is reported to have said that he never read the Bible but once, and he considered that a loss of time. He was also reported to have given the preference to Pindar's poems before those of David. On these rumours he has been classed among freethinkers. See Bayle, *ubi supra*, art. *Politian*.—Jordano Bruno was a Neapolitan freethinker. He attacked the Aristotelian philosophy, and denied many of the plain truths of revelation. Driven from Italy for his impieties, he travelled and resided in Germany, France, and England; and returning to Italy, he was committed to the flames in the year 1600. See Bayle, *ubi supra*, article *Brunus*.—Bernardino Ochino was an Italian, born in 1487 at Sienna. He early became a Franciscan, first of the class called Cordeliers and then a Capuchin, of which last order he was the general from A.D. 1537 to 1542. He was then a very austere monk and a distinguished preacher. But in the year 1541, meeting with John Valdes, a Spanish civilian, who had accompanied Charles V. to Germany and there imbibed Lutheran sentiments, Ochino was converted to the same faith. The change in his views soon become known, and he was summoned to Rome to give account of himself. On his way thither he met with Peter Martyr, a man of kindred views, and they both agreed to flee beyond the reach of the papal power. They went first to Geneva and thence to Augsburg, where Ochino published a volume of sermons, married, and lived from 1542 till 1547. From Augsburg, both Ochino and Martyr were invited into England by archbishop Cranmer, and were employed in reforming that country. But on the accession of queen Mary in 1553, they were obliged to quit England. Ochino returned to Strasburg, and in 1555 went to Basil and thence to Zurich, where he became pastor to a congregation of Italian Protestants till 1563. He then published a volume of dialogues, in one of which he represented polygamy as lawful in certain cases, and advanced some other opinions which gave offence. The magistrates of Zurich banished him from the canton. He retired to Basil in mid-winter; and being refused an asylum there he travelled with his family to Poland, where he met the like reception, and set out for Moravia; on his way, he and family were taken sick, two sons and a daughter died; he recovered so far as to pursue his journey, but died three weeks after, at Slawkaw, A.D. 1564, aged 77. He is said to have impugned the doctrine of the Trinity, and the Antitrinitarians claim him as one of their sect. His works were all written in Italian, and consisted of six volumes of sermons, commentaries on the epistles to the Romans and the Galatians, a treatise on the Lord's supper, another on predestination and free-will, &c. See Bayle, *ubi supra*, art. *Ochin*.—Theophrastus, or, as he called himself, Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Paracelsus Bombastus von Hohenheim, was a vain, unlearned, but ingenious alchymist, physician, and philosopher of Switzerland, born in 1493. He travelled much, was a short time

one who is well acquainted with the state of those times will reject these statements in the gross; for all the persons who are expressly charged with so great a crime cannot be acquitted altogether. Yet if the subject be examined by impartial and competent judges, it will appear that many individuals were unjustly impeached, and others merited slighter reprobation.

6. That all the arts and sciences were in this age advanced to a higher degree of perfection by the ingenuity and zeal of eminent men, no one needs to be informed. From this happy revival of general learning, the whole Christian population of Europe derived very great advantages to themselves, and afterwards imparted advantages to other nations, even to the remotest parts of the world. Princes and states, perceiving the vast utility of this progress of knowledge, were everywhere at much expense and pains to found and protect learned associations and institutions, to foster and encourage genius and talent, and to provide honours and rewards for literary and scientific men. From this time onward that salutary rule took effect, which still prevails among the larger and better part of the Christian community, of excluding all ignorant and illiterate persons from the sacred office and its functions. Yet the old contest between piety and learning did not cease; for everywhere, both among the adherents to the Roman pontiff and among his foes, there were persons,—good men perhaps, but not duly considerate,—who contended more zealously than ever, that religion and piety could not possibly live and be vigorous, unless all human learning and philosophy were separated from it, and the holy simplicity of the early ages restored.

7. In the first rank among the learned of that age, were those who devoted themselves to editing, correcting, and explaining the ancient Greek and Latin authors, to the study of antiquities, to the cultivation of both those languages, and to elegant composition both in prose and verse. Numerous works still exist, the admiration of the learned, from which it appears that the finest geniuses in all parts of Europe prosecuted these branches of learning with the greatest ardour, and even considered the preservation of religion and civil institutions, and the very life of all solid learning, to depend on these studies. And though some of them might go too far in this view, yet no candid man will deny that the prosecution of these studies first opened the way for mental cultivation, and rescued both reason and religion from bondage.

8. Those who devoted themselves principally to the study and improvement of philosophy were indeed less numerous than the prosecutors of elegant literature, yet they formed a body neither small nor contemptible. They were divided into two classes. The one laboured to discover the nature and truth of things solely by contemplation or speculation, the other recurred also to experiments. The former either followed their chosen guides and masters, or they struck out new paths by their own ingenuity and efforts. Those who followed masters either fixed their eye on Plato (to whom many in Italy especially gave the preference), or they followed Aristotle. The professed followers of Aristotle were, moreover, greatly divided among themselves. For while many of them wished to preserve the old method of philosophising, which by the doctors who still reigned in the schools was falsely called the peripatetic, others wished to see Aristotle taught pure and uncontaminated; that is, they wished to have his works themselves brought forward and explained to the youth. Different from both were those who thought, that the marrow only should be extracted from the lucubrations of Aristotle, and when illumined by the light of elegant literature and corrected by the dictates of reason and sound theology, should thus be exhibited in appropriate treatises. At the head of this last class of peripatetics was our Philip Melancthon. Among those discarding the dogmas of the ancients and philosophising freely were Jerome Cardanus, Bernard Telesius, and Thomas Campanella; men of great and splendid genius, yet too much devoted to the fictions and visions of their own fancies. To these may be added Peter Ramus, an ingenious and acute Frenchman, who excited great commotion and clamour by publishing a new art of reasoning opposed to that of Aristotle, and better ac-

professor of physic at Basil, and died at Saltzburg in 1541. He was the father of the sect of Theosophists, a sort of mystics who pretended to derive all their knowledge of nature immediately from God. See Rees' *Cyclopædia*, and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. iii. p. 145, &c.—Taurellus (Œchslein), a philosopher and physician of Mompelgard, who taught at Basil and Altorf, lived at a time when Aristotle reigned with boundless sway in all the universities; and wishing to free himself from the tyranny of the Stagyrite, he ventured as a man of independence to correct some of Aristotle's opinions concerning God, providence, the human soul, &c. He thus became embroiled with the friends of Aristotle as his opposers, and was suspected of atheism. But Dr. Feurlein has defended him, in a *Dissert. Apologetica*. See Schlegel's note.—*Mur.* [See also Tennemann's *Manual of the Hist. of Philosophy*, translated by Johnson, Oxf. 1832, for further particulars respecting the tenets of several of these writers: on Pomponatius, p. 273; Bodin, p. 280; Montaigne, p. 289; Charron, p. 290; Bruno, p. 283; Paracelsus, p. 271; and Taurellus, p. 276 and 280.—*R.*

commodated to the use of orators. From nature itself, by experiment, by inspection, and by the aid of fire, penetrating into the primary elements of things, Theophrastus, Paracelsus endeavoured to discover and demonstrate latent truths. And his example was so approved by many that a new sect of philosophers soon rose up, who assumed the names of Fire Philosophers and Theosophists, and who, attributing very little to human reason and reflection, ascribed everything to experience and divine illumination.[1]

9. These efforts and competitions among men of genius, besides being highly beneficial in many other respects, corrected in several places, though they did not entirely cure, that barbarous, uncouth, and vile method of treating religious subjects which had prevailed among Christians in the preceding centuries. The holy Scriptures, which had been either wholly neglected, or interpreted very unsuitably, now held a far more conspicuous place in the discussions and writings of theologians; both words and things were more critically examined, subjects were more justly and lucidly analyzed, and the dry and insipid style which the old schools admired was exploded by all the better informed. These improvements were not indeed carried so far that nothing was left for succeeding ages to correct and amend; much remained which was imperfect. Yet he must be ungrateful to the men of this age or a very incompetent judge, who shall deny that they laid the foundation of all those excellences by which the theologians of subsequent times are distinguished from those of the former ages.

10. Hence the true nature and genius of the Christian religion, which even the best and most learned had not before sufficiently understood, were placed in a clearer light, being drawn up as it were from a deep pit. There is indeed error enough still existing everywhere; yet even those Christian communities at this day, whose errors are the greatest and most numerous, have not such crude and inconsistent views of the nature and design of Christianity and of the duties and obligations of Christians, as were formerly entertained even by those who claimed to be rulers of the church and chief among its teachers. This improved state of religion, moreover, had great influence in correcting and softening the manners of many nations, who before were coarse, unpolished, and rude. For though it is not to be denied that other causes also contributed gradually to introduce and establish that milder and more cultivated state of society which has prevailed in most countries of Europe since the time of Luther, yet it is very clear that the religious discussions and the better knowledge of many doctrines and duties to which they gave rise have contributed very much to eradicate from the minds of men their former ferocity of character. Nor shall we go wide of the truth when we add, that since that time genuine piety likewise has had more friends and cultivators, though they have always and everywhere been overwhelmed by the multitude of the ungodly.

SECTION III.

THE PARTICULAR HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

PART I.

THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF THE ROMISH OR LATIN CHURCH.

1. THE Romish or Latin church is a community extending very widely over the world, the whole of which is subject to the single bishop of Rome, who claims to be hereditary successor to the office and to all the prerogatives of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles or the supreme bishop of the Christian church universal, and the legate and vicegerent of Jesus Christ. This mighty prelate is chosen at this day by a select number of the Romish clergy; namely, by six bishops in the vicinage of Rome, fifty rectors or presbyters of churches in Rome, and fourteen overseers or deacons of Romish hospitals or deaconries; all of

[1] For the elucidation of these matters, Brucker's *Historia Philosophiæ Critica* will be found very useful. We here only summarily touch upon the subject. [The English reader may consult Hallam's *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, vol. i. especially chap. vii. and Tennemann's *Manual of the History of Philosophy*; respecting Cardanus, p. 272; Telesius, p. 281; Campanella, p. 297; Ramus, p. 277; and Paracelsus, p. 271, with the references to authorities in the notes.—*R.*

whom are called by the ancient appellation of cardinals. These cardinals, when deliberating respecting the choice of a new pontiff, are shut up in a kind of prison which is called the conclave, that they may the more expeditiously bring the difficult business to a close. No one who is not a member of the college of cardinals, and also a native Italian, can be made head of the church; nor can all those who are Italian cardinals.[1] Some are excluded on account of their birthplace, others on account of their course of life, and others for other causes. Moreover, the Roman emperors[2] and the kings of France and Spain have acquired either legally or by custom the right of excluding those they disapprove from the list of candidates for this high office. Hence there are very few in the great body of cardinals who are *papable*, as the common phrase is; that is, who are so born and possess such qualifications that the august functions of a pope can fall to their lot.

2. The Roman pontiff does not enjoy a power which has no limitations or restraints; for whatever he decrees in the sacred republic, he must decree in accordance with the advice of the brethren, that is, of the cardinals, who are his counsellors and ministers of state. In questions of a religious nature likewise, and in theological controversies, he must take the opinion and judgment of theologians. The minor matters of business moreover are distributed into several species, and committed to the management and trust of certain boards of commissioners called congregations, over which one or more cardinals preside.[3] What these boards deem salutary or right is ordinarily approved by the pontiff, and must be approved unless there are very cogent reasons for the contrary. From

[1] The reader may consult Mayer's *Comment. de Electione Pontif. Roman.* Hamb. 1691, 4to. The *Ceremoniale Electionis et Coronationis Pontificis Romani* was not long since published by Meuschen, Frankf. 1732, 4to. [To be eligible, 1st, A man must be of mature age, for the electors then hope that their turn may come to be elected. Besides, a pope fifty or more years old will be more likely to rule discreetly and sagaciously. 2dly, He must be an Italian, for a foreigner might remove the papal residence out of the country. 3dly, He must not be the subject of any distinguished prince, but must be a native subject of the holy see; for otherwise he might promote the interests of his hereditary prince to the injury of the holy see. 4thly, Monks are not readily preferred, lest they should confer too many privileges on their own order. 5thly, Nor are those who have been ministers of state, ambassadors, or pensioners of distinguished princes. 6thly, Nor those who have been much engaged in political affairs. 7thly, No one who has numerous relatives, especially poor ones, on whom he might exhaust the apostolical treasury. From these causes the choice generally falls at the present day upon either learned or devout popes. There are four methods of choosing a pope. I. By scrutiny, that is by ballot. A golden cup is placed on the altar, into which each cardinal casts a sealed vote; and to make out a regular choice, one man must have the suffrages of two-thirds of the cardinals. II. By access. This method is resorted to when a candidate has many votes, but not enough to constitute a choice, and a trial is made to bring some of the other cardinals to accede to his election. It is properly a new scrutiny, though the ballots are of a different form. III. By compromise; that is, when the conclave continues long and the cardinals cannot agree, they transfer the election to two or three cardinals, and agree to abide by their choice. IV. By inspiration. When the cardinals have become weary of their long confinement, sometimes one or more of them will clamorously announce an individual as pope, and the party in his favour, being previously apprized of the measure, join in the outcry till the cardinals in opposition, through fear, join in the general clamour. A pope thus chosen by inspiration is particularly revered by the Italians, notwithstanding their belief that there can be no election by inspiration, unless the cardinals have previously acted foolishly.—*Schl.* [See also Rees' *Cyclopædia*, article *Conclave*, and the Ceremonial of the election of a pontiff ratified by Gregory XV. A.D. 1622, in the *Bullarium Magnum*, tom. iii. p. 454—465.—*Mur.*

[2] The emperor of Austria is now the representative of the Roman emperors of the West, as the emperor of Russia claims to be the successor of the Roman emperors of the East. Hence, according to some, his title of Czar or Cæsar.—*R.*

[3] The court of Rome is minutely described by Aymon, in a book entitled, *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, Hague, 1707, 8vo; and by Limadoro, *Relation de la Cour de Rome, et des Cérémonies qui s'y observent*, which (translated from the Italian into French) Labat has subjoined to his Travels in Spain and Italy, *Voyages en Espagne et Italie*, tome viii. p. 105, &c. On the Romish congregations or colleges, besides Ascianus (*De Montibus Pietatis Romanis*, p. 510, &c.), Plettenburg has a particular treatise, *Notitia Tribunalium et Congregationum Curiæ Romanæ*, Hildesh 1693, 8vo. [The congregations are properly boards of commissioners meeting at stated times, with full and definitive powers within certain limits to decide summarily all controversies, and to control and manage all business which falls within their respective provinces. They have their own secretaries, keep records of their proceedings, may send for persons and papers, call on professional and learned men for their opinions, and are bound in certain cases to consult the pontiff before they come to a decision. The number and the specific duties of the several congregations vary from time to time, as the pope and his council see fit to ordain. Besides these permanent congregations, others are created for special occasions and expire when their business is closed. Sixtus V. in the year 1587 established fifteen permanent congregations, composed most of them of five cardinals each, and none of them of less than three. They were, I. The congregation of the holy Inquisition, the supreme inquisitorial tribunal for all Christendom. In this the pope presided in person. II. The congregation on letters of grace, dispensations, &c. III. The congregation on the erection, union, and dismemberment of churches, bishoprics, &c. IV. The congregation for supplying the ecclesiastical states with corn and preventing scarcity. V. The congregation on sacred rites and ceremonies. VI. The congregation for providing and regulating a papal fleet, to consist of ten ships. VII. The congregation on the Index of prohibited books. VIII. The congregation for interpreting and executing the decrees of the council of Trent, except as to the articles of faith. IX. The congregation for relief in cases of oppression in the ecclesiastical states. X. The congregation on the university of Rome, with a general inspection of all Catholic seminaries. XI. The congregation on the different orders of monks. XII. The congregation to attend to the applications of bishops and other prelates. XIII. The congregation on the roads, bridges, and aqueducts of the Romish territory. XIV. The congregation for superintending the Vatican printing establishment. XV. The congregation on the applications of all citizens of the ecclesiastical states in civil and criminal matters. See the ordinance establishing these several congregations in the *Bullarium Magnum*, tom. ii. p. 677, &c. Considerable alterations were afterwards made, as to the number, duties, and powers of the Romish congregations.—*Mur.*

such a constitution of the sacred republic, many things must often take place far otherwise than would meet the wishes of the pontiff; nor are those well informed as to the management of affairs at Rome, who suppose that he who presides there is the cause of all the evils, contests, and commotions which occur there.[1]

3. Respecting, however, the powers and prerogatives of this spiritual monarchy, its own citizens disagree very much. And hence the authority of the Romish prelate and of his legates is not the same in all countries; but in some it is more circumscribed and limited, in others more extensive and uncontrolled. The pontiff himself indeed, and also his courtiers and friends, claim for him the highest supremacy; for he contends not only that all spiritual power and majesty reside primarily in him alone, and are transmitted in certain portions from him to the inferior prelates, but also that his decisions made from the chair are correct beyond even the suspicion of error. On the contrary, very many, of whom the French are the most distinguished, maintain that a portion of spiritual jurisdiction, emanating immediately from Jesus Christ, is possessed by each individual bishop, and that the whole resides in the pastors collectively, or in ecclesiastical councils duly called; while the pontiff, separately from the body of the church, is liable to err. This long controversy may be reduced to this simple question—Is the Romish prelate the lawgiver of the church, or only the guardian and executor of the laws enacted by Christ and by the church? Yet there is no prospect that this controversy will ever terminate, unless there should be a great revolution; because the parties are not agreed respecting the judge who is to decide it.[2]

4. The Romish church lost much of its ancient splendour and glory, from the time that the native aspect of the Christian religion and church was pourtrayed and exhibited before the nations of Europe, by the efforts of Luther. For many opulent countries of Europe withdrew themselves, some of them entirely and others in part, from adherence to its laws and institutions; and this defection greatly diminished the resources of the Roman pontiffs.[3] Moreover the kings and princes who chose not to abandon the old form of religion learned from the writings and discussions of the Protestants, much more clearly and correctly than before, that the pontiffs had set up numberless claims without any right; and that if the pontifical power should remain such as it was before Luther's time, the civil governments could not possibly retain their dignity and majesty. And hence, partly by secret and artful measures and partly by open opposition, they everywhere set bounds to the immoderate ambition of the pontiffs, who wished to control all things secular as well as sacred according to their own pleasure; nor did the pontiffs deem it prudent to avenge these daring attempts as

[1] Hence originated that important distinction which the French, and others who have had contests with the Roman pontiffs, very frequently make between the Roman pontiff and the Romish court. The court is often severely censured while the pontiff is spared, and that justly. For the fathers and the congregations, who possess rights which the pontiff must not infringe, plot and effect many things without the knowledge and against the will of the pontiff. [It may be worthy of remark, that although the Romish church is a political body which is governed like other kingdoms and states, yet in this commonwealth everything is called by a different name. The ghostly king is called the pope or father, his ministers of state are called cardinals, his envoys of the highest rank are called legates à latere, and those of a lower order, apostolical nuncios. His chancery is called dataria, his boards of commissioners and judicatures are congregations, his supreme court of justice is named the rota, and his counsellors of state are called auditors of the rota.—*Schl.* [The present pope, Pius IX. has now (1848) entirely reformed the political constitution of the Papal States, and brought it into closer conformity with that of other secular kingdoms.—*R.*

[2] The arguments used by the friends of the pontifical claims may be seen in Bellarmin and numerous others, who have written in accordance with the views of the pontiffs, and whose works form a huge collection made by Thomas Roccaberti. Even among the French, Matthew Petitdidier lately defended the pontifical power, in his book *Sur l' Autorité et Infaillibilité des Papes*, Luxembourg, 1724, 8vo. The arguments commonly employed to support the opinion adopted by the French clergy and by those who accord with them may be best learned from various writings of Edmund Richer and John Launoi.

[3] Yet the popes still have very considerable revenues, notwithstanding there is no country in the world where more beggars are to be met with than in the ecclesiastical states, and while the apostolical treasury is always very poor; for, 1st. The pope has many clerical livings at his disposal, none of which are readily given away. In particular, he disposes of all the livings whose incumbents happen to die at his court, and also the livings of those who die in what are called the pontifical months. 2dly. He confirms the election to cathedral chapters by the spiritual founders with his bulls of confirmation, which always cost large sums. 3dly. He draws the annats or the incomes of the first year of incumbency, in bishoprics and archbishoprics. 4thly. He exacts a certain sum for the badge of spiritual knighthood in the Romish church, or for the *pallium* of archbishops and bishops. This is properly a neck-cloth which answers to the riband or garter of secular knighthood, and is worn by distinguished prelates when they say mass and on the other solemn occasions. 5thly. There are certain cases reserved for the popes (*casus reservati*), in which no father confessor can give absolution or a dispensation, and in which the granting dispensations brings a large revenue to the popes; for example, in matrimonial cases, in the relinquishment of the clerical office, monastic vows, &c. And finally, the pope has power to impose extraordinary payments and contributions on his clerical subjects, which are called subsidies. The monks also must pay an annual sum to the pope for his protection, which is called the collects. Thus the pope is in reality an opulent lord, even since the Reformation; and he does not lack means for enriching himself, notwithstanding his public treasury is always poor. For the disposal of all these sums is in his hands; and he can let a portion of them flow into his treasury, or he can bestow them on his relations and dependants, or apply them to establishments which will make his name immortal.—*Schl.*

formerly, by means of interdicts and crusades. Even the countries which still acknowledge the pontiff as the supreme lawgiver of the church and as incapable of erring (and which are called countries of obedience, *terræ obedientiæ*), nevertheless confine his legislative powers within narrower limits.

5. To repair in some measure this very great loss, the pontiffs laboured much more earnestly than their predecessors had done to extend the bounds of their kingdom out of Europe, both among the non-Christian nations and among the Christian sects. In this very important business, first the Jesuits and afterwards persons of the other monastic orders were employed. Yet if we except the achievements of Francis Xavier and his associates in India, China, and Japan, which have been already noticed, very little that was great and splendid was accomplished in this century, the arrangements for this business being not yet perfected. The Portuguese having opened a passage to the Abyssinians, who followed the dogmas and the rites of the Monophysites, there was a fine opportunity for attempts to bring that nation under subjection to the Romish see. Hence first, John Bermudes was sent to them decorated with the title of patriarch of the Abyssinians; and afterwards this mission was committed to Ignatius Loyola and his associates.[1] Various circumstances and especially the wars of the nation, which the Abyssinian emperor hoped to terminate favourably by the aid of the Portuguese, seemed at first to promise success to the enterprise. But in process of time it appeared, that the attachment of the Abyssinians to the principles of their progenitors was too strong to be eradicated; and with the close of this century, the Jesuits nearly lost all hope of success among them.[2]

6. To the Copts or Egyptians, who were closely connected with the Abyssinians in religion and ecclesiastical customs, Christopher Roderic, a famous Jesuit, was sent by authority of Pius IV. in the year 1562 He returned to Rome with nothing but fair words, although he had laboured to overcome Gabriel, then the patriarch of Alexandria, with very rich presents and with subtle arguments.[3] But near the close of the century, in the year 1594, when Clement VIII. was head of the Romish church, the envoys of an Alexandrian patriarch, whose name was likewise Gabriel, appeared as suitors at Rome, which caused very great exultation at the time among the friends of the Romish court.[4] But this embassy is justly suspected by ingenuous men even of the Romish community, and it was probably contrived by the Jesuits for the purpose of persuading the Abyssinians, who generally followed the example of the Alexandrians, to embrace more readily the communion of the Roman pontiff.[5] Nothing certainly occurred afterwards in Egypt to indicate any partiality of the Copts towards the Romans. A part of the Armenians had long manifested a veneration for the Roman pontiff, without however quitting the institutions and rites of their fathers, of which more will be said when we come to the history of the Oriental church. A larger

[1] Friendly intercourse between the emperor of Abyssinia and the king of Portugal commenced as early as the year 1514, when the former sent an ambassador to the latter. In 1521 the same emperor, David, sent an envoy to the pope at Rome, who returned a very kind answer. In 1545 Claudius the son of David applied to John III. king of Portugal, to send him several priests and artists. The king applied to Loyola, to designate some of his followers for the enterprise. Loyola did so; and the pope ordained John Nonius Barretus of Portugal, patriarch of Abyssinia, Andrew Oviedus a Neapolitan, bishop of Nice, and Melchior Cornerius of Portugal, bishop of Hierapolis; the two last to be coadjutors and successors to Barretus. Ten other Jesuits of inferior rank were joined with them. They all sailed from Portugal in the year 1555; but on their arrival at Goa, they found that the Abyssinian emperor Claudius was not disposed to subject his kingdom to the pontiff. Barretus therefore stayed in India, where he was a successful missionary till his death. Oviedus went to Abyssinia with a few companions, and was there imprisoned. Claudius had been slain in battle in 1559, and his brother and successor Adamus was a violent persecutor of the Christians. After twenty years' labour in Abyssinia, Oviedus died A.D. 1577. His companions died one after another, till in the year 1597 Francis Lupus the last of them expired, and left the handful of Catholics without a priest. See Godignus, *De Abassinorum Rebus deque Æthiopiæ Patriarchis, Jo. Non. Barreto et Andr. Oviedo*, Lugd. 1615, 8vo, and Raynald's *Annales Eccles.* on the years specified.—*Mur.*

[2] See Ludolf's *Historia Æthiopica*, and the notes on that history, *passim*; Mich. Geddes, *Church History of Ethiopia*, p. 120, &c.; Henry le Grand's *Diss. de la Conversion des Abyssins*, p. 25, which is the ninth of the Dissertations subjoined to Lobo's *Voyage Historique d'Abyssinie*; La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme en Ethiopie*, liv. ii. p. 90, &c.

[3] Sachinus, *Historia Societat. Jesu*, par. ii. lib. v.; Renaudot, *Historia Patriarchar. Alexandrin.* p. 611; and especially the *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, tome ii. p. 314, &c.

[4] The documents of this embassy, emblazoned with a splendid exordium, are subjoined by Baronius to the sixth volume of his *Annales Eccles.* p. 707, &c. [p. 691—700], ed. Antwerp.

[5] Renaudot, in his *Historia Patriarchar. Alexandrinor.* p. 611, 612, has endeavoured to re-establish the credit of this embassy which Baronius so exultingly extols. But he errs very much when he supposes that only Simon, relying on the fallacious testimony of Dousa, has opposed it. For Thomas à Jesu, a Carmelite, did so, lib. vi. *De Conversione Omnium Gentium Procuranda*, and others have done so. See Geddes, *Church History of Ethiopia*, p. 231, 232. [Whoever reads the documents must be sensible that they all bear the marks of being the composition of one person, though they profess to be the letters of several different persons. The reader will also be surprised to find how perfectly at home the writer seems to be when trumpeting the claims of the pontiff to universal lordship, and when detailing the affairs of the Romish church. —*Mur.*

accession was anticipated from Serapion, a man of wealth and devoted to the Romans, who, though the Armenians had two patriarchs already, was created a third patriarch in the year 1593, in order to free his nation from oppressive debt. But he was soon after sent into exile by the Persian monarch, at the instigation of the other Armenians, and with him all the delightful anticipations of the Romans came to nothing.[1]

7. In the year 1551, a great contest arose among the Nestorians, or Chaldeans as they are called, respecting the election of a new patriarch; one party demanding Simeon Barmamus, and another Sulaka. The latter made a journey to Rome, and was there consecrated in the year 1553 by Julius III. to whom he swore allegiance. Julius gave to this new patriarch of the Chaldeans the name of John, and sent with him on his return to his country several persons well skilled in the Syrian language, for the purpose of establishing the Romish dominion among the Nestorians. From that time onward the Nestorians became split into two factions, and were often brought into the most imminent peril by the opposing interests and contests of their patriarchs.[2] The Nestorians on the sea-coast of India, who are commonly called the Christians of St. Thomas, were cruelly harassed by the Portuguese, to induce them to exchange the religion of their fathers, which was much more simple than the Roman, for the Romish worship. The consummation of this business was reserved for Alexio de Menezes, archbishop of Goa, who near the close of the century with the aid of the Jesuits compelled those miserable, reluctant, and unwilling people, by means of amazing severities, to come under the power of the Roman pontiff. These violent proceedings of Menezes and his associates have met the disapprobation of persons distinguished for wisdom and equity in the Romish community.[3]

8. Most of these missionaries of the Roman pontiff treated the Christians whom they wished to overcome unkindly and unreasonably. For they not only required them to give up the opinions in which they differed from both the Greek and the Latin churches, and to recognise the bishop of Rome as a lawgiver and vicegerent of Christ on the earth, but they also opposed sentiments which deserved toleration, nay, such as were sound and consonant to the Scriptures; insisted on the abrogation of customs, rites, and institutions which had come down from former times and were not prejudicial to the truth; and, in short, required their entire worship to be conducted after the Romish fashion. The Romish court indeed found at length by experience that such a mode of proceeding was indiscreet, and that it was not suited to the successful extension of the empire of the pontiff. Accordingly the great business of missions came gradually to be conducted in a more wise and temperate manner; and the missionaries were directed to make it their sole object to bring these Christians to become subjects of the pontiff, and to renounce, professedly at least, such opinions as had been condemned by the ecclesiastical councils; while all other things, doctrines as well as the practices of their fathers, were to remain inviolate. And this plan was supported by certain learned divines, who endeavoured to prove, though not always successfully and fairly, that there was but little difference between the doctrines of the Greek and other Oriental Christians and those of the Romish church, provided they were estimated correctly and truly, and not according to the artificial definitions and subtleties of the scholastic doctors. This plan of using moderation was more serviceable to the Romish interests than the old plan of severity; yet it did not produce all the effects its authors anticipated.

9. In guarding the church's territories and fortifying her internal constitution against the power and subtlety of her adversaries, no little pains were taken at Rome from the age of Luther onward. For that most effectual method of subduing heretics by crusades being laid aside, on account of the altered state not only of the Romish authority but of all Europe, recourse to other means and other policy for preserving the church became necessary. Hence the terrible tribunals of the Inquisition, in the countries where they were admitted, were fortified and regulated by new provisions. Colleges were erected here and there, in which young men were trained by continual practice to the best methods of disputing with the adversaries of the pope. The ingress into the church of books which might corrupt the minds of its members was prevented or rendered extremely difficult by means of what were called expurgatory and prohibitory indices, drawn up by the most

[1] See the *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus dans le Levant*, tome iii. p. 132, 133.

[2] Asseman's *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementina-Vaticana*, tom. iii. par. ii. p. 161. See below, in the history of the Oriental church.

[3] La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, livr. ii. p. 88, &c. [Buchanan's *Christian Researches in Asia*, p. 85, &c.; Geddes, *Hist. of the Malabar Church*, Lond. 1694, 8vo.—*Mur.* [See also Hough's *Hist. of Christianity in India*, vol. i. book ii. chap. viii. and book iii. where the proceedings of Menezes are fully detailed.—*R.*

sagacious men. The cultivation of literature was earnestly recommended to the clergy, and high rewards were held out to those who aspired to pre-eminence in learning. The young were much more solidly instructed in the precepts and first principles of religion than before, and many other means for the safety of the church were adopted. Thus the greatest evils often produce the greatest benefits. And the Romish church would perhaps have even yet been destitute of the advantages resulting from these and other regulations, if the heretics had not boldly invaded and laid waste her territories.

10. As the Roman pontiffs were accustomed to control, defend, and enlarge their empire principally by means of the religious orders [or monks], who from various causes are more closely connected with the pontiffs than the other clergy and the bishops, it became very necessary, after the unsuccessful contest with Luther, that some new order should be established wholly devoted to the pontifical interests, and making it their great business to recover if possible what was lost, to repair what was injured, and to fortify and guard what remained entire. For the two orders of Mendicants [the Dominicans and Franciscans], by whom especially the pontiffs had governed the church for some centuries with the best effects, had from several causes lost no small part of their reputation and influence, and could not therefore subserve the interests of the church as efficiently and successfully as heretofore. Such a new society as the necessities of the church demanded was found in that noted and most powerful order which assumed a name from Jesus, and was commonly called the society of the Jesuits; but by his enemies it was named the society of Loyolites, or (from the Spanish name of its founder) the Inighists.[1] The founder of it, Ignatius Loyola, was a Spanish knight, first a soldier and then a fanatic, an illiterate man but of an exuberant imagination.[2] After various changes

[1] The principal writers concerning the order of Jesuits are enumerated by Salig, *Historia Augustanæ Confessionis*, tom. ii. p. 73, &c. [Of these, the most valuable as general works are the following: *Historia Societatis Jesu*, to the year 1625, in 6 vols. fol. by members of the society, viz. par. i. by Nic. Orlandinus, Ant. 1620; par. ii. by Fr. Sachinus, ibid.; par. iii. and iv. by the same, Rome, 1649, 1652; par. v. by Pet. Possinus and Jos. Juvencius, Rome, 1661 and 1710; par. vi. by Jul. Cordaro, Rome, 1750. Also *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jésus*, &c. (by Pierre Quesne, surnommé Bénard, to A.D. 1572), ed. 2d, Utrecht, 1741, 3 vols. 12mo; *Histoire Générale de la Naissance et des Progrès de la Comp. de Jésus* (by Christoph. Coudrette and Louis Adr. le Paige), 6 vols. 12mo, Amsterd. 1761, 1767; *Essay of a New History of the Order of Jesuits* (in German, to 1565), Berlin and Halle, 1769, 1770, 2 vols. 8vo; *General Hist. of the Jesuits from the Rise of the Order to the Present Time* (in German), by Pet. Phil. Wolf, ed. 2d, Lips. 1803, 4 vols. 8vo; *Pragmatic Hist. of the Order of Jesuits from their Origin to the Present Time* (in German), by Jo. Chr. Harenberg, Halle, 1760. 2 vols. 4to. The last two are considered the best summaries.—*Mur.* [For an account of that important work, the *Hist. Soc. Jesu* and of its first two compilers, see Ranke's *Popes of Rome*, Mrs. Austin's transl. vol. iii. App. p. 195, &c. with remarks on some of the other Jesuit historians o their own order. Wolf's work is entitled *Allgemeine Gesch. der Jesuiten von dem Ursprung ihres Ordens bis auf die gegenw. Zeit*; and Hardenberg's *Pragmat. Gesch. des Ordens der Jesuiten*. The anonymous essay above mentioned is attributed to Adelung, and its German title is *Versuch einer neuen Gesch. des Jesuitenordens*. The older works on this prolific topic may be seen in Walch's *Biblio. Theol.* vol. iii. p. 604, &c. The English reader may consult[Founder's]*History of the Jesuits*, Lond. 1816, 2 vols. 8vo, written in reply to a partial account of the order, which had been published the previous year by Mr. Dallas, a barrister; but especially Ranke's *History of the Popes*, &c. passim.—*R.*]

[2] Many biographies of Loyola have been composed by his followers, most of which are rather eulogies of the man than simple correct statements of facts. They transmute common events into prodigies. [Of this class is Maffei, *De Vita et Moribus B. P. Ignatii Loyolæ*, Douay, 1661, 12mo.—*Schl.*] Recently a Frenchman, who calls himself Hercules Rasicl de Selve [an anagram of his real name, Charles le Vier, a bookseller at the Hague.—*Mur.*], has composed a history of Loyola with a good degree of ingenuousness, if we except his own witty remarks. It is divided into two parts and entitled, *Histoire de l'Admirable Dom Inigo de Guipuscoa* (which is the Spanish name of Ignatius), *Chevalier de la Vierge et Fondateur de la Monarchie d'Inighistes*, printed at the Hague, 1736, and again 1739, 8vo. [Ignatius Loyola was born at the castle of Loyola, in the district of Guipuscoa in Biscay, Spain, A.D. 1491. Trained up in ignorance and in vice at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, he early became a soldier, and bravely commanded Pampeluna when besieged by the French in 1521. Here he had his leg broken, and during a long confinement amused himself with reading romances. A Spanish legend of certain saints being put into his hands, led him to renounce the world and become a saint. He first visited the shrine of the Holy Virgin at Montserrat in Catalonia, hung his arms on her altar, and devoted himself to her as her knight, March 24th, 1522. He next went in the garb of a pilgrim to Manresa, and spent a year among the poor in the hospital. Here he wrote his *Spiritual Exercises*, a book which was not printed till many years after. He next set out for the Holy Land. From Barcelona he sailed to Italy, obtained the blessing of the pope, proceeded to Venice and embarked for Joppa, where he arrived in August and reached Jerusalem in September, 1523. After satisfying his curiosity he returned by Venice and Genoa to Barcelona, where he commenced the study of Latin, and at the end of two years or A.D. 1526, removed to Alcala (*Complutum*), and commenced reading philosophy. His strange appearance and manner of life rendered him suspected, and caused him to be apprehended by the Inquisitors. They released him however, on condition that he should not attempt to give religious instruction till after four years' study. Unwilling to submit to this restraint he went to Salamanca, and pursuing the same course there, he was again apprehended and laid under the same restriction. He therefore went to Paris, where he arrived February, 1528. Here he lived by begging, spent much time in giving religious exhortations, and prosecuted a course of philosophy and theology. Several young men of a kindred spirit (among whom was the celebrated Francis Xavier, the apostle of the Indies) united with him in a kind of monastic association in 1534. At first they were but seven in number, but they increased to ten. At length they agreed to leave Paris, and to meet in January, 1537, at Venice. Loyola went to Spain to settle some affairs, preached there with great effect, and at the time appointed joined his associates at Venice. As they purposed to perform a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, they went to Rome to obtain the papal benediction, and returned to Venice. But the war with the Turks now suspended all intercourse with Palestine, and they could not obtain a passage. Not to be idle,

he went to Rome, and it is said was there trained by the instructions and counsels of certain wise and acute men, so that he was enabled to found such a society as the state of the church then required.[1]

11. The Jesuits hold an intermediate place between the monks and the secular clergy, and approach near to the order of regular canons. For while they live secluded from the multitude and are under vows like monks, yet they are exempted from the most onerous duties of monks, the canonical hours and the like, in order that they may have more time for the instruction of youth, for writing books, guiding the minds of the religious, and other services useful to the church. The whole society is divided into three classes—namely, the professors who live in houses of the professors, the scholastics who teach youth in their colleges, and the novices who reside in the houses erected especially for them. The professors, in addition to the three common vows of monks, are bound by a fourth, by which they engage before God that they will instantly go wherever the Roman pontiff shall at any time bid them; and they have no revenues, or are mendicants and live on the bounties of the pious. The others and especially the residents in the colleges have very ample possessions, and must afford assistance when necessary to the professors. If compared with the other classes, the professors are few in number, and are generally men of prudence, skilful in business, of much experience, learned—in a word, true and perfect Jesuits. The others are Jesuits only in a looser sense of the term, and are rather associates of the Jesuits than real Jesuits. The mysteries of the society are imparted only to a few of the professors, aged men, of long experience, and of the most tried characters; the rest are entirely ignorant of them.[2]

12. The Romish church, since the time it lost dominion over so many nations, owes more to this single society than to all its other ministers and resources. Being spread in a short time over the greater part of the world, it everywhere confirmed the wavering nations and restrained the progress of sectarians; it gathered into the Romish church a great multitude of worshippers among the barbarous and most distant nations; it boldly took the field against the heretics, and sustained for a long time

they dispersed themselves over the country and preached everywhere. Rome now became their place of rendezvous. While thus employed, Ignatius conceived the idea of forming a new and peculiar order of monks. His companions came into the plan; and in 1540 they applied to Paul III. who confirmed their institution with some limitations, and afterwards in 1543 without those limitations. Loyola was chosen general of the order in 1541. He resided constantly at Rome, while his companions spread themselves everywhere, labouring to convert Jews and heretics, to reform the vicious, and inspire men with a religious spirit. His sect increased rapidly, and among the new members were three females. But they gave Loyola so much trouble, that he applied to the pope for a decree releasing them from their vow, and ordaining that the society should never be cumbered with female members any more. After obtaining a confirmation of his order in 1550 from Julius III. he wished to resign his generalship over it; but his associates would not consent, and he remained their general till his death, July 31st, 1556. He was beatified by Paul V. A.D. 1609, and enrolled among the saints by Gregory XV. A.D. 1622. When Loyola died his society consisted of above 1,000 persons, who possessed about 100 houses, and were divided into 12 provinces; Italy, Sicily, Germany, the Netherlands, France, Aragon, Castile, the south of Spain, Portugal and Brazil, Ethiopia, and the East Indies. See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, article *Loyola*, and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. iii. p. 515, &c.—*Mur.*

[1] Not only Protestants but also many Roman Catholics, and these men of learning and discrimination, deny that Loyola had learning enough to compose the writings ascribed to him, or genius enough to form such a society as originated from him. On the contrary, they say that some very wise and superior men guided and controlled his mind, and that better educated men than he composed the works which bear his name. See Geddes, *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. iii. p. 429. Most of his writings are supposed to have been produced by Jo. de Palanco, his secretary. See La Croze, *Histoire du Christ. d'Ethiopie*, p. 55, 271. His Spiritual Exercises (*Exercitia Spiritualia*), the Benedictines say, were transcribed from the work of a Spanish Benedictine whose name was Cisneros. See Jordan, *Vie de M. La Croze*, p. 83, &c. The constitutions of the society, it is said, were drawn up by Lainez and Salmeron, two learned men who were among his first associates. See *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, tome i. p. 115, &c.

[2] The general of the order held his office for life under certain limitations, was to reside constantly at Rome, and had a select council to advise him and to execute his orders. His authority over the whole order and over every person, business, and thing connected with it was absolute; nor was he accountable to any earthly superior except the pope. Over each province was a provincial, whose power was equally despotic over his portion of the society. He visited and inspected all the houses of his province, required regular monthly returns to be made to him from every section of the province of all that was transacted, learned, or contemplated, and then made returns every three months to the general. Every person belonging to the order was continually inspected and trained to implicit obedience, secresy, and fidelity to the order. The whole society was like a regular army, completely officered, trained to service, and governed by the will of one man who stood at the pope's right hand. See the constitution of the society as published by Hospinian, *Historia Jesuitica*, lib. i. cap. iv. &c. The secret instructions to the provincials and to subordinate organs and members of the society were totally unknown, for the most part, to any persons except those to whom they were addressed. The general rules and artifices by which individuals were to insinuate themselves everywhere, and obtain for the society dominion and control over all persons and transactions, were also among the mysteries of the society. Two copies of them however, the one larger and more minute than the other, entitled *Privata Monita Societatis Jesu*, and *Secreta Monita*, &c. were said to have been obtained, the first from a ship bound to the East Indies and captured by the Dutch, and the other found in the Jesuits' college at Paderborn. But the Jesuits have always and constantly denied their genuineness; nor have the world the means of substantiating their authenticity, except by their coincidence with the visible conduct of the Jesuits. According to these writings, which have been repeatedly published during the last two centuries, nothing could be more crafty and void of all fixed moral principle than the general policy of the Jesuits. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. iii. p. 647, &c.—*Mur.*

almost alone the brunt of the war, and by its dexterity and acuteness in reasoning entirely eclipsed the glory of the old disputants; by personal address, by skill in the sagacious management of worldly business, by the knowledge of various arts and sciences, and by other means, it conciliated the good-will of kings and princes; by an ingenious accommodation of the principles of morals to the propensities of men, it obtained almost the sole direction of the minds of kings and magistrates, to the exclusion of the Dominicians and other more rigid divines;[1] and everywhere it most studiously guarded the authority of the Romish prelate from sustaining farther loss. All these things procured for the society immense resources and wealth, and the highest reputation; but at the same time they excited vast envy, very numerous enemies, and frequently exposed the society to the most imminent perils. All the religious orders, the leading men, the public schools, and the magistrates, united to bear down the Jesuits; and they demonstrated by innumerable books that nothing could be more ruinous both to religion and to the state than such a society as this. In some countries, as France, Poland, and others, they were pronounced to be public enemies of the country, traitors, and parricides, and were banished with ignominy.[2] Yet the prudence, or if you choose the cunning, of the association quieted all these movements, and even turned them dexterously to the enlargement of their power, and to the strengthening of it against all future machinations.[3]

13. The pontiffs who governed the Latin or Romish church in this century, after Alexander VI. [1492–1503], Pius III. [1503], Julius II. [1503], Leo X. [1503–1521], and Adrian VI. [1521–1523], who have been already mentioned, were Clement VII. [1523–1534], of the Medicean family;[4] Paul III. [1534–1549], of the illustrious family of Farnese;[5] Julius III. [1550–1555], who was previously called John Maria del Monte;[6] Marcellus II. [1555], whose name before his pontificate was Marcellus Servin;[7] Paul IV. [1555–1559], whose name was John Peter Caraffa;[8] Pius IV. [1560–1566], who claimed to be a descendant of the Medicean family, and bore the name of John Angelo de Medicis;[9] Pius V.

[1] Before the Jesuits arose, the Dominicans alone had the control of the consciences of the European kings and princes. But they were superseded in all the courts by the Jesuits. See Du Peyrat, *Antiquités de la Chapelle de France*, livr. i. p. 322, &c.

[2] *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, tome iii. p. 48, &c.; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. vi. p. 559—648, and in many other places; and a great number of writers, especially those among the Jansenists. [The Jesuits were expelled from France A.D. 1594, but permitted to return again at the commencement of the next century. They were expelled from Venice in 1606, from Poland in 1607, and from Bohemia in 1618; to the last-named place however they were allowed to return two years after.—*Mur.*

[3] It was under Lainez, the general of the order next after Loyola, that the spirit of intrigue entered freely into the society. Lainez possessed a peculiar craftiness and dexterity in managing affairs, and was frequently led by it into low and unworthy tricks. His ruling passion was ambition, which however he knew how to conceal from the inexperienced most artfully, under a veil of humility and piety. Under him the society assumed a graver and more manly character than under his enthusiastic and often ludicrous predecessor; and its constitution was a master-piece of artful policy, rendering it a terrible army, which dared to undermine states, to rend the church, and even to menace the pope. See the *Versuch einer Neuen Gesch. des Jesuiterordens*, vol. ii.—*Schl.*

[4] Clement VII. was a bastard, but Leo X. removed this stain by an act of legitimation. His political sagacity was such as would better have adorned the character of a minister of state than a minister of Christ. Civil history informs us on what principles he acted with the emperor Charles V. See concerning him, Ziegler's *Historia Clementis VII.* in Schelhorn's *Amœnitat. Hist. Eccles. et Liter.* vol. i. p. 210, &c. and Sarpi's *Hist. du Concile de Trente*, tome i. p. 61, &c.—*Schl.*

[5] Respecting Paul III. there has in our age been much learned discussion between cardinal Quirini and several distinguished men, as Kiesling, Schelhorn, and others; the former maintaining that he was a good and eminent man, and the latter, that he was a crafty and perfidious character. See *Quirinus de Gestis Pauli III. Farnesii*, Brixen, 1745, 4to. [And Schelhorn's *Epistola de Consilio de Emendanda Ecclesia*, Zurich, 1748, 4to; Quirini, *Ad Catholicum aequumque Lectorem Animadversiones in Epistolam Schelhornii*, Brescia, 1747; Schelhorn's second *Epistola*, &c. 1748, 4to; Kiesling's *Epistola de Gestis Pauli III.* Lips. 1747. Concerning this pope in general, and respecting his views in regard to a general council, see Sarpi's *Hist. du Concile de Trente*, tome i. p. 131, &c. Thus much is clear from the discussions of these learned men, that Paul III. was an adept in the art of dissimulation, and therefore better fitted to be a statesman than the head of the church. His whole conduct in regard to the council forced upon him by the cardinals proves this. That in his youth he was a great debauchee, appears from his two grandsons, Farnese and Sforza, whom he created cardinals, and of whom the father of the first and the mother of the last were his illegitimate children.—*Schl.*

[6] This was the worthy pontiff who was scarcely seated in the papal chair when he bestowed the cardinal's hat on the keeper of his monkeys, a boy chosen from among the lowest of the populace, and who was also the infamous object of his unnatural pleasures. See *Thuanus*, lib. vi. and xv.; Hottinger, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. v. p. 572, &c. and more especially Sleidan, *Historia*, lib. xxi. folio m. 609.—When Julius was reproached by the cardinals for introducing such an unworthy member into the sacred college, a person who had neither learning, nor virtue, nor merit of any kind, he impudently replied by asking them, What merit or virtue they had found in him that could induce them to place him (Julius) in the papal chair?—*Mosel.*

[7] He reigned only twenty-two days. See Sarpi, *ubi supra*, tom. ii. p. 139.—*Schl.*

[8] Nothing could exceed the arrogance and ambition of this violent and impetuous pontiff, as appears from his treatment of queen Elizabeth. See Burnet's *History of the Reformation*. It was he who, by a bull, pretended to raise Ireland to the privilege and quality of an independent kingdom; and it was he also who first instituted the Index of prohibited books, mentioned above, sec. 9.—*Mosel.*

[9] His family was very remotely, if at all, descended from the Medicean family of Florence. His character seemed to be totally changed by his elevation to the papal dignity. The affable, obliging, disinterested, and abstemious cardinal, became an unsocial, selfish, and

[1566–1572], a Dominican monk whose name was Michael Ghislieri, a man of a sour temper and excessive austerity, who is now accounted by the Romanists a saint;[1] Gregory XIII. [1572—1585], previously cardinal Hugo Buon Compagno;[2] Sixtus V. [1585—1590], a Franciscan called Montaltus, [Peretti, *R.*] before he ascended the papal throne, who excelled all the rest in vigour of mind, pride, magnificence, and other virtues and vices; Urban VIII. [1590], Gregory XIV. [1590–1591], Innocent IX. [1591]; (these three reigned too short a time to distinguish themselves); [Clement VIII. 1592–1605]. Some of these were more and others less meritorious;[3] yet if compared with most of those who ruled the church before the reformation by Luther, they were all wise and good men.[4] For since the rise of so many opponents of the Romish power, both within and without, the cardinals have deemed it necessary to be exceedingly cautious, and not commit the arduous government of the church to a person openly vicious, or to a rash and indiscreet young man. And since that period the pontiffs do not and cannot assume such despotic power of deciding on the greatest matters according to their own mere pleasure, as their predecessors did; but they must pronounce sentence ordinarily according to the decision of their senate, that is, of the cardinals and of the congregations, to which certain parts of the government are entrusted. Moreover, neither prudence nor the silently increasing power of emperors and kings, and the continual decrease of ignorance and superstition, will permit them to excite wars among nations, to issue bulls of excommunication and deposition against kings, and to arm the citizens as they formerly did against their lawful sovereigns. In short, stern necessity has been the mother of prudence and moderation, at Rome as often elsewhere.

14. The condition of the clergy subject to the Roman pontiff remained unchanged. Some of the bishops at times, and especially at the council of Trent, very earnestly sought to recover their ancient rights, of which the pontiffs had deprived them; and they supposed that the pontiff might be compelled to acknowledge that bishops were of divine origin, and derived their authority from Christ himself.[5] But all

voluptuous pope. So long as the council of Trent continued, which he controlled more by craft and cunning than by direct authority, he was very reserved; but after its termination, he showed himself without disguise in his true character. This also may deserve notice, that this pope in the year 1564 allowed the communion in both kinds in the diocese of Mentz, which allowance also the Austrians and Bavarians had obtained of the pope. (Gudenus, *Codex Diplom. Moguntinus*, tom. iv. p. 709). See Sarpi, *ubi supra*, tom. ii. p. 183, &c.—*Schl.*

[1] Pius V. was of low birth, but had risen as a Dominican to the office of general commissary to the Inquisition at Rome. And as pope, he practised the cruel principles which he had learned in that school of cruelty. For he caused many eminent men of learning, and among others the noted Palearius, to be burned at the stake; and he showed so little moderation and prudence in his persecuting zeal, that he not only approved of all kinds of violence and let loose his warriors on France, but also employed the baser methods for the destruction of heretics—insurrections and treason. Yet this method of proceeding had the contrary effect from what was intended, in France, in England, in Scotland, and in the Netherlands. That he also laboured to prostrate entirely the civil power before the spiritual, and by unreasonably exempting the clergy from all civil taxation greatly injured Spain, France, and Venice, may be learned from civil history. By his command, the Tridentine Catechism was composed and published. Clement X. gave him beatification, and Clement XI. canonization, which has occasioned many partial biographies to be composed of this pope.—*Schl.*

[2] See Maffei, *Annales Gregorii XIII.* Rome, 1742, 4to. [He was elected by means of the Spanish viceroy of Naples, cardinal de Granville, and was of a milder character than Pius V. Yet he openly approved the bloody massacre at Paris on St. Bartholomew's eve, and participated in a treasonable plot against queen Elizabeth. His idea of introducing his reformed calendar as pope drew on him obloquy from the Protestants; and his attempt to free the clergy from all civil jurisdiction, also from the French. He published the Canon Law improved and enlarged.—*Schl.*

[3] Pius V. and Sixtus V. distinguished themselves above the rest; the former by his extreme severity against heretics, and by publishing the celebrated bull called *In Cœna Domini*, which is [was, till the reign of Clement XIV.] annually read at Rome on the festival of the Holy Sacrament; and the latter by his many vigorous, splendid, and resolute acts for advancing the glory and honour of the church. The life of Pius V. has been written by many persons in our age, since Clement XI. enrolled him among the saints. On the bull, *In Cœna Domini*, and the commotions it occasioned, Giannone has treated, in his *Histoire Civile de Naples*, livr. xxxiii. chap. iv. tome iv. p. 248, &c. [and still more fully and circumstantially, the author of the Pragmatic History of this bull.—*Schl.*] The life of Sixtus V. by Gregory Leti has been often published, and in different languages; but it is in many parts deficient in fidelity. [Sixtus V. was a complete statesman, and possessing a high degree of dissimulation he could play any part; and instead of the fruitless attempt of his predecessors to reduce the heretics again to obedience, he endeavoured to increase his power by conquering the kingdom of Naples, by retaining the princes who were still in his interests, and by encroachments upon their power. The Jesuits, for whom he had no partiality, hated him. The splendour of the city of Rome, the papal treasury, and the Vatican library, owe much to him. He likewise promoted the Romish edition of the Septuagint in 1587, and the edition of the Latin Vulgate, Rome, 1590, in 3 vols. fol. While a cardinal in 1580, he published at Rome the collected works of Ambrose, in 5 vols. See Walch's *History of the Popes*, p. 399.—*Schl.* [And especially Ranke, *ubi supra*, vol. i. p. 446, &c. See also the appendix to the third vol. p. 115, &c. where Ranke gives a full account of Leti's biography of Sixtus, of that by Tempesti, and of certain manuscript lives and other materials for illustrating the policy of that famous pontiff.—*R.*

[4] For further information on these popes of the sixteenth century, see Ranke's *Popes of Rome*, vols. i. and ii.—*R.*

[5] Here may be consulted, Paul Sarpi's *Historia Concilii Tridentini*. [This celebrated history was first published, in Italian at London, in 1619, under the assumed name of Pietro Soave Polano, an anagram of his real name, Paolo Sarpi Veneto, *i.e.* Paul Sarpi of Venice. An English translation appeared in 1629 but the best edition is that of 1676. It has also been trans-

these attempts were frustrated by the vigilance of the Romish court, which did not cease to repeat the odious maxim, that bishops are only the ministers and legates of the vicar of Jesus Christ resident at Rome, and that they are indebted for all the power and authority they possess to the generosity and grace of the apostolic see. Yet there were some, particularly among the French, who little regarded that principle. And what the Romish jurists call reservations, provisions, exemptions, and expectatives, which had drawn forth complaints from all the nations before the Reformation, and which were the most manifest proofs of the Romish tyranny, now almost entirely ceased.

15. Respecting the lives and morals of the clergy and the reformation of inveterate evils, there was deliberation in the Council of Trent; and on this subject some decrees were passed which no wise man can disapprove. But good men complain that those decrees have to this day found no executor, and that they are neglected with impunity by all, and especially by those of more elevated rank and station. The German bishops, as every one knows, have almost nothing except their dress, their titles, and certain ceremonies, from which the nature of their office could be inferred. In the other countries very many of the prelates, with the tacit consent of the pope, are more devoted to courts, to voluptuousness, to wealth and ambition, than to Jesus Christ, to whom they profess to be consecrated; and only a very small number care for the interests of the Christian community, or of piety and religion. Moreover, those who are most attentive to these things can scarcely escape invidious remarks, criminations, and vexations of various kinds. Many perhaps would be better and more devout, were they not corrupted by the example of Rome, or did they not see the very heads of the church and their servants wholly devoted to luxury, avarice, pride, revenge, voluptuousness, and vain pomp. The canons as they are called almost everywhere continue to adhere to their pristine mode of life, and consume, often not very piously or honestly, the wealth which the piety of former ages had consecrated to the poor. The rest of the clergy however cannot at their pleasure everywhere copy after these preposterous moral guides. For it must be admitted, that since the reformation by Luther much more pains is taken than formerly to prevent the lower orders of the clergy from disregarding the rules of sobriety and external decency, lest their open profligacy should give offence to the people.

16. Nearly the same praise belongs to the monks. In most of the governors of monasteries there are things which deserve the severest reprehension; nor are idleness, gluttony, ignorance, knavery, quarrels, lasciviousness, and the other once prevalent vices of the monasteries, entirely expelled and banished from them. Yet it would be uncandid to deny that in many countries the morals of the monks are subjected to stricter rules, and that the remaining vestiges of the ancient profligacy are at least more carefully concealed. There have also arisen some who have laboured to restore the almost extinct austerity of the ancient rules, and others who have attempted to establish new fraternities for the public benefit of the church. Matthew de Baschi, an Italian, an honest but simple man, of that society of Franciscans who supposed they obeyed the precepts of their founder more religiously than the others, and who are commonly called Observant Friars (*Fratres de Observantia*), thought himself called by God to restore the institutes of St. Francis to their original and genuine integrity.

lated into Latin, French, and German. It was epitomized by Jurieu in his *Abrégé de l'Histoire du Concile de Trente*, Gen. 1682, also translated into English, Lond. 1684. The papal party were compelled in self-defence to produce a counter-history in order to obviate the effects which this unsparing exposure of their corrupt intrigues at Trent had produced throughout Europe. A Jesuit of the name of Sforza Pallavicini was employed for this purpose; every facility was afforded him, and his *Istoria del Concilio di Trento* at length appeared in Italian at Rome, in 1656-57. It has not yet been translated into English, but French and Latin translations have appeared at different times. The student will see a most valuable critique upon these two rival histories, in the Appendix (section ii.) to Ranke's *Popes of Rome*, Mrs. Austin's translation, vol. iii. p. 56, &c. A careful digest of the history of the council, taken from Father Paul and Pallavicini, may be seen in Du Pin's *Nouv. Biblio. des Auteurs Eccles.* tome xv. Many public documents, state-papers, official letters, &c. connected with the council have been collected from various sources, and published by Le Plat, under the title of *Monumentorum ad Historiam Concil. Trident. illustrandam, amplissima Collectio*, Lov. 1781-87, 7 tom. 4to, but it does not contain the decrees or canons of the council. In addition to Fra Paolo or Father Paul's history above mentioned, the English reader may consult Geddes's *Council of Trent no Free Assembly*, Lond. 1714, 8vo, being a translation of the *Lettres et Mémoires de Fr. de Vargas*, &c. Amst. 1699, 8vo; Scott's *Continuation of Milner's Church History*, vol. ii. chap. xiii.; Cramp's *Text-book of Popery*, second edit. Lond. 1839, which contains an exposition of the doctrinal decrees of the Council of Trent, mingled with historical matter. The student will find some additional information from unpublished documents, in Mendham's *Memoirs of the Council of Trent*, Lond. 1834, with *Supplement*, 1836; and still more valuable matter in Ranke's *Popes of Rome*, vols. i. and ii. This careful and impartial historian thus speaks of Le Plat and Mendham: "Le Plat follows Rainaldus or Sarpi frequently word for word, and takes out of the Latin translations of their works what he cannot find otherwise authenticated. He has also used fewer MSS. than we could have expected. There is much which is new and good in Mendham, but he has not devoted sufficient study to his subject," vol. iii. appendix, p. 81.—*R.*

His design being approved by Clement VII. in the year 1525, gave rise to the fraternity of Capuchins, which experienced the bitter indignation of the other Franciscans, and exhibited a great appearance of gravity, modesty, and disregard for worldly things.[1] The fraternity derived its name from the cowl (*caputium*), a covering for the head sewed to the Franciscan coat, which St. Francis himself is said to have worn.[2] Another progeny of the Franciscan order were those called Recollets in France, Reformati in Italy, and Barefooted (*Discalceati*) in Spain; and who likewise obtained the privileges of a separate association distinct from the others in the year 1532, by authority of Clement VII. They differ from the other Franciscans by endeavouring to live more exactly according to the rules of their common lawgiver.[3] St. Theresia, a Spanish lady of noble birth, aided in the arduous work by John de Matthia, who was afterwards called John de St. Cruce, endeavoured to restore the too luxurious and almost dissolute lives of the Carmelites to their pristine gravity. Nor were these efforts without effect, although the greatest part of the Carmelites opposed them. Hence the order was divided during ten years into two parties, the one observing severer and the other laxer rules. But as this difference as to their mode of life among members of the same family occasioned much animosity and discord Gregory XIII. in the year 1580, at the request of Philip II. king of Spain, directed the more rigid Carmelites, who were called Barefooted from their going with naked feet, to separate themselves from the more lax. Sixtus V. confirmed and extended this separation in 1587, and Clement VIII. completed it in 1593, by giving to the new association an appropriate chief or general. A few years after, when new contests arose between these brethren, the same pontiff in the year 1600 again separated them into two societies governed by their respective generals.[4]

17. Of the new orders which arose in this century, the most distinguished was that which proudly assumed the name of Jesus, and which has been already noticed among the props of the Romish power. Compared with this, the others appeared ignoble and obscure. The Reformation afforded occasion for various societies of what are called Regular Clerks. As all these professed to aim at imitating and restoring the ancient virtue and sanctity of the clerical order, they tacitly bear witness to the laxity of discipline among the clergy, and the necessity of a reformation. The first which arose were the Theatins, so named from the town Theate or Chieti [in the kingdom of Naples], whose bishop at that time was John Peter Caraffa, afterwards pope Paul IV. who, with the aid of Cajetan de Thienæis and some others, founded this society in the year 1524. Destitute of all possessions and all revenue, they were to live upon the voluntary bounties of the pious, and were required to succour decaying piety, to improve the style of preaching, to attend upon the sick and dying, and to oppose manfully and vigorously all heretics.[5] There were also some convents of sacred virgins connected with this order. Next in point of time to them were those which assumed the name of Regular Clerks of St. Paul, whom they chose for their patron, but who were commonly called Barnabites, from the temple of St. Barnabas at Milan which was given to them in the year 1535. This fraternity was approved by Clement VII. in 1532, and confirmed by Paul III. in 1535. It honoured as its founders Antony Mavia Zacharias, a knight of Cremona, and Bartholomew Ferrarius, a knight of Milan, also James Antony Morigia of Milan. At first they renounced all possessions and property like the Theatins, living solely upon the gratuitous gifts of the pious; but afterwards they deemed it expedient to hold property and have certain revenues. Their principal business was to labour as preachers in reclaiming sinners to their duty.[6] The Regular Clerks of St. Majoli, also called the Fathers of Somasquo from the town Somasquo where their first general resided, had for their founder Jerome Æmilianus,

[1] See Wadding's *Annales Ordinis Minorum*, tom. xvi. p. 207, 257, &c. ed. Rome; Helyot's *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, tome vii. chap. xxiv. p. 264. And especially Boverius, *Annales Capucinorum*. [The founder of the order of Capuchins is not well known. Some give this honour to Matthew Baschi, and others to the famous Lewis de Fossembrun. Boverius supposes that Baschi devised the cowl, but that Fossembrun was the author of the reform; and he thence infers that his order was not the work of men, but, like Melchizedek, without father and without mother. The order had the misfortune that its first vicar-general Bernardo Ochino, and afterwards the third also, turned Protestants, which well nigh worked its ruin. Yet it afterwards spread itself over Italy, France, Spain, and Germany, with extraordinary success.—*Schl.*

[2] See Du Fresne's *Glossarium Latinitat. Medii Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 298, ed. Bened. art. *Caputium*.

[3] Wadding's *Annales*, tom. xvi. p. 167; Helyot's *Histoire des Ordres Monast.* tome viii. chap. xviii. &c. p. 129, &c.

[4] Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monast.* tome i. chap. xlvii. p. 340, &c.

[5] Helyot, *ubi supra*, tome iv. chap. xii. p. 71, &c.

[6] Helyot, *ubi supra*, tome iv. chap. xv. p. 100. In this part of his noted and excellent work, Helyot with great industry and accuracy prosecutes the history of the other sects [of monks] which we have here mentioned.

and were approved by Paul III. in the year 1540, and then by Pius IV. in 1543.[1] These assumed the office of carefully instructing the ignorant, and especially the young, in the precepts of Christianity.—The same office was assigned to the Fathers of the Christian doctrine both in France and in Italy. A distinguished society of this name was collected in France by Cæsar de Bus, and it was enrolled among the legitimate fraternities by Clement VIII. in the year 1597. The Italian society owed its birth to Marcus Cusanus, a knight of Milan, and was approved by the authority of Pius V. and Gregory XIII.

18. It would occupy us too long and would not be very profitable, to enumerate the minor fraternities which originated from the perturbation excited in the Romish church by the [alleged] heretics of Germany and other countries. For no age produced more associations of this kind than that in which Luther with the Bible opposed ignorance, superstition, and papal domination. Some of them have since become extinct, because they had no solid basis; and others have been suppressed by the will of the pontiffs, who considered the interests of the church as retarded rather than advanced by the multitude of such societies. We also omit the societies of nuns, among whom the Ursulines were distinguished for their numbers and reputation.[2] But we must not pass over the Fathers of the Oratory, founded in Italy by Philip Neri, and publicly approved by Gregory XIII. in 1577, because they have had not a few men distinguished for their erudition and talents (among whom were Cæsar Baronius, and afterwards Odoric Raynald, and in our age James de Laderchi, the celebrated authors of the *Annals of the Church*), and because they have not yet ceased to flourish. The name of the sect is derived from the chapel or oratory which Neri built for himself at Florence, and occupied for many years.[3]

19. That both sacred and secular learning were held in much higher estimation among the Romish Christians after the time of Luther than before, is very generally known. In particular, the Jesuits boast, and not altogether without reason, that the languages and the arts and sciences were more cultivated and advanced by their society during this century than by the schools and by the other religious fraternities. The schools and universities (whether designedly or from negligence I will not say) were not disposed to abandon the old method of teaching, though rude and tedious, nor to enlarge the field of their knowledge. Nor would the monks allow a more solid and elegant culture to be given to their minds. Hence there is a great diversity in the Romish writers of this century; some express themselves happily, systematically, and properly; others barbarously, immethodically, and coarsely. Ecclesiastical history was a subject which Cæsar Baronius undertook to elucidate or to obscure; and his example prompted many others to attempt the same thing. This labour was rendered necessary by the temerity of the heretics; for they, with Matthias Flacius and Martin Chemnitz at their head,[4] having demonstrated that not

[1] See the *Acta Sanctor.* Februar. tom. ii. p. 217, &c.

[2] The foundress of this order was Angela de Brescia, an Italian lady of Lombardy, who belonged to the third order of St. Francis. In the year 1537, she thought herself guided by a revelation to form a new order of nuns for relieving the sufferings of mankind, and with a special view to confute the vulgar charge against nunneries, that they are mere houses of impurity. The name of Ursulines she borrowed from St. Ursula, a legendary British saint of the fourth or fifth century, who with her companions suffered death at Cologne, rather than allow their chastity to be violated. (See Baillet, *Vies des Saints*, tome iii. Octob. 21, p. 330, &c.) At first she proposed that her nuns should not be cloistered, but should reside in the private families to which they belonged, so that their devout and virtuous lives might be open to the inspection of all; but she afterwards allowed them to live in communities or nunneries. Their monastic rule was that of St. Augustine. They were to search out the afflicted and unfortunate, to administer to them instruction and consolation, to relieve the poor, to visit hospitals, and to wait on the sick, and everywhere afford their personal services to such as needed them. The foundress died in 1540. Cardinal Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, was a great patron of this order, which was first legalized by Paul III. in 1544, and afterwards by Gregory XIII. in 1571. It flourished much in the north of Italy, and was introduced into France in 1611, where it acquired a high reputation, and could soon number more than 300 cloisters distributed into several congregations. The kind offices of these sisters to all who needed their services, and their attention to the education of females, caused them to be held in high estimation. From France the order was extended to Canada and also to the United States, in both which it still exists and is in reputation. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit d. Reform.* vol. iii. p. 503, &c. who refers us to Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tome iv. p. 150–223, and to the *Gesch. der Vornehmsten Mönchsorden*, book vi. sec. 203, &c.—*Mur.*

[3] Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tome viii. chap. iv. p. 12. [Raynald's *Annales Eccles.* ad ann. 1564, sec. 5. The exercises in the Oratory were these:—When the associates were collected, a short time was spent in prayer, ordinarily silent prayer. Then Neri addressed the company. Next a portion of some religious book was read, on which Neri made remarks. After an hour occupied in these exercises, three of the associates successively mounted a little rostrum, and gave each a discourse about half an hour long on some point in theology, or on church history or practical religion; and the meeting closed for the day. See Baronius, *Annales Eccles.* tom. i. p. 555. Baronius was himself an early pupil of Neri, and succeeded him as head of the order.—*Mur.*

[4] The former in the *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*, and the latter in his *Examen Concilii Tridentini.*—[Matthias Flacius, after his removal from Wittenberg to Magdeburg, with the aid of the two Magdeburg preachers, John Wigand and Matthew Judex, the jurist Basil Faber, and Andrew Corvinus, Thomas Holthuters, and others, published their History between the years 1559 and 1574, in thirteen volumes folio, each volume containing one century. Its proper title

only the sacred Scriptures but also the voice of ancient history were opposed to the doctrines and decrees of the Romish church, prompt resistance became necessary, lest the ancient fables on which a great part of the claims of the pontiffs rested should lose all their credit.

20. The improvement of philosophy was attempted by several men of fine talents, both among the French and Italians, whose names have already been given. But their efforts were rendered ineffectual by the excessive attachment of the scholastic doctors to the old Aristotelian philosophy, and by the cautious timidity of many who were apprehensive that such freedom of thought and discussion might subvert the tottering interests of the church, and open the way for other and new dissensions. The empire of Aristotle, therefore, whose very obscurity rendered him the more acceptable, continued unshaken in all the schools and monasteries. It even became more firmly established after the Jesuits saw fit to subject their schools to it, and showed by their discussions and their books that the Aristotelian scholastic subtleties, equivocations, and intricacies were better suited to confound the heretics and to carry on controversy with some appearance of success, than the simple and lucid mode of arguing and debating which sound reason, left to herself, would dictate.

21. Of the theological writers in the Romish church during this century, a very large catalogue might be made out. The most famous and most competent among them were Thomas de Vio or Cajetan, John Eck, John Cochlæus, Jerome Emser, Laurence Surius, Stanislaus Hosius, John Faber, James Sadolet, Albert Pighi, Francis Vatablus, Melchior Canus, Claud Espencæus, Bartholomew Caranza, John Maldonate, Francis Turrianus, Benedict Arias Montanus, Ambrose Catharinus, Reginald Pole, Sixtus Senensis, George Cassander, James Paya Andradius, Michael Baius, James Pamelius, and others.[1]

22. The religion which Rome would have

is, *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ per aliquot Studiosos et Pios Viros in urbe Magdeburgica, Centuriæ* xiii. [and its compilers are usually known by the name of the Magdeburg Centuriators.—*R.*] A new edition was commenced in 1757, at Nuremberg; [but was carried only to the sixth volume in 4to. An edition with some abridgment was published by Lucius, Basil, 1624, 13 vols. in 3, large folio. This edition is most current among the Reformed, though disapproved by the Lutherans.—*Mur.*] Cæsar Baronius, a father of the oratory [at the instigation of Philip Neri, founder of the society of the oratory], undertook to confute this work, which contained strong historical proofs against popery, in a work of twelve volumes folio, each volume likewise embracing one century. His work is entitled *Annales Ecclesiastici*, and was published at Rome between the years 1588 and 1607, and afterwards at Mentz with the approbation of the author. The latest, most splendid, and most complete edition was published with the corrections of Antony Pagi, a French Franciscan (entitled, *Critica Historico-Chronologica in Annales Baronii*, 4 vols. fol.), and the continuation of Odoric Raynald (in 10 vols. fol.), at Lucca, 1738–1756, in 38 vols. fol. These ecclesiastical annals are by no means impartial; yet they contain numerous documents which cast light on both ecclesiastical and civil history. Raynald's continuation reaches to the year 1565. James de Laderchi, likewise a father of the oratory, extended the Annals to the year 1572. The apostate Reformed, Henry de Sponde or Spondanus, bishop of Pamiers, likewise composed a continuation of Baronius to the year 1640, in three volumes fol. So also the Polish Dominican, Abraham Bzovius, continued Baronius to the year 1572, in eight vols. folio; but he is the most faulty of all who have been named, both in respect to the matter and the spirit of his performance.— *Schl.* [On these works, their authors, and their various editions, the English reader may consult Dowling's *Introduction to the Study of Eccles. Hist.* p. 103, &c. though he is somewhat prejudiced against the Reformed compilers. See also Schroeckh's *Kirchenges.* on the Centuriators, vol. i. p. 162, &c. and on Baronius, ib. p. 225, &c.; Sagitarius, *Introductio in Hist. Eccles. sive Notitia Scriptorum qui Hist. illustrant.* Jena, 1718, vol. i.; on the Centuriators, chap. xiii. p. 240, &c.; and on Baronius, chap. xiv. p. 282, &c.—*R.*

[1] Concerning these and others designedly omitted, the reader may consult Louis Ellies du Pin, a doctor of the Sorbonne, in his *Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiast.* tome xiv. and xvi. and the other writers of biography. [The following brief notices of the writers mentioned by Mosheim may not be unacceptable.

Of Cajetan, see above, p. 568, notes 3 and 4.

John Eckius or Mayer was born at Eck, a village in Swabia, A.D. 1483; was professor of theology at Ingolstadt, vice-chancellor, inquisitor, and canon of Eichstadt, and died 1543. He disputed and wrote much against Luther and the Protestants.

The real name of Cochlæus was John Dobeneck, surnamed Cochlæus from the Latinized name of his birthplace, Wendelstein in Nuremberg. He was a dean at Frankfort, and a canon at Mentz and Breslau, and died in 1552; a most rancorous and uncandid opposer of the Reformation

Emser was of Ulm in Swabia, and died in 1527. He was a licentiate of canon law, criticised Luther's version of the New Testament, and undertook to make a better.

Surius was a laborious Carthusian monk of Lubec, and died at Cologne in 1578. Besides his translations, he published four volumes of the Councils, and seven volumes of lives of the saints, and wrote a concise general history from A.D. 1500 to 1574, in opposition to Sleidan's Commentaries.

Hosius was of Cracow, and at his death in 1579, was bishop of Ermeland, cardinal, and grand penitentiary to pope Gregory XIII. He acted a conspicuous part in the council of Trent, was a manly opposer of the Reformation, and left works in 2 vols. fol.

Faber was a Swabian named Heigerlin, but was called Faber from his father's occupation. He was a Dominican, and opposed the sale of indulgences in Switzerland; yet aided the pope against the Protestants, and became bishop of Vienna. None of his writings are now read.

Sadolet was a mild, liberal divine, secretary to Leo X. bishop of Carpentras, and a cardinal. His works were printed at Verona, 1737, 4 vols. fol.

Pighi was a Dutchman, archdeacon at Utrecht, a mathematician, and a man of more reading than judgment, and died in 1542.

Vatablus of Picardy was a learned professor of Hebrew at Paris in the reign of Francis I.

Canus, a Spanish Dominican, professor of theology at Salamanca, bishop of the Canary Islands, provincial of his order in Castile, and died in 1560. His chief work was his *Loci Communes*, in twelve books.

Espencæus was a famous Parisian divine of great erudition, who died in 1571.

Caranza was a Dominican, confessor to Philip II. of Spain, to queen Mary of England, and to Charles V. also archbishop of Toledo; yet he was charged with heresy, suffered ten years in the Inquisition, and

men regard as the only true religion, and which she enjoins on all Christians universally, is derived, as all their writers tell us from two sources—the written Word of God and the unwritten, or the holy Scriptures and tradition. But as there are warm contests among the leading divines of that church respecting the legitimate interpreter of this twofold Word of God, it may be justly said that it is not yet clear whence a knowledge of the Romish doctrines is to be learned, or by what authority controversies on sacred subjects are to be decided. The Romish court indeed, and all who favour the absolute dominion of the pontiff, maintain that no one can interpret and explain the import of either divine word in matters relating to salvation, except the person who governs the church as Christ's vicegerent; and of course, that his decisions must be religiously obeyed. To give weight to this opinion, first Pius IV. and afterwards Sixtus V. established at Rome the congregation styled the Congregation for Interpreting the Council of Trent (*De Interpretando Tridentino Concilio*), which decides, in the name of the pontiff, the smaller questions respecting points of discipline; but the weightier questions touching any point of doctrine it refers to the pontiff himself as the oracle.[1] But a very different opinion is entertained both by the greatest part of the French and by other men of great learning, who maintain that individual doctors and bishops may go directly to both sources, and from them obtain for themselves and for the people rules of faith and practice; and that the greater and more difficult questions of controversy are to be submitted to the examination and decision of councils. There is no judge who can terminate this controversy; and hence there is no prospect that the Romish religion will ever obtain a stable and determinate form.

23. The council of Trent, which is said to have been summoned to explain, arrange, and reform both the doctrine and the discipline of the church, is thought by wise men to have rather produced new enormities than to have removed those which existed. They complain that many opinions of the scholastic doctors, concerning which in former times men thought and spoke as they pleased, were improperly sanctioned and placed among the doctrines necessary to be believed, and even guarded by anathemas;[2] they complain of the ambiguity of the decrees and decisions of the council, in consequence of which controverted points are not so much explained and settled as perplexed and made more difficult;[3] they

died almost as soon as released, A.D. 1576. He wrote *Summa Conciliorum et Decret. Pontificum.*

Maldonate was a Spanish Jesuit, a distinguished theologian, and Scriptural expositor; born 1534, died 1582.

Turrianus was also a Spanish Jesuit, but of less talents. He died in 1584.

Montanus was a Spanish Orientalist, and editor of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible. He also wrote commentaries on the Scriptures, and died in 1598.

Catharinus of Sienna in Italy was first a jurist, then a Dominican, bishop of Minorca, and lastly archbishop of Conza in the kingdom of Naples. He wrote against the Protestants, commented on Paul's epistles, and died in 1553.

Cardinal Pole was of royal English blood, opposed king Henry VIII. in the matter of his divorce, and left England; but returned as papal legate on the accession of Queen Mary, was made archbishop of Canterbury, and died on the very day his sovereign did, A.D. 1558. He was learned, discreet, and inclined to moderation. His letters were published by cardinal Quirini at Brescia, in 1744.

Sixtus of Sienna was born a Jew, became a Franciscan, was accused of heresy, joined the Dominicans, and died in 1569. His *Bibliotheca Sancta*, or Introduction to Biblical Literature, is the chief foundation of his reputation.

Cassander was born on the island of Cassand near Bruges, and was a modest, ingenuous divine, who studied to bring the Catholics and Protestants to a better agreement, and incurred the ill-will of both. He died in 1566, and his works were printed at Paris in 1616, fol.

Andradius was a Portuguese theologian who attended the council of Trent, and attempted to vindicate its proceedings against Chemnitz's attack.

Baius was doctor and professor of theology at Louvain, chancellor of the university, general inquisitor for the Netherlands, and a strong adherent of the doctrines of Augustine, which brought him into difficulty, as we shall see presently in section 38 of this chapter. He died in 1589.

Pamelius was a modest and honest theologian of the Netherlands, whose father, Adolphus, baron of Pamele, was counsellor of state to Charles V. He died on his way to take possession of his new office of bishop of St. Omer, A.D. 1587. He edited the works of Tertullian and of Cyprian.—*Mur.*

[1] Aymon, *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, part v. chap. iv. p. 282, &c. [This congregation affords the pope a fine opportunity to obtrude his court decisions on the Catholic world, under the pretence of the council of Trent. It is the duty of the cardinals to explain the language of the council only in doubtful cases; but they often extend the import of the words so far that the pope finds the way open to introduce new laws into the church. See Fabronius, *De Statu Ecclesiæ*, cap. v. sec. iii. no. 7.—*Schl.* [The canonists long debated whether the decisions of this congregation formed a part of the ecclesiastical law of the Catholic church. Those who maintained that they were not law urged unanswerably that those decisions were not published; and that rules of conduct not made known could never be considered as laws by which men were to be judged. To remove this objection, in the year 1739 formal reports of the decisions of the congregation began to be published, reaching back to the year 1718; and the publication of these reports was continued to the year 1769, when thirty-eight volumes 4to had been issued, embracing all the decisions of importance from the year 1718 to the year 1769 inclusive.—*Mur.*

[2] Such as, for example, Peter Lombard's doctrine of the seven sacraments, the necessity of auricular confession, the canonical authority of the apocryphal books, &c.; and by the anathema pronounced against the opposite doctrines, the reintroduction of these supposed heresies into the church and all attempts at a religious union in future are rendered impossible.—*Schl.*

[3] The reader need only consult the second article concerning justification and free-will. The council here frequently expresses itself according to the views of Luther; but presently it takes back with one hand what it had given with the other. This arose from the disputes of the fathers in the council among themselves. The only way to quiet their contentions was to publish articles of faith so ambiguous that each party could construe them to agree with their own opinions. Hence it is that to this day the council is so differently inter-

complain that everything was decided in the council, not according to truth and the holy Scriptures but according to the directions of the Roman pontiff, and that the Romish legates took from the fathers of the council almost all liberty of correcting existing evils in the church;[1] they complain that the few decisions which were wise and correct were left naked and unsupported, and are neglected and disregarded with impunity; in short, they think the council of Trent was more careful to subserve the interests of the papal dominion than the general interests of the Christian church. And hence it is not strange that there should be some among the sons of the Romish church who choose to expound the decrees of the Tridentine council itself according to the sense of the sacred volume and tradition, and that the authority of those decrees should be differently estimated in the different Catholic countries.[2]

24. Recourse must be had to the decrees of the council of Trent, together with the brief confession of faith which Pius IV. caused to be drawn up, by all those who would gain a tolerable knowledge of the Romish religion. A full and perfect knowledge of it is not in this way to be expected. For in the decrees of the council and in the confession of faith above mentioned, many articles are so devoid of joints and nerves

preted in the Romish church. Hence the Spanish Dominican, Dominic Soto, wrote three books to prove that the council was of his opinion on the subject of grace and justification; while the Franciscan, Andrew Vega, whose opinions were very different, wrote fifteen to prove directly the contrary. So is it also in regard to the doctrine respecting the penitence necessary to repentance. The Jesuits say this penitence consists in an internal fear of God and a dread of divine punishments which they call attrition. Their opposers maintain that this is not sufficient, but that true penitence must arise from love to God and regret for having sinned against him. This dispute is not decided by the council, for one passage appears to deny what another asserts. And hence Launoi wrote a book, *De Mente Concilii Tridentini circa Contritionem, Attritionem, et Satisfactionem, in Sacramento Pœnitentiæ;* and he there shows that the words of the council may be fairly construed as every one pleases. The doctrines concerning the church, and concerning the power of the pope and its limits, are for good reasons left undecided. So also the contested doctrines concerning the conception and birth of the Virgin Mary, and the real nature of the worship to be paid to images and to the saints. The doctrine respecting tradition is likewise made very equivocal and obscure.—*Schl.*

[1] No pope indeed was personally present in the council, but they still governed it by their legates. Nothing was permitted to be discussed without the consent of the legates; and no conclusion was made which had not been previously prepared and shaped in the particular congregations [or committees] in which the legates always presided. Hence the satirists said that the Holy Ghost (by whom, according to the court language of the church, such councils are always guided) was brought from Rome in a portmanteau in order to enlighten the fathers. There were in fact several intelligent and thinking men among the fathers of the council, but they were outvoted by the multitude of Italians and dependants of the pope.—*Schl.* [The person who made use of the profane metaphor alluded to in this note was Andrew Dudycz, at one time bishop of Tinia in Hungary and a member of the council of Trent, but who afterwards married and joined the Reformed church. He died in 1589. See more of him in Sec. iii. part ii. chap. iv. p. 705 below. In his oration to the emperor, Maximilian II. explaining his reasons for resigning his bishopric, he thus expressed himself respecting the management of that council: "Erant episcopi illi conductii plerique, ut utres, rusticorum musicum instrumentum, quos, ut vocem mittant, inflare necesse est. Nil habuit cum illo conventu S. Spiritus commercii; omnia erant humana concilia, quæ in immodica, et sane quam pudenda Pontificum tuenda dominatione consumebantur. Cursitabant Romam nocte dieque veredarii, omnia quæ dicta consultaque essent, quam celerrime ad Papam deferebantur. Illinc responsa tanquam Delphis aut Dodona, expectabantur; illinc nimirum Spiritus ille S. quem suis conciliis præesse jactant, tabellarii manticis inclusus, mittebatur: qui, quod admodum ridiculum est, cum aliquando, ut fit, aquæ pluviis exercscebant, non ante advolare poterat, quam inundationes desedissent. Ita flebat, ut Spiritus non *super* aquas, ut est in Genesi, sed secus aquas ferretur." See Reuter's *Orationes Dudithii in Concil. Trident. habitæ*, &c. Offenb. 1710, 4to, p. 40.—*R.*

[2] Some provinces of the Romish church, as Germany, Poland, Italy [and Portugal], have received the council of Trent and its decrees entire and without exceptions or conditions. But others only under certain limitations and conditions, would subject themselves to it. Of these the principal were the countries subject to the king of Spain, which were long in controversy with the Roman pontiff respecting the council of Trent, and at last embraced it with a salvo of the rights of the Spanish kings (*Salvis Regum Hispaniæ Juribus.*) See Giannone, *Histoire Civile du Royaume de Naples* [livr. lxxxiii. chap. iii. sec. i.], tome iv. p. 235, &c. Others again could never be induced to adopt it. Among these was France. See Masius, *Diss. de Contemptu Concilii Tridentini in Gallia*, which is one among his collected Dissertations; and Le Courayer's *Discours sur la Réception du Concile de Trente, particulièrement en France*, which is subjoined to the second volume of his French translation of Father Paul's *History of the Council of Trent*, p. 775—789. Yet that part of the council which embraces the doctrines of religion was tacitly and by practice admitted as a rule of faith among the French. But the other part, which relates to discipline and ecclesiastical law, has been constantly rejected both publicly and privately, because it is deemed hostile to the authority and power of kings, no less than to the rights and liberties of the French church. See Du Pin, *Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques*, tome xv. p. 380, &c. Hungary also is said to have never publicly received this council. See Samuelof, *Vita Andr. Dudithii*, p. 56. As for the literary history of the council of Trent, the writers of its history, editions of its decrees, &c. see Salig's *History of the Council of Trent* (in German), vol. iii. p. 190—320, and Köcher's *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolica*, p. 325, 377, &c [As to the reception of the council of Trent in Germany, it did not take place at once. The pope, Pius IV. sent Visconti, the bishop of Vintimiglia, to the emperor Ferdinand I. to persuade him to receive it. But the emperor consented only on two conditions:—that the pope should allow his subjects the use of the cup in the sacred supper, and should not debar the clergy from marriage. The same indulgence was craved by the Bavarians. Pius allowed the first but denied the second; and Ferdinand acquiesced, and received the council for himself and his hereditary dominions. The whole German nation has never received it; and the popes have never dared to submit its decrees to the consideration of the diet and to ask their sanction of them. This probably will have been the last general council of Christendom; for it is not probable that the opposing interests of the great, with good policy, will ever again allow of a general council, since the weakness and intrigues of such bodies have been so clearly exhibited by this. The popes would also show themselves not very favourable to another general council, since the right of summoning such a council to meet, and that of presiding in it, would be contested with them, and as so many appeals would be likely to be made to the proposed general council from their own decisions.—*Schl.*

that they bend hither and thither; and they were designedly left in this flexible state, on account of the intestine dissensions of the church. Moreover, not a few things were passed by in both those works, which yet must not be denied nor even called in question without giving offence; and some things are there expressed better and more decently than daily practice and public usage authorise. Hence reliance must not always be placed on the language used by the council, but rather the import of that language must be qualified and measured by the practices and the institutions which generally prevail.[1] Add to these considerations that since the time of the council of Trent some of the pontiffs have explained more clearly and unequivocally, in their particular constitutions or bulls, certain doctrines which were stated less clearly by the council; wherein no one appears to have acted more audaciously and unsuccessfully than Clement XI. in his famous bull called Unigenitus.

25. To the correct interpretation and the knowledge of the holy Scriptures the Roman pontiff opposed all the obstacles in his power, from the time that he learned what very great damage and loss accrued to him from this source. In the first place disputants are allowed the shocking license of treating the Scriptures with contumely, and of publicly declaring their authority to be inferior to that of the pontiff and tradition. Next, the old Latin version called the Vulgate, though it abounds with innumerable faults and in very many places is quite barbarous and obscure, was by a decision of the assembly at Trent recommended as authentic—that is, as faithful, exact, and accurate, and therefore not liable to be impugned. How much this contributed to conceal from the people the true meaning of the Scriptures must be manifest. In the same assembly this hard law was imposed on interpreters, that in matters of faith and morals they must not venture to construe the Scriptures differently from the common opinion of the church and the consent of the ancient doctors; nay, it was asserted that the church alone, or its head and governor the sovereign pontiff, has the right of determining the true sense of the Scriptures. Finally, the Romish church has persevered in strenuously maintaining, sometimes more explicitly and sometimes more covertly, that the sacred Scriptures were written for none but the teachers; and in all places where it had the power[2] it has ordered the people to be restrained from reading the Bible.

26. For these reasons, the multitude of expositors who were excited by the example of Luther and his followers to engage eagerly in the work of biblical interpretation are for the most part dry, timid, and obsequious to the will of the Romish court. Nearly all of them are extremely cautious lest they should drop a single word at variance with the received opinions; they always quote the authority and the names of the holy fathers as they call them, and do not so much inquire what the inspired writers actually taught as what the church would have them teach. Some of them tax their ingenuity to the utmost to force out of each passage of Scripture that fourfold sense which ignorance and superstition devised—namely, the literal, allegorical, tropological, and anagogical. And with good reason; for this mode of interpretation is most convenient for artfully eliciting from the divine oracles whatever the church wishes to have regarded as truth. Yet we can name some who had wisdom enough to discard these vain mysteries, and to labour solely to ascertain the literal import of the Scriptures. In this class the most eminent were the following—Erasmus of Rotterdam, who is well known to have translated the books of the New Testament into neat and perspicuous Latin, and to have explained them in a pleasing manner; Thomas de Vio, or Cajetanus, the cardinal who disputed with Luther at Augsburg, and whose brief notes on nearly all the sacred books are better than many longer commentaries; Francis Titelmann, Isidore Clarius, John Maldonate, Benedict Justiniani (who was no contemptible interpreter of St. Paul's epistles), John Gagnæus, Claud Espencæus, and some others.[3] But these laudable examples

[1] This is true, in a more especial manner, with respect to the canons of the council of Trent relating to the doctrine of purgatory, the invocation of saints, the worship of images and relics. The terms employed in these canons are artfully chosen so as to avoid the imputation of idolatry in the philosophical sense of that word; for in the Scripture sense they cannot avoid it, as all use of images in religious worship is expressly forbidden in the sacred writings in many places. But this circumspection does not appear in the worship of the Roman Catholics, which is notoriously idolatrous in both the senses of that word.—*Mael.*

[2] This could not be done in all countries. The French and some other nations read the Scriptures in their native language, notwithstanding the warm supporters of the Romish supremacy are bitterly opposed to the practice.

[3] Concerning these, the reader may consult Simon's *Histoire Critique du Vieux et du Nouveau Testament.* [Titelmann was of Hasselt in the bishopric of Liege, a Capuchin monk, skilful in oriental literature, and died provincial of his order in 1553. He left many commentaries on the books of Scripture, particularly one on the Psalms which is not entirely useless. See Simon, *Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test.* livr. iii. chap. ix. p. 422.—Isidore Clarius (De Chiara) was bishop of Fuligno in Umbria, attended the council of Trent, and belonged to the Dominican order. He published notes on the Holy Scriptures, in which he attempts to correct the Vulgate Simon, *ubi supra*, p. 320, expresses an unfavourable

ceased to have influence sooner than might be expected. For at the close of the century there was only one in the university of Paris—namely, Edmund Richer, the celebrated defender of the Gallic liberties against the pontiffs, who investigated the literal meaning of the Scriptures; all the other doctors despised the literal sense, and in the manner of the ancients searched after recondite and concealed meanings.[1]

27. Before Luther's time, nearly all the schools were occupied by the philosophical theologians, or what are called the Scholastics; so that even at Paris, which was considered as the seat of all sacred knowledge, persons could not be found competent to encounter our divines in reasoning from the Scriptures and the writings of the ancient doctors. And even in the council of Trent this extreme penury of dogmatic and biblical theologians often produced singular difficulties, as the Scholastics were accustomed to measure and define all doctrines according to the precepts of their lean and meagre philosophy. Pressing necessity therefore urged the restoration and cultivation of that mode of treating religious doctrines, which makes more use of the holy Scriptures and of the decisions of the fathers than of metaphysical reasoning.[2] Yet the Scholastics could not be divested of that ascendancy which they had long maintained in the schools; nay, they seemed to have acquired new strength after the Jesuits joined them and had decided that dialectics was more efficacious for confronting heretics than the holy Scriptures and the authority of the fathers. The Mystics, as they were not very offensive to the enemies of the church and were not much inclined to engage in controversy, lost nearly all their influence after the era of the Reformation. Yet they were allowed to philosophise in their own way, provided they did it cautiously, and neither attacked too freely the decrees and the vices of the Romish church, nor inveighed too vehemently against either the futility of external devotion or the metaphysical and polemic divines.

28. No one among the Catholics of this century improved practical theology successfully, nor could any one improve it without incurring the greatest opposition; for the safety of the church was supposed to forbid such attempts. And in reality many doctrines and regulations on which the prosperity of the Romish church depends would be brought into the greatest danger if Christian piety in its true nature were uniformly held up to the view of the people. On the other hand, many honest men and cultivators of piety, even in the Romish church, complain (how truly and justly in all cases I will not here inquire) that the Jesuits, as soon as they arose and began to have the ascendancy in courts and in the schools, first sapped the foundations of all correct practical theology by their subtle distinctions, and then opened the door for all ungodliness and vice by the lax and dissolute morality which they inculcated. This infection indeed spread unobserved in this century, but in the next it appeared more manifest and gave rise to the greatest commotions. The moral writers of the Romish church moreover may all be distributed into three classes—the Scholastic, the Dogmatic, and the Mystic. The first expounded the virtues and duties of the Christian life by knotty distinctions and phraseology, and obscured them by multifarious discussions; the second elucidated them by the language of the Bible and the sentiments of the ancient doctors; the third recommended exclusively withdrawing the thoughts from all outward objects, composing the mind, and elevating it to the contemplation of the divine nature.

29. Of the vast multitude of papal polemic theologians and of their capital faults no one is ignorant. Most of them were abundantly fraught with all that is accounted

opinion of him, and pronounces him a plagiary.—Benedict Justinianus (Justiniani) was a Jesuit of Genoa, and died at Rome in the year 1622. He left expositions of Paul's and the Catholic Epistles.—John Gagneus, a Parisian chancellor, published notes on the New Testament and a paraphrase on the Epistle to the Romans, of no great value. He died in the year 1549. —*Schl.*

[1] Baillet, *Vie de Edmund Richer*, p. 9, 10, &c. [Richer was an eminent theological writer, well acquainted with the antiquities of the church, and a bold defender of the rights of bishops against the pope. But he suffered persecution which ruined his health, and he died in the year 1631.—*Mur.*

[2] See Bulæus, *Reformatio Facultatis Theol. Paris.* anno 1587, in his *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. vi. p. 790, &c. In this reformation, the *Baccalaurei Sententiarii* are distinguished from the *Baccalaurei Biblici*; and what deserves particular notice, the Augustinian monks (Luther's fraternity) were required (p. 794) annually to present to the theological college a Biblical Bachelor; from which it may be inferred that the Augustinian family (to which Luther once belonged) gave more attention to the study of sacred literature than the other orders of monks. But as the above mentioned work of Bulæus is in the hands of but few, it may be proper to quote the statute entire: Augustinenses quolibet anno Biblicum præsentabunt, secundum statutum fol. xxi. quod sequitur: Quilibet Ordo Mendicantium et Collegium S. Bernardi habeat quolibet anno Biblicum, qui legat ordinariè, alioqui priventur pro illo anno Baccalaureo Sententiario." It appears from this statute that all the Mendicant orders were bound, according to a decree of the college of theologians, to present annually a Biblical Bachelor (such as Luther was). Yet in this reformation of the college, the duty was required of none but the Augustinians. Who then will not make the inference that the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the other Mendicant orders wholly neglected biblical studies, and therefore had no Biblical Bachelors; and that the Augustinians alone were able to fulfil this statute of the Sorbonne?

criminal in those whose sole object is victory and plunder. The numerous Jesuits who took the field against the enemies of the Roman church excelled all the others in subtlety, impudence, and invective. But the chief and coryphæus of the whole was Robert Bellarmin, a Jesuit, and a cardinal or one of the pontifical cabinet. He embraced all the controversies of his church in several large volumes, and united copiousness of argument with much perspicuity of style. As soon therefore as he entered the arena, which was towards the close of the century, he drew upon himself alone the onsets and the strength of the greatest men among the Protestants. Yet he displeased many of his own party, and chiefly because he carefully collected all the arguments of his antagonists, and generally stated them correctly and fairly. He would have been accounted a greater and better man, had he possessed less fidelity and industry, and had he stated only the feebler arguments of his opposers and given them mutilated and perverted.[1]

30. The Romish community, though it proudly boasts of its peaceful and harmonious state, is full of broils and contentions of every kind. The Franciscans and Dominicans contend vehemently respecting various subjects. The Scotists and Thomists wage eternal war. The bishops never cease to wrangle with the pontiff and his congregations respecting the origin and limits of their power. The French, the Flemings, and others, openly oppose the Roman pontiff himself and his supremacy; and he inveighs against them as often as he deems it safe and necessary with energy and spirit, and at other times cautiously and circumspectly. As the Jesuits from the beginning laboured successfully to depress all the other religious fraternities, and also to strip the Benedictines and others who were opulent of a part of their wealth, so they inflamed and armed all the fraternities against themselves. Among these, the Benedictines and the Dominicans are their most virulent enemies; the former fight for their possessions, the latter for their reputation, their privileges, and their opinions. The contentions of the schools respecting various doctrines of faith are without number and without end. All these contests the sovereign pontiff moderates and controls by dexterous management and by authority, so that they may not too much endanger the church; to adjust and terminate them—which would perhaps be the duty of a vicegerent of our Saviour—he has neither power nor inclination.

31. Besides these minor controversies which have slightly disturbed the peace of the church, other and greater ones since the time of the council of Trent have arisen, chiefly through the influence of the Jesuits; which, being gradually increased and continued down to our times, violently agitate the whole Romish community and rend it into numerous factions. These indeed the Roman pontiffs labour most earnestly, if not to extinguish, yet to quiet in a degree, so that they may not produce excessive mischief; but minds, warmed not so much by zeal for the truth as by the heat of controversy and the love of party, will not coalesce and become united.

32. Whoever considers these controversies with attention and impartiality will readily perceive that the Jesuits—that is, the greater part of them or the fraternity in general, for in so very extensive a society there are those of different views—guard and defend that ancient and rude, but to the pontiffs and the church very useful, system of faith and practice which prevailed and was inculcated everywhere in the Romish church before the time of Luther. For those very sagacious men, whose office it is to watch for the safety of the Romish see, perceive clearly that the authority of the pontiffs, and the emoluments, prerogatives, and honours of the clergy, depend entirely on this ancient system of religion, and that if this was subverted or changed, the church must unavoidably suffer immense injury and gradually crumble to the dust. But in the Romish church and especially since the reformation by Luther, there are not a few wise and good men, who having learned very clearly, from the sacred Scriptures and the writings of the ancient doctors, the deformities and faults of this ancient and vulgar system of religion, wish to see it corrected and amended though in a different way, and who urge the extirpation of that mischievous darnel from the field of the church which has armed the heretics against her. And hence those eternal contests and collisions with the Jesuits on various subjects. All these contests however may be reduced to the six following heads.

There is a debate (I.) respecting the extent and magnitude of the power of a Roman pontiff. The Jesuits and their numerous friends contend that a pontiff cannot possibly err, that he is the fountain and source of all the power which Jesus Christ has imparted to the church, that all bishops and religious teachers are indebted to him for

[1] See Mayer's *Eclogæ de Fide Baronii et Bellarmini ipsis Pontificiis dubiâ*, Amsterd. 1698, 8vo.

whatever authority and jurisdiction they may possess, that he is not bound by any enactments of the church and its councils, and that he is the sovereign lawgiver of the church, whose decrees no one can resist without incurring the greatest guilt. But others hold that he may err, that he is inferior to councils, that he is bound to obey the church and its laws as enacted by councils, and that if he offends he may be deprived of his rank and dignity by a council; from which it follows that inferior prelates and teachers receive the authority which they possess from Jesus Christ himself, and not from the Romish prelate.

33. There is a debate (II.) respecting the extent and the prerogatives of the church. For the Jesuits and those who follow them extend wide the bounds of the church. They contend that many among those who have no connexion with the Romish worship[1]—nay, among the nations which are wholly ignorant of Christ and the Christian religion—may be saved and actually are saved; they also hold that sinners living within the church are nevertheless its real members. But their adversaries circumscribe the kingdom of Christ within much narrower limits, and not only cut off from all hope of salvation those who live out of the Romish communion, but separate from the church all the vicious and profligate, though they live in it. The Jesuits, moreover, not to mention other differences of less moment, hold that the church never can pronounce an erroneous or unjust decision, either as to matters of fact or matters of doctrine and right *(sive de facto, sive de jure)*; but their opposers believe that the church is not secured from all danger of erring in deciding on matters of fact.

34. There is a very warm debate (III.) respecting the nature, operation, and necessity of that divine grace without which, as all agree, no one attains to eternal salvation; respecting what is called original sin, the natural power of man to obey the divine law, and the nature of God's eternal decrees in regard to the salvation of men. For the Dominicians, the Augustinians, the followers of Jansenius, and likewise many others, deny that divine grace can possibly be resisted, that there is anything sound and uncorrupted in man, that there is any condition annexed to the eternal decrees of God respecting the salvation of men, that God wills the salvation of all men, and other kindred doctrines. On the other hand, the Jesuits and with them many others would have it believed, that the extent and influence of the sin which lies concealed in man's nature are not so great; that not a little power to do good is left in man; that so much divine grace is proffered to all men as is necessary for the attainment of eternal salvation, and that by it no violence is offered to the mind; that God has from eternity allotted eternal rewards and punishments, not according to his arbitrary pleasure, but according to the foreseen conduct and merits of individuals.

35. There is a debate (IV.) respecting various points of morality and rules of conduct, of all of which, as it would be difficult to enumerate particularly, and would besides be out of place here, we shall only state the commencement of the long controversy.[2] Those who side with the Jesuits maintain, that it is of no consequence by what motives a person is actuated, provided he in fact performs the deeds which the law of God requires; and that the man who abstains from criminal actions through fear of punishment is no less acceptable to God than the man who obeys the divine law through the influence of love to it. But this doctrine appears horrible to very many, who deny that any services are acceptable to God unless they proceed from love to him. The former assert that no one can properly be said to sin, unless he violates some known law of God, which is present to his mind and correctly understood by him; and therefore that no one can be justly charged with criminality and sin who is either ignorant of the law or doubtful as to its import, or who does not think of it at the time he transgresses. From these principles originated the celebrated doctrines of probabilism[3] and of

[1] They were accused at Spoleto in the year 1653 of having maintained, in their public instructions there, the probability of the salvation of many heretics. See Le Clerc, *Biblioth. Univers. et Historique*, tome xiv. p. 320.—*Mael.*

[2] No one has treated of all the points objected against in the Jesuits' moral doctrines with more clearness, neatness and dexterity, and no one has pleaded the cause of the Jesuits with more ingenuity, than the eloquent and well-known Jesuit, Gabriel Daniel, in his *Entretiens de Cléandre et d'Eudoxe*, which is among his collected essays, tome i. p. 351, &c. and was composed in answer to that great man and powerful adversary of the moral doctrines of the Jesuits, Blaise Pascal, whose *Lettres Provinciales* inflicted so great a wound on the Jesuits. Daniel treats very acutely on probabilism, p. 351; on the method of directing the intention, p. 556; on equivocations and mental reservations allowed of by the Jesuits, p. 562; on sins of ignorance and forgetfulness, p. 719, &c. and on some other subjects. If the cause of the Jesuits can be defended and rendered plausible, it certainly is so by this writer.

[3] Moral probabilism is properly the doctrine of the Jesuits, that no action is sinful when there is the slightest probability that it may be lawful, and even when it has the approbation of any single respectable teacher; because it may be supposed that he saw reasons for his opinions, though we know not what

philosophical sin,[1] which have brought so much ill-fame upon the schools of the Jesuits. The adversaries of the Jesuits detest all these principles strongly, and contend that neither ignorance, nor doubts, nor forgetfulness, will afford any protection to the sinner at the bar of God. This controversy respecting the fundamental principles of morals has given rise to innumerable disputes concerning the duties we owe to God, to our fellow-men, and to ourselves; and has produced two sects of moralists, which have greatly disturbed and distracted the whole Romish church.

36. There is a debate (V.) respecting the administration of the sacraments, especially those of penance and the Lord's supper. The Jesuits, with whom very many agree, maintain that the sacraments produce their salutary effects by virtue of the mere external act (*ex opere operato*) as the schools express it, and hence, that no great preparation is necessary to the profitable reception of them; that God does not require purity of heart and a soul filled with heavenly love in such as would derive benefit from them; and they infer of course that the priests should at once absolve those who confess their sins to them, and then admit them immediately to the use of the sacraments. Far different were the views of all those who had at heart the advancement of true piety. They thought that the priests should long and carefully try those who applied for absolution and admission to the sacraments, before they complied with their wishes; because these divine institutions profit none but persons who are purified, and filled with that divine love which casteth out fear. And thus originated that noted controversy in the Romish church respecting frequent communion, which in the last century Anthony Arnaud (Arnaldus), author of the celebrated book on frequent communion [*De la Fréquente Communion*], and the Jansenists waged with the Jesuits, and which in our times has been renewed by the French Jesuit Pichon, to the great dissatisfaction of the French bishops.[2] For the Jesuits are very careful to urge upon all who intrust the guidance of their minds to them the frequent use of the Lord's supper, as a sure and safe method of appeasing God and obtaining from him remission of their sins. But for this conduct they are strongly censured, not only by the Jansenists but by many other grave and pious men, who inculcate that the sacred supper profits no one, unless his soul is united to God by faith, repentance, and love; and thus they condemn the famous *opus operatum* [or efficacy of the mere external act of communion].

37. There is a debate (VI.) respecting the right method of training Christians. While those who are anxious to advance religion wish to have people imbued with a correct knowledge of it from their very childhood, they who look rather to the interests of the church recommend a holy ignorance, and think a person knows enough if he only knows that he ought to obey the commands of the church. The former think nothing is more profitable than reading the inspired books, and therefore wish to see them translated into the popular or vulgar language; the latter prohibit the reading of the Bible, and esteem it pernicious if published in any other than a learned language unknown by the people. The former compose various books to nourish a spirit of devotion and to dispel errors from the minds of men; they express and explain the public prayers and the solemn formulas of religion in a language understood by the community, and they exhort all to learn from these books how to be wise and to worship God rationally and properly; but the latter are displeased with all this, for they are apprehensive the more light and knowledge people have, the less obedience and submission will be found in them.[3]

they were, and can see so many reasons for a contrary opinion.— *Schl.*

[1] Philosophical sins in opposition to theological, according to the Jesuits, are those in which a man at the time of committing them has not God and his law before his mind; and therefore, without thinking of God, trangresses natural or revealed law. These sins the Jesuits held to be venial; that is, such as do not draw after them a loss of divine grace, and do not deserve eternal, but only temporal punishment.— *Schl.*

[2] See the *Journal Universel*, tome xiii. p. 148; tome xv. p. 363; tome xvi. p. 124, &c.

[3] What we have said on the greater controversies in the Romish church may be illustrated and confirmed from numerous books published in the last and the present centuries, especially in France and the Netherlands, by the Jansenists, the Dominicans, the Jesuits, and others. Nearly all those who attack the doctrines of the Jesuits and other partisans of the Roman pontiff are enumerated by the celebrated French Jesuit Dominic Colonia; for it is ascertained that he composed the book published, without naming the place where, in the year 1735, 8vo, under the title, *Bibliothèque Janséniste, ou Catalogue Alphabétique des Principaux Livres Jansénistes, ou suspects de Jansénisme, avec des Notes Critiques*. His excessive zeal for the Roman pontiffs and for the opinions of the Jesuits impaired his discretion; yet his book is very serviceable for acquainting us with these controversies which so greatly disturb and afflict the Romish church. The book was condemned by the Roman pontiff Benedict XIV. yet it was republished not long ago in a new form and one-fifth larger, with this title: *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansénistes, ou qui favorisent le Jansénisme*, in four vols. Antwerp, 1752, 8vo. Undoubtedly the book is very useful for acquainting us with the intestine divisions of the Romish church, the religious tenets of the Jesuits, and the numerous books published on the controversies I have mentioned; at the same time, it is

38. Those of the preceding controversies which we have placed under the third head, namely, concerning divine grace, the natural power of men to do good, original sin, and predestination, actually exploded in this [sixteenth] century; the others were agitated more in private, and did not excite public notice till the next century. Nor will this surprise us, if we consider that the controversies moved by Luther respecting grace and free-will were not explicitly decided in the Romish church, but were in a manner hushed and concealed. Luther's doctrines indeed were condemned, but no definite and fixed form of doctrine, in regard to these subjects, was set up in opposition to them. Augustine's sentiments were also approved; but what the difference was between his sentiments and those of Luther was never stated and explained. The commencement of this sad controversy may be traced to Michael Baius, a doctor in the university of Louvain, no less eminent for his piety than for his learning.[1] As he, like the Augustinians, could not endure that contentious and thorny method of teaching which had long prevailed in the schools, and as he in following Augustine, who was his favourite author, openly condemned the common sentiments in the Romish church respecting man's natural ability to do good and the merit of good works, he fell under great odium with some of his colleagues and with the Franciscans. Whether the Jesuits were among his first accusers or not is uncertain; but it is certain that they were then violently opposed to those doctrines of Augustine which Baius had made his own. Being accused at Rome, Pius V. in the year 1567 in a special letter, condemned seventy-six propositions extracted from his books; but in a very insidious manner and without mentioning the name of Baius; for a recollection of the evils which resulted from the rash condemnation of Luther was a dissuasive from all violent proceedings. By the instigation of Francis Tolet, a Jesuit, Gregory XIII. in the year 1580 renewed the sentence of Pius V.; and Baius subscribed to that sentence, induced either by the fear of a greater evil, or by the ambiguity of the pontifical rescript as well as of the propositions condemned in it. But others who embraced the sentiments of Augustine would not do so.[2] For to the present time great numbers in the Romish community, in particular the Jansenists, strenuously maintain that Baius was unjustly treated, and that the decrees of both Pius and Gregory are destitute of all authority, and were never received by the church.[3]

39. It is at least certain that the doctrines of Augustine in regard to grace were as much esteemed and defended in the Low Countries, and especially in the universities of Louvain and Douay, after this controversy with Baius as they were before. This appeared at once when the two Jesuits, Leonard Less and Hamel at Louvain, were found teaching differently from Augustine on the subject of predestination. For the theologians of Louvain and of Douay forthwith publicly disapproved of their sentiments, the former in 1587 and the latter in 1588. And as the Belgian bishops were about to follow their example and consulted about calling councils on the subject, the pontiff Sixtus V. interposed, asserting that the cognizance of religious controversies belonged exclusively to the vicar of Jesus Christ resident at Rome. Yet this crafty and sagacious pontiff prudently declined exercising the prerogative which he claimed, lest he should provoke a worse controversy. Hence his legate in the year 1588 terminated the disputes at Louvain by allowing each party to retain its own opinions, but absolutely prohibited all discussion respecting them either in public or in private. And the Romish church would have been more tranquil at the present day, if the succeeding pontiffs had imitated this prudence of Sixtus in silencing the disputants on the subject of grace, and had not assumed the office of judges in this dubious controversy.[4]

full of gall and unjust aspersions on many learned and excellent men.

[1] Michael de Bay or Baius, D.D. was born at Melin in the territory of Aeth in the year 1513, and educated in the university of Louvain, where he was elected in 1541 principal of a college, and in 1544 lecturer in philosophy. In 1550 he took his doctor's degree, and was appointed professor of the Scriptures. In 1563 he was sent by the king of Spain to the council of Trent, where he acted a conspicuous part. Soon after, charges of heresy were brought against him, which were renewed from time to time, notwithstanding his patient submission and silence, and must have given him much inquietude. Yet he retained his office through life and was even promoted, for he became dean of St. Peter's at Louvain and chancellor of the university. He died in 1589, aged seventy-six. Tolet, a Jesuit and his enemy, said of him, "Michaele Baio nihil doctius, nihil humillus." His works, chiefly relating to the doctrines of grace, free-will, &c. were reprinted at Cologne, 1694, 4to. See Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, article *Baius*.—*Mar.*

[2] Here should be consulted especially, the *Baiana seu Scripta quæ Controversias spectant Occasione Sententiarum Baii exortas*, subjoined to the works of Baius as a second part of them, in the edition of Cologne, 1696, 4to. Add also Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, article *Baius*, tome i. p. 457; Du Pin, *Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques*, tome xvi. p. 144, &c.; *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, tome iii. p. 161, &c.

[3] To demonstrate this is the professed object of the anonymous author of the *Dissertation sur les Bulles contre Baius, où l'on montre qu'elles ne sont pas reçues par l'Eglise*, Utrecht, 1737, 2 vols. 8vo.

[4] See the *Apologie Historique des deux Censures de*

40. The Romish community had scarcely tasted of this repose, when new and far more terrible commotions of a similar nature broke out. Lewis Molina,[1] a Spanish Jesuit who taught in the Portuguese university of Evora, in a book which he published in 1588 on the union of grace and free-will,[2] endeavoured to clear up in a new manner the difficulties in the doctrines concerning grace, predestination, and free-will, and in some sort to reconcile the discordant sentiments of Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, the Semipelagians, and others.[3] The attempt of this subtle author gave so much offence to the Dominicans who followed implicitly the teachings of St. Thomas, that they roused up all Spain, where their influence was exceedingly great, and charged the Jesuits with a design to recall and give currency to the Pelagian errors. As a general tempest was evidently gathering, the pontiff Clement VIII. in the year 1594 enjoined silence on both the contending parties, and promised that after examining carefully the whole subject, he would judge and decide the controversy.

41. The pontiff doubtless expected that the evil would yield to these milder remedies, and that time would calm the feelings of the excited parties. But his hopes were entirely disappointed. The exasperated Dominicans, who had long indulged great hatred of the Jesuits, did not cease to harass the king of Spain, Philip II. and the pontiff Clement VIII. until the latter, wearied with their importunate clamours, assembled a sort of council at Rome to take cognizance of the dispute. Thus in the beginning of the year 1598 commenced those celebrated consultations on the contests between the Dominicans and the Jesuits, which from the principal topic of controversy were called Congregations on the Aids, that is, of grace (*Congregationes de Auxiliis*, i.e. *gratiæ*). The president of them was Lewis Madrusius [Madrucci], a cardinal of the Romish court and bishop of Trent, with whom there were ten assessors or judges—namely, three bishops and seven theologians of different fraternities. These occupied the remainder of this century in hearing the arguments of the parties.[4] The

Louvain et de Douay, par M. Gery. 1688, 8vo. That the celebrated Paschasius Quesnellius (Pasquier Quesnel) was the author of this book, has been shown by the author of the *Catéchisme Historique et Dogmatique sur les Contestations de l'Eglise*, tome i. p. 101. Le Clerc, *Mémoires pour servir a l'Histoire des Controverses dans l'Eglise Romaine, sur la Prédestination et sur la Grace*; in his *Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique*, tome xiv. p. 211, &c.

[1] From him the name of Molinists down to our times has been given to all such as seem inclined to sentiments opposed to those of Augustine, respecting grace and free-will in man. Many however bear this name unjustly, as they differ much from the opinions of Molina.

[2] The true title of this celebrated book is, *Liberi Arbitrii Concordia cum Gratiæ donis, Divina Præscientia, Providentia, Prædestinatione, et Reprobatione*, Lewis Molina. It was first printed at Lisbon, 1588, folio. Then, with enlargement, Antwerp, 1595, 4to, and at Lyons, Venice, and elsewhere. The third edition farther enlarged was printed at Antwerp, 1609, 4to.

[3] The first congregation at Rome for examining the sentiments in Molina's book, in their third session, Jan. 16, 1598, thus state the fundamental principles of his work:—I. A reason or ground of God's predestination, is to be found in man's right use of his free-will. II. That the GRACE which God bestows to enable men to persevere in religion may become the GIFT of perseverance, it is necessary that they be foreseen as consenting and co-operating with the divine assistance offered them, which is a thing within their power. III. There is a mediate prescience which is neither the free nor the natural knowledge of God, and by which he knows future contingent events before he forms his decree. (Molina divided God's knowledge into natural, free, and mediate, according to the objects of it. What he himself effects or brings to pass by his own immediate power or by means of second causes, he knows naturally or has natural knowledge of; what depends on his own free-will or what he himself shall freely choose or purpose, he has a free knowledge of; but what depends on the voluntary actions of his creatures, that is, future contingencies, he does not know in either of the above ways, but only mediately by knowing all the circumstances in which these free agents will be placed, what motives will be present to their minds, and thus foreseeing and knowing how they will act. This is God's *scientia media*, on which he founds his decrees of election and reprobation.) IV. Predestination may be considered as either general (relating to whole classes of persons), or particular (relating to individual persons.) In general predestination, there is no reason or ground of it beyond the mere good pleasure of God, or none on the part of the persons predestinated; but in particular predestination (or that of individuals), there is a cause or ground of it in the foreseen good use of free-will. From this statement of the fundamental errors of Molina, it would appear that he embraced substantially the leading principles of the Semipelagians and of the Remonstrants at Dort. His *scientia media* was a new name for a thing well known before. See Fleury's *Histoire Ecclesiastique Continué*, livr. clxxxiii. sec. v. vol. [illegible] p. 273, ed. Augsb. and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. iv. p. 296, &c.—*Mur.*

[4] The history of these Congregations has been repeatedly written, both by Jesuits and by Dominicans and Jansenists. Among the Dominicans, Jac. Hyacinth Serris, under the fictitious name of Augustinus le Blanc, published his *Historia Congregationum de Auxiliis Gratiæ Divinæ*, Louvain, 1700, folio. In reply to him, the Jesuit Livinus de Meyer, assuming the name of Theodorus Eleutherius, published his *Historia Controversiarum de Divinæ Gratiæ Auxiliis*, Antwerp, 1705, folio. The Dominicans also published the work of Thomas de Lemos (a subtle theologian of their order, who defended in these congregations the reputation of St. Thomas [Aquinas] against the Jesuits), entitled: *Acta Congregationum et Disputationum, quæ coram Clemente VIII. et Paulo V. de Auxiliis Divinæ Gratiæ sunt celebratæ*, Louvain, 1702, folio. From these historians, a man who possesses the power of divination may perhaps learn the facts which occurred. For here are arrayed records against records, testimonies against testimonies, narrations against narrations. It is therefore still uncertain whether the Romish court favoured most the Jesuits or the Dominicans; nor is it more clear which of them most wisely and successfully managed their cause. There is also a French history of these congregations, written with ability; *Histoire des Congregations de Auxiliis, par un Docteur de la Faculté de Theologie de Paris*, Louvain, 1702, 8vo. But being written by a Jansenist and a bitter enemy of the Jesuits, this work states everything just as the Dominicans would wish to have it stated. [Two of the continuators of Fleury's *Ecclesiastical History*, namely, John Claude Fabre (a father of the oratory) and R. P. Alexander (a Barefooted Carmelite), have also given a tolerably full

Dominicans most strenuously defended the opinion of their Thomas as being the only true opinion. The Jesuits, although they refused to adopt the sentiments of Molina as their own, yet felt that the reputation and the honour of their order required that Molina should be pronounced free from any gross error and untainted with Pelagianism. For it is common with all the monastic orders to regard any disgrace which threatens or befalls a member of the fraternity, as bringing a stigma upon the whole order, and they will therefore exert themselves to the utmost to screen him from it.[1]

42. Of the multitude of vain and useless ceremonies with which the Romish public worship abounded, the wisdom of the pontiffs would suffer no diminution; notwithstanding the best men wished to see the primitive simplicity of the church restored. On the other regulations and customs of the people and the priests, some of which were superstitious and others absurd, the bishops assembled at Trent seem to have wished to impose some restrictions; but the state of things, or rather I might say either the policy or the negligence of the Romish court and clergy, opposed their designs. Hence in those countries where nothing is to be feared from the heretics, as in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, such a mass of corrupt superstitions and customs, and of silly regulations, obscures the few and feeble rays of Christian truth yet remaining, that those who pass into them from the more improved countries feel as if they had got into midnight darkness.[2] Nor are the other countries, which from the proximity of the heretics or their own good sense are somewhat more enlightened, free from a considerable share of corruptions and follies. If to these things we add the pious or rather the impious frauds by which the people in many places are deluded with impunity, the extreme ignorance of the mass of the people, the devout farces which are acted, and the insipidity and the puerilities of their public discourses, we must be sensible it is sheer impudence to affirm, that the Romish religion and ecclesiastical discipline have been altogether corrected and reformed since the time of the council of Trent.

and apparently a candid account of the proceedings in these congregations.—*Mur.*

[1] On this Molinist controversy see Ranke's *Popes of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 303, &c.; Hallam's *Introduction to the Liter. of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 105.—*R.*

[2] The French who travel in Italy often laugh heartily at the monstrous superstition of the Italians. And on the other hand, the Italians look upon the French who come among them as destitute of all religion. This may be clearly perceived, among others, from the French Dominican Labat's *Travels in Spain and Italy*; who neglects no opportunity of satirizing the religion of the Spaniards and Italians, nor does he conceal the fact that he and his countrymen were considered by them as very irreligious.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE GREEK AND ORIENTAL CHURCH.

1. WHAT is commonly called the Oriental church is dispersed over Europe, Asia, and Africa, and may be distributed into three parts: (I.) That which is in communion with the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, and refuses the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff: (II.) That which differs in opinions and in customs, both from the Latin and the Greek patriarchs, and has its own peculiar patriarchs: (III.) That which is subject to the authority of the Roman pontiff.

2. The church which is in communion with the Constantinopolitan patriarch is properly called the Greek church, though it calls itself the Oriental church. It is moreover divided into two parts; one of which bows to the sovereign power and jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople, while the other, though it is in communion with him, yet will not admit his legates nor obey his decrees and commands, but is free and independent and has its own rulers who are subject to no foreign jurisdiction.

3. The church of which the Constantinopolitan patriarch is the head is divided, as it was anciently, into four great provinces, those of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; over each of which is a prelate of the first rank called a patriarch, whom all the inferior bishops as well as the monks honour as a father. Yet the chief of all the patriarchs and the supreme pontiff of the whole church is the patriarch of Constantinople, by whom the other patriarchs at the present day, though still elected, are designated or nominated for election and approved; nor dare they project or attempt anything of great importance without his sanction and permission. These well-disposed men however, though bearing the splendid title of patriarchs, are not able to attempt anything great as things are now situated, on account of the feeble state and the slender revenues of the churches they govern.

4. The jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople extends widely over European and Asiatic Greece, the Grecian Islands, Wallachia, Moldavia, and many other provinces in Asia and Europe now subject to the Turks. The patriarch of Alexandria at present generally resides at Cairo or Misra, and governs the Christian

church in Egypt, Nubia, Libya, and a part of Arabia.[1] The patriarch of Antioch resides for the most part at Damascus, and governs Mesopotamia, Syria, Cilicia, and other provinces.[2] The patriarch of Jerusalem styles himself patriarch of Palestine, Syria, Arabia, the region beyond Jordan, Cana in Galilee, and Mount Sion.[3] But these three patriarchs have very slender and poor dominions. For the Monophysites have long occupied the sees of Alexandria and Antioch, and have left very few members of the Greek church in the countries where they have dominion. And Jerusalem is the resort of Christians of every sect and doctrine, who have their respective prelates and priests, so that the dominion of the Greek patriarch there is confined within moderate limits.

5. The right of electing the patriarch of Constantinople belongs at this day to the twelve bishops nearest to that city; the right of approving the election and of imparting to the prelate authority to use his powers belongs to the Turkish emperor.[4] But the corrupted morals of the Greeks and the avarice of the ministers who under the emperor manage their public affairs, if they do not entirely subvert, greatly impair the effects of these regulations. For the lust of pre-eminence leads many of the bishops to endeavour to obtain that patriarchal dignity by bribery which they could never attain by the suffrages of their brethren. Thus not unfrequently men regularly elevated to the office are deprived of it; and by the emperor's viziers that candidate is generally esteemed most worthy of the office who exceeds his competitors in the magnitude of his presents. Yet of late, things are said to be changing for the better, and the patriarchs are represented as living more securely than formerly, since the manners of the Turks have gradually assumed a milder tone. Moreover this patriarch possesses great authority among a people oppressed, and in consequence of their extreme ignorance sunk in superstition. For he not only summons councils, and by them regulates and decides ecclesiastical affairs and controversies; but by permission of the emperor he holds courts and tries civil causes. His power is maintained, partly by the authority of the emperor and partly by his prerogative of excluding the contumacious from the communion, which is a punishment immensely dreaded by the Greeks. His support is derived principally from contributions imposed on the churches subject to his jurisdiction, which are sometimes greater and sometimes less, according to the varying state of things and the necessity for them.[5]

6. The Greeks acknowledge as the basis of their religion the holy Scriptures, together with the first six general or œcumenical councils. Yet it is a received principle established by long usage, that no private

[1] Of the patriarchate and the patriarchs of Alexandria, the Jesuit Sollerius treats professedly in his *Commentarius de Patriarchis Alexandrinis*, prefixed to the fifth vol. of the *Acta Sanctor. Mensis Junii*, and Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 329, &c. Respecting their office, authority, and election, see Renaudot, *Diss. de Patriarcha Alexandrino*, in the 1st vol. of his *Liturgiæ Orientales*, p. 365. The Greek patriarch [of Alexandria] at the present day has no bishops subject to him, but only chorepiscopi. All the bishops are obedient to the Monophysite patriarch who is the real patriarch of Alexandria. [A history of this Patriarchate from the Evangelist Mark to the present time has been recently published by the Rev. J. M. Neale, forming the first portion of a more extended work which he entitles, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*, Lond. 1847, 2 vols, 8vo. This is a useful work, carefully compiled from the best sources, but sadly disfigured by the Romanizing tendencies of its author, apparently a minister of the English church.—*R.*

[2] Concerning the patriarchs of Antioch the Jesuits have inserted a particular treatise in the 4th vol. of the *Acta Sanctor. Mensis Julii*, which however is very defective. On the territory of this patriarch and other things pertaining to him, see Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 670, &c.; and Blasius Tertius, *Siria Sacra o Descrittione Historico-Geografica delle due Chiese Patriarcali, Antiochia et Gerusalemme*, Rome, 1695, fol. There are three prelates in Syria who claim the title and the rank of patriarchs of Antioch. The first is of the Greeks or Melchites (for thus those Syrian Christians are called who follow the institutions and the religion of the Greeks); the second is of the Syrian Monophysites; the third is of the Maronites. For this last also claims to be the true and legitimate patriarch of Antioch, and the Roman pontiff addresses him with this title. And yet the Roman pontiff creates a sort of patriarch of Antioch at Rome; so that the see of Antioch has at this day four prelates—one Greek, two Syrian, and one Latin or Roman *in partibus* as the term at Rome is. [This phrase is elliptical; entire, it is *in partibus infidelium*. Patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops *in partibus infidelium*, are those who are created for places which are at present under the power of unbelievers.—*Schl.*

[3] See Blasius Tertius, *Siria Sacra*, lib. ii. p. 165. There is also a tract of Papebroch, *De Patriarchis Hierosolymatinis*, in the third vol. of the *Acta Sanctor. Mensis Maii*. Add Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 102, &c. [It is well known from other accounts that these patriarchs contend with each other about the limits of their respective dominions. Hence it should not be regarded as a historical contradiction, that the patriarch of Jerusalem should include Syria in his title while that province stands under the authority of the patriarch of Antioch.—*Schl.* [This is a sufficient answer to Maclaine's criticism on this passage of Mosheim.—*Mur.*

[4] See Elsner's *Beschreibung der Griechischen Christen in der Türckey*, chap. iii. sec. vi. p. 54, &c.; Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 145, &c.

[5] William Cuper, a Jesuit, not long since composed *Historia Patriarcharum Constantinopolitanorum*, which is printed in the *Acta Sanctor. Mensis Augusti*, tom. i. p. 1—257. Le Quien also in the whole first volume of his *Oriens Christianus*, treats very fully of the patriarchate and the patriarchs of Constantinople; and in vol. iii. p. 786, &c. he gives an account of the Latin patriarchs of Constantinople. [In the *Turco-Græcia* of Crusius, vol. ii. p. 105, &c. there is a history of the Constantinopolitan patriarchs from the year 1454 to 1578, written in modern Greek by Manuel Malaxi, with a translation and notes by Crusius.—*Schl.* [See also a brief account of the power and revenues of the present patriarch, and of the names of the several sees under his spiritual jurisdiction, in Smith, *De Ecclesiæ Græcæ Hodierno Statu*, p. 48—59.—*Macl.*

person may presume to expound and interpret those sources of knowledge for himself, but all must regard as divine and unalterable whatever the patriarch and his assistants sanction. The substance of the religion professed by the modern Greeks is contained in the Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Oriental Church, which was first composed by Peter Mogilaus, bishop of Kiow, in a council held at Kiow, and was afterwards translated from Russian into Greek, and then publicly approved and adopted by Parthenius the patriarch of Constantinople, and by all the patriarchs in the year 1643; and subsequently Panagiota, an opulent man and interpreter to the emperor of Turkey, caused it to be printed at his own expense in Greek and Latin, with a long recommendation by Nectarius patriarch of Jerusalem, and gratuitously distributed among the Greeks.[1] From this book it is manifest that the Greeks differ as much from the adherents to the Roman pontiff, whose tenets they often reject and condemn, as from other Christians; so that those are greatly deceived who think there are only slight impediments to a union of the Greeks with either the Romish or other Christians.[2]

7. This the Catholics have often experienced; and the Lutherans also found it so in this century, when they invited the Greeks to a religious union with them. First, Philip Melancthon sent a copy of the Augsburg Confession in a Greek translation by Paul Dolscius, accompanied with a letter to the Constantinopolitan patriarch, hoping that the naked and simple truth would find access to his heart. But he did not even obtain an answer.[3] After this, between the years 1576 and 1581, the divines of Tubingen laboured to make impressions on the Greek patriarch Jeremiah II. both by letters and by sending him a second copy of the Augsburg Confession, together with Heerbrand's *Compendium of Theology*, translated from Latin into Greek by Martin Crusius. This attempt drew from Jeremiah some letters, written indeed in a kind and gentlemanly style, yet of such a tenor as clearly indicated that to induce the Greeks to abandon the opinions and practices of their ancestors would be a very difficult thing, and could not be effected by human efforts in the present state of that people.[4]

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[1] Lawrence Normann caused this confession, accompanied with a Latin translation, to be printed at Leipsic, 1695, 8vo. In the preface, Nectarius is represented as its author. But this is refuted by Nectarius himself in his epistle subjoined to the preface. Equally false is the statement, both on the title-page and in the preface, that the book was now printed for the first time. For it had been previously printed in Holland in the year 1662, at the expense of Panagiota. A German translation of it was published by Frisch, Frankf. and Leipsic, 1727, 4to. Köcher treats directly and learnedly of this Confession in his *Biblioth. Theologiæ Symbol.* p. 45, &c. and also speaks with his usual accuracy of the other Confessions of the Greeks, ibid. p. 53. A new edition of the Orthodox Confession, with its history prefixed, was published by Hoffmann, primary professor of theology at Wittemberg, Breslaw, 1751, 8vo. Of Panagiota, to whom this confession is indebted for much of its credit, and who was a man of eminence and a great benefactor to the Greeks, Cantimir treats largely in his *Histoire de l' Empire Ottoman*, tome iii. p. 149, &c. [This Confession may also be found, in Greek and Latin, in Kimmel's *Libri Symbolici Ecclesiæ Orientalis*, Jena, 1843, p. 45—324. This compilation contains four pieces—namely, the Confession of Gennadius, that of Cyril Lucar, the Confession referred to in the text, and that of the Greek Synod at Jerusalem under Dositheus in 1672; not one of which can be truly called a symbolical book, that is, one approved and sanctioned by the Greek church. The editor acknowledges this fact in the very first sentence of his *Prolegomena:*—"Non quidem ignoro, in Græca ecclesia libros symbolicos fuisse nullos, si eorum naturam et rationem ita circumscribimus ac definimus, quemadmodum ex nostræ potissimum ecclesiæ consuetudine soliti sumus."—Yet though not strictly authoritative, these confessions are generally appealed to as satisfactory exponents of the faith of the Greek church.—*R.*

[2] A full and accurate catalogue of the writers from whom may be derived a knowledge both of the state and the doctrines of the Greek church is given by Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*, vol. x. p. 441, &c. [To this list may now be added archbishop Platon's *Present State of the Greek Church in Russia, or a Summary of Christian Divinity*, &c. translated by Robt. Pinkerton, with a preliminary memoir on the ecclesiastical establishment in Russia, and an Appendix on Russian dissenters, Edin. 1814.—*Mur.* [Later intelligence, particularly on the state of the church in Greece, may be seen in Dean Waddington's *Present Condition and Prospects of the Greek or Oriental Church*, Lond. 1829.—*R.*

[3] See Leo Allatius, *De Perpetua Consensione Ecclesiæ Orient. et Occident.* lib. iii. cap. viii. sec. ii. p. 1005, &c. [Joseph, the patriarch of Constantinople, sent a deacon of his church named Demetrius to Wittemberg, to procure correct information respecting the Reformation of which he had heard reports. Demetrius, after half a year's residence at Wittemberg, returned to Constantinople in the year 1559; and by him it was that Melancthon sent the confession and letter to the patriarch. The letter may be seen in Hottinger's *Historia Eccles.* [Pars v. seu] sæcul. xvi. sec. ii. p. 51; and in Crusius, *Turco-Græcia*, p. 557. See also Salig's *Gesch. der Augsb. Confess.* vol. i. p. 721, 723.—*Schl.*

[4] All the Acts and papers relating to this celebrated correspondence were published in one volume, fol. Wittemb. 1584. See Pfaff's tract, *De Actis et Scriptis Publicis Ecclesiæ Wittemberg.* p. 50, &c.; Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, vol. x. p. 517, &c. and others; Schelstrate, *Acta Eccles. Orientalis contra Lutheri Hæresin*, Rome, 1739, fol. Lami also has much to say on this subject while treating of the Greek patriarch Jeremiah II. in his *Deliciæ Eruditorum*, tom. viii. p. 176, &c.—[This correspondence with the patriarch was much facilitated by Stephen Gerlach, chaplain to David Ungnad, the imperial German ambassador at Constantinople. Its commencement however was not in 1576, but two years earlier. Indeed some private letters were sent as early as the year 1573; for in that year Crusius wrote to Jeremiah by Gerlach, who also carried a letter of introduction to the patriarch, dated April, 1573. The public or official correspondence was commenced by Ja. Andreas, chancellor of the university of Tübingen, in a letter to the patriarch, dated Sept. 15th, 1574. The patriarch expressly declared his agreement with many articles in the Augsburg Confession, but he also declared his dissent from many others; for example, in regard to the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, justification, the worship of images, the number of the sacraments, &c. and he broke off the correspondence when the divines of Tübingen began to adduce Scriptural proofs respecting the disputed articles. See Schlegel's note here, and Schroeckh's *Kirchengeschichte seit der Reform.* vol. v. p. 386, &c.—*Mur.*

8. Ever since the greatest part of the Greeks fell under the hard bondage of the Turks, nearly all learning human and divine has become extinct among them. They are destitute of schools, and of all the means by which their minds might be improved and enlightened with scientific and religious knowledge. That moderate degree of learning which some of their teachers possess is either brought home with them from Sicily and Italy, to which they frequently resort and where some love of learning still exists, or it is drawn from the writings of the ancients and from the *Summa Theologiæ* of St. Thomas [Aquinas] which they have in a Greek translation.[1] Hence not only the people, but also those called their watchmen, for the most part lead licentious and irreligious lives; and what is much to be deplored, they increase their wretchedness by their own contentions and quarrels. Nearly the whole of their religion consists in ceremonies, which are in general useless and irrational. Yet in guarding and maintaining these they are far more zealous than in defending the doctrines which they profess. Their condition however would be still more wretched, if individuals of their nation, who are employed in the emperor's court either as interpreters or as physicians, did not check their contentions and still the impending storms by their wealth and their influence.

9. The Russians, the Georgians or Iberians, and the Colchians or Mingrelians, all embrace the doctrines and rites of the Greeks, yet are independent or not subject to the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople. The Russians indeed formerly received their chief prelate at the hand of the Constantinopolitan patriarch. But towards the close of this century, when the Constantinopolitan patriarch Jeremiah II. made a journey to Muscovy, in order to raise money there with which he might drive Metrophanes, his rival, from the see of Constantinople, the Muscovite monks, by direction undoubtedly of the grand-duke Theodore, son of John Basilides, beset him with entreaties and menaces to place over the whole Russian nation a patriarch, who should be independent or αὐτοκέφαλος as the Greeks express it. Jeremiah was obliged to consent; and in a council assembled at Moscow in the year 1589, he proclaimed Job, the archbishop of Rostow, first patriarch of the Russians; yet under these conditions, that in future every new patriarch should apply to the patriarch of Constantinople for his consent and suffrage, and at stated periods should pay to him five hundred Russian ducats. The transactions of the council of Moscow were afterwards, in the year 1593, confirmed in a council at Constantinople called by the same Jeremiah with the consent of the Turkish emperor.[2] And a little past the middle of the next century, Dionysius being patriarch of Constantinople, all the four Oriental patriarchs again conceded to the grand-duke of Muscovy, that the patriarch of Moscow should be exonerated from the tribute, and from applying for the confirmation of his election and consecration.[3]

10. The Georgians and Mingrelians, or as they were anciently called, the Iberians and Colchians, are so fallen since the Mohammedans obtained dominion over those countries, that they can scarcely be numbered among the Christian nations. This is more true however of the Colchians,

[1] Such is the opinion of all European Christians, both Catholics and others, respecting the knowledge and learning of the modern Greeks; and they support their opinion by the evidence of numerous facts and testimonies. But a number of the Greeks most strenuously repel the charge of ignorance and barbarism brought against their nation, and maintain that all branches of literature and learning are equally flourishing in modern as they were in ancient Greece. The most distinguished of these vindicators of the modern Greeks is Demetrius Cantimir, in his *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tome ii. p. 38, &c. To prove that it is a gross mistake to represent modern Greece as the seat of barbarism, he gives a catalogue of learned Greeks in the preceding century; and states that an academy had been founded at Constantinople by a Greek named Monolax, in which persons very learned in the ancient Greek teach with success and applause all branches of philosophy, as well as the other arts and sciences. These things are undoubtedly true; but they only show that in this very widely-extended nation, and which embraces many ancient, noble, and opulent families, there is not an entire destitution of literary and scientific men. And this fact was never called in question; but it does not prove that the nation at large is rich in the liberal arts, and in secular and religious learning. For a people generally barbarous may still contain a small number of learned men. Moreover, this academy at Constantinople is unquestionably a recent institution, and therefore it confirms rather than confutes the opinion of the other Christians respecting the learning of the Greeks. [What is said above of the want of schools among the Greeks must undoubtedly be understood of colleges and higher schools, and not of the inferior and monastic schools. For that the Greeks of the sixteenth century had schools of the latter description, is clearly to be seen from Crusius' *Turco-Græcia*.—*Schl.*

[2] See Possevin's *Moscovia*, near the beginning; Le Quien's *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1292; and the Narrative of this transaction by the patriarch Jeremiah II. himself, published in the *Catalogus Codic. MSS. Biblioth. Taurinensis*, p. 433-469.

[3] Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 155, &c.; Bergius, *De Ecclesia Moscovitica*, par. i. sec. i. cap. xviii. p. 164, &c. [For an account of the Russian Greek Church, see Mouravieff's *History of the Church of Russia*, translated from the Russian by the Rev. R. W. Blackmore, Oxford, 1842. This work contains an account of the introduction of the gospel into this vast empire, and brings the history down to the institution of the Synod as the supreme governing body of the church in lieu of the Patriarch, which took place in the year 1721.—*R.*

who inhabit the woods and the mountains almost in the manner of wild beasts, than it is of the Iberians, among whom there are some slight remains of civilization and piety. These nations have a patriarch whom they style a Catholicus, and also bishops and priests; but these are extremely ignorant, vicious, sordid, and worse almost than the common people, and as they know not themselves what is to be believed, they never think of instructing others. Hence it is rather to be conjectured than positively known, that the Colchians and Iberians at the present day do not embrace either the sentiments of the Monophysites or of the Nestorians, but rather hold the same doctrines with the Greeks. What little religion remains among them consists wholly in their feast-days and their ceremonies; and even these are destitute of all gravity and decorum, so that it is hard to say whether their priests appear most solemn when eating and drinking and sleeping, or when administering baptism and the Lord's supper.[1]

11. The Christians of the East, who have renounced the communion of the Greeks and who differ from them both in doctrine and in rites, are of two kinds. The one contend that in our most holy Saviour there is but one nature, the other conceive that there are two persons in him. The former are called Monophysites and also Jacobites from Jacobus Baradæus, who resuscitated and regulated this sect in the sixth century when it was nearly extinct.[2] The latter are called Nestorians, because they agree in sentiment with Nestorius, and also Chaldeans, from the country in which they principally reside. The Monophysites are again divided into those of Asia and those of Africa. The head of the Asiatic Monophysites is the patriarch of Antioch, who resides generally in the monastery of St. Ananias, now called the Zapharanensian monastery, not far from the city of Marde; but sometimes at Amida, Marde (which is properly his episcopal seat), Aleppo, or other cities in Syria.[3] As he cannot alone govern conveniently this very extensive community over which he presides, he has an associate in the government to whose care are entrusted the eastern churches situated beyond the Tigris. This assistant is called the Maphrian or primate of the East; and he formerly resided at Tagrit on the borders of Armenia, but now resides in the monastery of St. Matthew, near Mosul in Mesopotamia.[4] At this day all patriarchs of the Monophysites assume the name of Ignatius.

12. The African Monophysites are subject to the patriarch of Alexandria, who commonly resides at Cairo, and are divisible into the Copts and the Abyssinians. The Copts are those Christians who inhabit Egypt, Nubia, and the adjacent regions. Being oppressed by the power and the insatiable avarice of the Turks, they have to contend with extreme poverty, and have not the means of supporting their patriarch and bishops; yet these obtain a scanty living from such Copts as are taken into the families of the principal men among the Mohammedans, on account of their skill in domestic affairs and other useful arts, of which the Turks are ignorant.[5] The Abyssinians, though far superior to the Copts in numbers, power, and worldly circumstances, since their emperor is himself a Christian, yet reverence the patriarch of Alexandria as their spiritual father, and do not create their own chief bishop, but always allow a primate, styled by them Abuna, to be placed over them by the Alexandrine patriarch.[6]

[1] See Galanus, *Conciliatio Ecclesiæ Armenæ cum Romana*, tom. i. p. 156, &c.; Chardin, *Voyages en Perse et autres lieux de l' Orient*, tome i. p. 67, &c. containing Zampi's *Relation de la Colchide et Mingrellie*. Add Archangel Lambert's *Relation de la Colchide ou Mingrellie*, which is in the *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, tome vii. p. 160; Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1333, 1339, &c. Yet consult also Simon's *Histoire Critique des Dogmes et Cérémonies des Chrétiens Orientaux*, chap. v. vi. p. 71, &c. who endeavours [and not unsuccessfully—*Mur*] to wipe off some of the infamy cast upon the Georgians and Mingrelians. The Catholici of Georgia and Mingrelia are at this day ἀυτοκέφαλοι or independent; yet they pay tribute to the patriarch of Constantinople. [Their priests read the whole baptismal service through, and then apply the water without repeating the words requisite. They consecrate the eucharist in wooden chalices, care not if crumbs fall on the ground, put the host into leather bags and tie them to their girdles, send it by laymen to the sick, and do not accompany it with wax candles, processions, &c. Such are the indecorums complained of by the popish writers.—*Mur.*]

[2] We commonly use the name Jacobites in a broad sense as including all the Monophysites except the Armenians; but it properly belongs only to those Asiatic Monophysites of whom Jacobus Baradæus was the head and father. See Simon's *Histoire des Chrétiens Orientaux*, chap. ix. p. 118, whose narrative however needs many corrections.

[3] See Asseman's *Dissertatio de Monophysitis*, sec. viii. &c. in the second volume of his *Bibliotheca Orientat. Vaticana*; Nairon's *Euoplia Fidei Catholicæ ex Syrorum Monumentis*, par. i. p. 40, &c.; Le Quien's *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 1343, &c.

[4] Asseman's *Diss. de Monophysitis*, sec. viii. &c.

[5] Renaudot published at Paris, 1713, in 4to, his very learned *Historia Alexandrinorum Patriarcharum Jacobitarum*. He also published *Officium Ordinationis hujus Patriarchæ*, with notes, in his *Liturgiæ Orientat.* tom. i. p. 467. The state and internal condition of the Alexandrine or Coptic church are described by Vansleb, in his *Histoire de l' Eglise d' Alexandrie, que nous appellons celle des Jacobites-Coptes*, Paris, 1667, 8vo. Add his *Relation d'un Voyage en Egypte*, p. 293, &c. where he treats expressly of the monks and monasteries of the Copts. *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus dans le Levant*, tome ii. p. 9, &c. tome v. p. 122; Maillet's *Description de l' Egypte*, tome ii. p. 64, &c.

[6] See Ludolf's *Comment. in Historiam Æthiopicam*, p. 451, 461, 466; Lobo's *Voyage d' Abissinie*, tome ii. p. 36; *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions dans le Levant*,

13. The Monophysites differ in many points both of doctrine and of rites from the Greeks, the Latins, and other Christians; but the principal ground of their separation from other Christians lies in their opinion concerning Jesus Christ our Saviour. With Dioscorus, Barsumas, Xenaias, Fullo, and others whom they regard as the founders and lights of their sect, they believe that the divine and human natures in Christ so coalesce as to become one; and therefore they reject the decrees of the council of Chalcedon and the noted epistle of Leo the Great. Yet to avoid the appearance of following Eutyches, with whom they profess to have no connexion, they cautiously define their doctrine, and denying all confusion and intermixture of the two natures represent the nature of Christ as being indeed one, yet at the same time compound and double.[1] And this explanation shows us it is no rash opinion of some very learned men, that the Monophysites differ from the Greeks and Latins more in words than in substance.[2] The modern Jacobites both of Asia and Africa are in general so ignorant and illiterate, that they defend their distinguishing doctrine rather by blind pertinacity and the authority of their fathers than by rational arguments.[3]

14. The Armenians, though they maintain the same opinions with the other Monophysites respecting [the nature of] our Saviour, yet differ from them as to many practices, opinions, and rites; and hence there is no communion between them and those who are appropriately called Jacobites.[4] The whole Armenian church is governed by three patriarchs. The chief of these who governs the whole of the greater Armenia and the neighbouring provinces has forty-two archbishops under him, and resides in a monastery at Echmiazin. He might, if he were disposed, live splendidly and luxuriously on the very ample revenues he receives;[5] but he is frugal in his table and plain in his dress, nor is he distinguished from the monks among whom he resides except by his power. He is usually elected by the suffrages of the bishops assembled at Echmiazin, and is approved by the king of Persia. The second patriarch or catholicus of the Armenians resides at Sisi, a city of Cilicia, and governs the churches in Cappadocia, Cilicia, Cyprus, and Syria. He has twelve archbishops under him. This patriarch of Sisi at present acknowledges himself inferior to the patriarch at Echmiazin. The third and least of their patriarchs, who has only eight or nine bishops under him, resides on the island of Aghtamar in the middle of the great lake Varaspuracan, and is accounted by the other Armenians an enemy of the church. Besides these who are properly and truly called patriarchs, there are others among the Armenians who are patriarchs in name only, rather than in reality and in power. For the Armenian archbishop residing at Constantinople, whose authority is acknowledged by the churches in the neighbouring regions of Asia and Europe, is called a patriarch. So also the Armenian prelate at Jerusalem is saluted with the same title; and likewise the prelate who resides at Kaminiec in [Russian] Poland, and who governs the Armenian churches in Russia, Poland, and the neighbouring countries. And these claim the title and the rank of patriarchs, because they have received from the great patriarch of Echmiazin the power of ordaining bishops, and of consecrating and distributing every third year among their churches the sacred chrism or

tome iv. p. 277; Le Quien's *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 641, &c.

[1] Asseman, *Biblioth. Oriental. Vaticana*, tom. ii. p. 25, 26, 29, 34, 117, 133, 135, 277, 297, &c. See the acute defence of the doctrine of his sect by Abulpharajus, ibid. tom. ii. p. 288, &c. The System of religion embraced by the Abyssinians in particular may be best learned in all its parts from the *Theologia Æthiopica* of Gregory the Ethiopian, published by Fabricius in his *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, p. 715, where also the other writers concerning the Abyssinians are enumerated.

[2] La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, p. 23; Asseman, *ubi supra*, tom. ii. p. 291, 297; Simon, *Histoire des Chrétiens Orientaux*, p. 119; Schröder, *Thesaurus Linguæ Armenicæ*, p. 276.

[3] The Liturgies of the Copts, the Syrian Jacobites, and the Abyssinians, have been published with learned notes by Eusebius Renaudot, in the first and second volumes of his *Liturgiæ Orientales*.

[4] The chief writer concerning the Armenians, as well in regard to their religion as other matters, is Clemens Galanus, an Italian Theatine monk, whose *Conciliatio Ecclesiæ Armenæ cum Romana*, was published at Rome, 1650, &c. in 3 vols. fol. The other writers are mentioned by Fabricius in his *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, cap. xxxviii. p. 640, &c. To his list must especially be added Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1362, &c. The recent *Histoire du Christianisme d'Arménie*, by La Croze, subjoined to his *Histoire du Christianisme d'Abissinie*, Hagne, 1739, 8vo, does not correspond with the magnitude and importance of the subject. A far better account would have been given by this gentleman who was so well informed on such subjects, if he had not been labouring under the infirmities of age. Respecting the singular customs and rites of the Armenians, see Gemellus Carreri, *Voyage du Tour du Monde*, tome ii. p. 146, &c.

[5] A notice of all the churches subject to the chief patriarch of the Armenians, as communicated by Uscan, an Armenian bishop, is subjoined by Simon to his *Histoire Critique des Chrétiens Orientaux*, p. 217 [in the English translation, by A. Lovell, Lond. 1685, p. 184. &c.] But we have noticed many defects in it. Respecting the seat and the mode of life of the patriarch of Echmiazin, see Lucas, *Voyage au Levant*, tome ii. p. 347, and Carreri, *Voyage du Tour du Monde*, tome ii. p. 10, &c. See also the other travellers in Armenia and Persia.

ointment, which none but patriarchs among the Oriental Christians have a right to do.[1]

15. The Nestorians, who are also called Chaldeans, reside principally in Mesopotamia and the adjacent countries. These Christians have many doctrines and customs peculiar to themselves; but they are chiefly distinguished from all other sects by maintaining that Nestorius was unjustly condemned in the council of Ephesus, and by holding with him that there were not only two natures, but also two persons in our Saviour. In ancient times this was regarded as a capital error; at this day it is considered by the most respectable men even among the Roman Catholics as an error in words rather than in thought. For these Chaldeans affirm indeed that Christ consists of two persons as well as two natures, but they add that these two persons and natures are so closely united as to constitute one aspect, or, as they express it, one barsopa; which is the same with the Greek πρόσωπον [person].[2] From which it appears clearly that by aspect they mean the same as we do by person, and that what we call natures they call persons. It is to the honour of this sect that, of all the Christians resident in the East, they have preserved themselves the most free from the innumerable superstitions which have found their way into the Greek and Latin churches.[3]

16. Formerly all the Nestorians were subject to one patriarch or catholicus, who resided first at Bagdat and then at Mosul. But in this [sixteenth] century they became divided into two parties. In the first place, as we have already noticed, in the year 1552 two patriarchs were elected by opposite factions, Simeon Barmama and John Sulaka or Siud. The latter of these, in order to obtain efficient support against his antagonist, repaired to Rome and swore allegiance to the Roman pontiff.[4] To the party of this patriarch who stood connected with the Romish church, was added in the year 1555 Simeon Denha archbishop of Gelu; and when he afterwards succeeded to the patriarchate, he removed its seat to Ooromia in the mountainous parts of Persia, where his successors, all of whom assume the name of Simeon, have continued to reside till the present time. In the last [or seventeenth] century they remained still in communion with the Romish bishop; but in this [eighteenth] century, they seem to have renounced that communion.[5] The greater patriarchs of the Nestorians who stood opposed to this lesser patriarch have since the year 1559 all borne the name of Elias, and had their residence at Mosul.[6] Their dominion extends widely in Asia; and embraces the Nestorians in Arabia, and also those on the coast of Malabar who are called Christians of St. Thomas.[7]

17. Besides these sects of Christians, in which was something, or at least some appearance, of the religion taught by Christ, there were other far more corrupt sects scattered over a large part of Asia, which were undoubtedly descended from the Ebionites, the Manichæans, the Valentinians, the Basilidians, and other parties who in the early ages set up churches within the church, but who, through the common hatred against them of both Mohammedans and Christians, had sunk into such barbarism, ignorance, and superstition as to lose nearly altogether the reputation and the rights of Christians. The Sabians, as they are called by the Orientals, or the Mendai Ijahi, *i. e.* Disciples of St. John, as they call themselves, or the Christians of St. John as they are called by Europeans, though they perhaps have some imperfect knowledge of Christ, seem to be a Jewish sect and the descendants of the ancient Hemerobaptists mentioned by the early Christian writers. At least that John whom they call the founder of their sect was altogether unlike John the Baptist, and bore a far stronger resemblance to the John whom the ancients represented as the father of the Jewish Hemerobaptists.[8] They live in Persia and

[1] See the *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus dans le Levant*, tome iii. where a long narrative is given (p. 1—218) respecting both the religious and the civil affairs of the Armenians; and which La Croze (than whom no man within our knowledge has bestowed more attention on these subjects) very highly commends for fidelity, accuracy, and research. See his *Histoire du Christianisme d'Ethiopie*, p. 345, &c.

[2] It is thus that the inscriptions which adorn the sepulchres of the Nestorian patriarchs in the city of Mosul express their sentiments. See Asseman's *Biblioth. Oriental. Vaticana*, tom. iii. par. ii. p. cmxlviii. See also ibid. p. 210, &c.; Simon's *Histoire de la Créance des Chrétiens Orientaux*, cap. vii. p. 94, &c.; Strozza, *De Dogmatibus Chaldæorum*, first published at Rome, 1617, 8vo.

[3] Here should especially be consulted the very learned and copious dissertation of Asseman *De Syris Nestorianis*, which fills the whole of the fourth volume of his *Bibliotheca Orient. Vaticana*. It was from this chiefly that Le Quien took what he says in his *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 1078, &c.

[4] He planted himself at Caramit in Mesopotamia, and styled himself patriarch of the East. His successor Ebedjesu attended the council of Trent. The next successor was Abathalla; and after him was Simeon Denha who was obliged to quit Caramit.—*Von Ein.*

[5] See Asseman's *Bibliotheca Orient. Vaticana*, tom. i. p. 538, and tom. ii. p. 436.

[6] A catalogue of the Nestorian patriarchs is given by Asseman, *Bibliotheca Orient. Vaticana*, tom. iii. par i. p. 611, &c. which he corrected, in tom. iii. par. ii. p. cml. Add Le Quien's *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 1078, &c.

[7] Of these, La Croze treats expressly in his *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, with which should be compared Asseman, *ubi supra*, tom. iii. par. ii. cap. ix. p. ccccxiii.

[8] See what I have written on this subject in my

Arabia, especially at Bassora, and regard religion as consisting principally in frequent solemn ablutions of the body, which their priests administer with certain ceremonies.[1]

18. The Jasidians, Jasidæans, or Jezdæans, of whom many uncertain accounts are extant, are a vagrant branch or tribe of the fierce and uncultivated nation of the Kurds who inhabit the province of Persia called Kurdistan. They roam among the Gordian mountains and the desert parts of the country, and are divided into the black and the white Jezdæans. The former are the priests and the rulers of the sect and always dress in black; the latter are the common people whose dress is white. They have a singular religion and one not yet sufficiently explored; yet it is clear that it is a compound of Christian principles with numerous fictions originating from other sources. They are especially distinguished from other classes of corrupted Christians by their sentiments concerning the evil spirit, whom they call Karubin or Cherubin, that is, one of the greater ministers of God; and if they do not actually worship him, they at least treat him with respect, neither offering him any insult or contumely themselves nor suffering others to do it. In this matter they go so far that no tortures will induce them to express detestation of the evil spirit; and if they hear any other person curse him, they will kill him if they can.[2]

19. The Duruzi, Dursi, Druzi [or Druses], for their name is written variously, are a fierce and warlike people inhabiting a large part of the rugged mountains of Lebanon. They represent themselves (how justly is uncertain) to be descended from those Franks who waged war in the eleventh

Commentaries, *De Rebus Christian. ante Constantinum Mag.* p. 43, &c. [In Vidal's translation of Mosheim's *Commentaries*, &c. vol. i. p. 77, &c.—*R.*

[1] See the treatise of Ignatius à Jesu, a Carmelite who resided long among these Mendæans, entitled: *Narratio Originis, rituum et errorum Christianorum S. Johannis: cui adjungitur Discursus per modum Dialogi, in quo confutantur* xxxiv. *Errores ejusdem Nationis*, Rome, 1652, 8vo; Kæmpfer's *Amœnitates Exoticæ*, fascic. ii. relat. xi. p. 435, &c.; Sale's *Introduction to his English version of the Koran*, p. 15; Assemann's *Biblioth. Orientat.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 609; Thevenot's *Voyages*, tome iv. p. 584, &c.; Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 725. Bayer composed a particular treatise concerning the Mendæans, filled with much excellent matter; but when he was about to commit it to me for publication, he was suddenly cut off by death. It was Bayer's opinion (as appears from the *Thesaurus Epistolicus Crozianus*, tom. i. p. 21), that they were a branch from the ancient Manichæans; which opinion was also approved by La Croze. See his *Thesaurus Epistol.* tom. iii. p. 31, 52. But there is nothing in their opinions or customs which savours of Manichæism. Hence other learned men, (to whose opinion the celebrated Fourmont a few years ago acceded, in a paper published in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des inscript. et des Belles Lettres*, tome xviii. p. 23, &c.) suppose them descended from the ancient worshippers of a plurality of gods, and especially of the stars, whom the Arabs call Sabii or Sabi and Sabiin. But, except the name which the Mohammedans are wont to give them, there is nothing at all to support this opinion. The Mendæans themselves say that they are Jews, and profess to have been removed from Palestine to the places which they now inhabit. This sect has some sacred books which are very ancient; among others, what they call *The Book of Adam*, and a book written by John the founder of their sect, and some others. As these books were introduced a few years since into the library of the king of France, it may be expected that from them in due time a better knowledge of this people will be obtained.—*Mur.*

[2] See Hyde's *Historia Relig. Veterum Persar.* in the Appendix, p. 549; Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, tome i. p. 121; tome ii. p. 249, &c. To impart a better knowledge of religion to this people, journeys were made with great peril in the seventeenth century by the celebrated and learned Jesuit, Michael Nau (D'Arvieux, *Mémoires ou Voyages*, tome vi. p. 362, 377); and after him by another Jesuit, Monierius (*Mémoires des Missions des Jésuites*, tome iii. p. 291); but how these travellers were received and what they accomplished does not appear. Rhenferd considered the Jezdæans as the offspring of the ancient Sethians (see Cuper's *Epistles*, published by Bayer, p. 130), but in my opinion as groundlessly as those who judge them to be Manichæans, a supposition which is sufficiently refuted by their opinion concerning the evil spirit. The name of this sect Beausobre among others derives from the name Jesus. See his *Histoire du Manichéisme*, tome ii. p. 613. I should conjecture that it is derived rather from the word Jazid or Jezdan, which in Persian signifies the good God, to whom is opposed Ahriman or the evil deity (see Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 484, &c.; Cherefeddin Aly, *Histoire de Timurbec*, tome iii. p. 81, &c.); so that Jazidæans denotes worshippers of the good or true God. Yet they may have derived their appellation from the celebrated city Jezd, of which Otter treats, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, tome i. p. 283, &c. [Jowett, in his *Christian Researches in Syria*, &c. ed. Boston, 1826, p. 55, &c. gives us from Niebuhr the following account of this people, whom he met with inhabiting a whole village near Mosul: "They are called Yesidiens and also Dauasin, but as the Turks do not allow the free exercise of any religion in their country, except to those who possess sacred books (as the Mohammedans, Christians, and Jews), the Yesediens are obliged to keep the principles of their religion extremely secret. They therefore pass themselves off for Mohammedans, Christians, or Jews, following the party of whatever person makes inquiry into their religion. They speak with veneration of the Koran, of the Gospel, of the Pentateuch, and the Psalms; and when convicted of being Yesidiens, they will then maintain that they are of the same religion as the Sonnites. Hence it is almost an impossibility to learn anything certain on the subject. Some charge them with adoring the devil under the name of Tscillebi, that is to say, Lord. Others say that they exhibit a marked veneration for the sun and for fire, that they are downright pagans, and that they have horrible ceremonies. I have been assured that the Dauasins do not invoke the devil; but that they adore God only, as the creator and benefactor of all men. They cannot however bear to speak of Satan, nor even to hear his name mentioned. When the Yesidiens come to Mosul, they are not apprehended by the magistrate, although known, but the people often endeavour to trick them; for when these poor Yesidiens come to sell their eggs or butter, the purchasers contrive first to get their articles into their possession, and then begin uttering a thousand foolish expressions against Satan with a view to lower the price; upon which the Yesidiens are content to leave their goods at a loss, rather than be witnesses of such contemptuous language about the devil. The Yesidiens practise circumcision like the Mohammedans."—Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, vol. ii. p. 279, 280. From this account, it appears that the Jezdæans are not that roaming, savage race Mosheim supposed; but that they are a plain, frugal, conscientious people, who are afraid to avow their religious sentiments, because they have no sacred books which would entitle them to toleration under the Turkish government.—*Mur.*

century with the Mohammedans.[1] As they cautiously conceal their religious creed, it is very dubious what their faith and worship are. Yet there are vestiges of Christianity sufficiently manifest in their customs and opinions. Learned men have suspected that the Druses, as well as the Kurds who inhabit Persia, formerly held and perhaps still hold the doctrines of the Manichæans.[2] The Chamsi or Solares inhabit a certain district of Mesopotamia, and are supposed by some to be descendants of the Samsacans mentioned by Epiphanius.[3] There are many other semi-Christian sects in the East;[4] and whoever will accurately trace them out and introduce their sacred books into Europe, will doubtless receive the grateful thanks of all who take an interest in Christian antiquities; for the various accounts we have of them at present are contradictory and cannot be depended on.

20. Among most of these sects [of Oriental Christians], the missionaries of the Roman pontiff have with great labour and expense established societies, which acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Latin pontiff. Among the Greeks, both those who are subject to the Turks and those who are subject to the Venetians, to the Roman [German] emperor, and to other Christian princes, there are as is generally known here and there Greeks who belong to the Romish church, and whose bishops and priests are approved at Rome. For the sake of preserving and enlarging these societies, a college is established at Rome, in which Greek youth who appear to possess genius and a disposition to study are supported and instructed in the useful arts and sciences, and are especially taught to reverence the authority of the Roman pontiff. But the most respectable men, even among the friends of the Romish court, do not deny that these Greeks who are united with the Latins, if compared with those who hold the Latin name in abhorrence, are few and poor and in a wretched condition; and that among them are persons of Grecian faith, who whenever opportunity is presented repay to the Latins the greatest kindnesses with the greatest injuries. They also tell us that the Greeks who are educated with great care at Rome, by witnessing the faults of the Latins, often become the most ungrateful of all, and most strenuously oppose the advancement of the Latin interests among their countrymen.[5]

21. For uniting or rather subjecting to the Romish church the Russian, which is the noblest portion of the Greek church, there have been frequent deliberations at Rome, but without success. In this [sixteenth] century, John Basilides, grand-duke of the Russians, in the year 1580 sent an embassy to Gregory XIII. by which he seemed to exhort the pontiff to resume and to accomplish this business. The next year therefore, Anthony Possevin, a learned and sagacious Jesuit, was despatched to Muscovy. But although he spared no pains to accomplish the object of his embassy, yet he found himself unable to effect it; nor did the Russian ambassadors who a little after were sent to Rome present anything to the pontiff but vague and inefficient promises.[6] Indeed the result showed that Basilides aimed only to secure by flatteries the favour of the pontiff, in order to succeed better in his unfortunate war with the Poles. But the arguments of Possevin and others had so much effect upon the Russians who inhabit Poland, that some of them in the convention of Bresty, A.D. 1596, entered into an alliance with the Latins. These were subsequently called the United Greeks, while the other party, who still adhered to the patriarch of Constantinople, were called the Ununited.[7] Moreover at Kiow, ever since the fourteenth century, there has been a society of Russians subject to the Roman pontiff, and which has had its own metropolitans or bishops distinct from the Russian bishops of Kiow.[8]

[1] See the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, tome i. p. 228—333, Lyons, 1819, 8vo.—*Mur.*

[2] See Adrian's *Narrative* concerning the Druses, in Lucas' *Voyage en Grèce et Asie Mineure*, tome ii. p. 36, &c.; Hyde's *Historia Religionis Veter. Persarum*, p. 491, 554; Rycaut's *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tome i. p. 313, &c. [Modern researches, particularly by Chardin, De Sacy, and Burkhardt, clearly show that the Druses are with no propriety reckoned among Christian sects. They are apostate Mohammedans, followers of the false prophet Hakem, who pretended to be an incarnate deity. He was born at Cairo A.D. 985, began to reign in Egypt A.D. 996, and was assassinated in 1020. His Charter or commands to his followers, together with their oath of allegiance to him, are published by De Sacy in his *Chrestomathie Arabe*, tome ii. p. 334, &c. See a full account of them in Jowett's *Christian Researches in Syria*, p. 32, &c. 76.—*Mur.*

[3] Hyde, *Historia Relig. Veter. Persarum*, p. 555, &c.

[4] The Jesuit Diusse (*Lettres Edif. et Curieuses des Missions Etrangères*, tome i. p. 63) relates that in the mountains which separate Persia from India, there resides a sect of Christians who brand themselves with the figure of a cross, impressed with a hot iron.

[5] Here may be consulted, besides others, Cerri's *Etat Présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 82, &c. where, among other things, it is said—"They become the most violent enemies of the Catholics when they have been instructed in our sciences, and have obtained a knowledge of our imperfections." Other testimonies will be adduced hereafter. A catalogue, though an imperfect one, of the Greek bishops who follow the Latin rites, is given in Le Quien's *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 860.

[6] See the *Colloquia Possevini cum Moscorum Duce*, and his other writings relating to this subject, which are annexed to his *Moscovia*, p. 31, &c. and Dorigny's *Vie du Père Possevin*, livr. v. p. 351, &c.

[7] Regenvolscius, *Historia Ecclesiarum Slavonicarum*, lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 465, &c. [and 470, &c.—*Mur.*

[8] See Le Quien's *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1274.

22. Among the Monophysites both Asiatic and African, the preachers of the Romish religion have effected little which deserves attention. Among the Chaldean or Nestorian Christians, a small society subject to the Roman pontiff was collected near the middle of the preceding century. Its patriarchs, all of whom take the name of Joseph, reside in the city Amida, which is also called Caramit and Diarbeker.[1] A part of the Armenians, as early as the fourteenth century in the pontificate of John XXII. embraced the Romish religion; and over them the pontiff placed an archbishop in 1318, who was a Dominican monk and resided at Soldania,[2] a city of Aderbeitzan. The archiepiscopal residence was afterwards removed to Naxivan, and to this day it is occupied exclusively by the Dominicans.[3] The company of Armenians resident in Poland and embracing the Romish doctrines have also their bishop who resides at Lemberg.[4] Some of the Theatin and Capuchin monks visited the Georgians and Mingrelians; but the ferocity and ignorance of those nations opposed such obstacles to the counsels and admonitions of the missionaries, that their labours were attended with almost no success.[5]

23. The pompous accounts of their success among these sects given by the Romish missionaries, want candour and truth. For it is unquestionable, that all they did in some countries was merely to baptize by stealth certain infants, whom their parents committed to their care because they professed to be physicians;[6] and in other countries they only gathered a poor miserable company, who generally forsook them as soon as their money was gone, and returned to the religion of their fathers.[7] Likewise here and there a prelate among the Greeks or the other nations would sometimes promise obedience to the Roman pontiff, and even repair to Rome to manifest his submission; but these were actuated only by avarice or ambition. And on a change in their circumstances, they would at once relapse or deceive the Romans with equivocal professions. Those who, like the Nestorian prelate at Amida, continue steadfast in their profession and its propagation, persevere from no other cause than the uninterrupted liberality of the Roman pontiff. The pontiffs moreover are astonishingly indulgent to those sons whom they adopt from among the Greeks and other Oriental Christians. For they not only suffer them to worship according to the rites of their fathers, rites the most diverse from those of the Romans, and to follow customs abhorred among the Latins, but they do not even require them to expunge from their public books those doctrines which are peculiar to them as a Christian sect.[8] At Rome, if we are not greatly mistaken, a Greek, Armenian, or Copt, is esteemed a good member of the Romish church, provided he will acknowledge the sovereign authority of the Romish prelate over the whole Chaistian church.

24. The entire nation of the Maronites, who reside principally on the mountains of Lebanon and Antilebanon, came under the Roman pontiff from the period of the invasion of Palestine by the Latins.[9] But as they did this on the condition that the

and tom. iii. p. 1126; *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. Februar. p. 639, &c.

[1] See Asseman's *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. iii. par. i. p. 615, &c.; Le Quien, *ubi supra*, tom. ii. p. 1084, &c.

[2] Raynald's *Annal. Eccl.* tom. xv. ad. ann. 1518, sec. iv.

[3] Le Quien, *ubi supra*, tom. iii. p. 1362 and 1403, &c. Clemens Galanus, *Conciliatio Ecclesiæ Armenæ cum Romana*, tom. i. p. 527, &c.

[4] *Mémoires des Missions de la Comp. de Jésus*, tome iii. p. 54, &c.

[5] Cerri, *Etat Présent de l' Eglise Romaine*, p. 162, &c.

[6] Cerri, *ubi supra*, p. 164; De Chinon, *Relations Nouvelles du Levant*, part i. chap. vi. p. 174. This Capuchin monk speaks very ingenuously on many subjects.

[7] See Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, tome i. p. 186; tome ii. p. 53, 75, 206, 271, 349; and especially tome iii. p. 433, &c. of the last edition in Holland, 4to. For in the previous editions everything dishonourable to the Romish missions among the Armenians, the Colchians, the Iberians, or the Persians, was omitted. De Chinon, *Relations du Levant*, part ii. p. 303, &c. where he treats of the Armenians; Maillet, *Description d' Egypte*, tome ii. p. 65, &c. who speaks of the Copts.

[8] Asseman complains here and there in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis Vaticana*, that not even the books printed at Rome for the use of the Nestorians, Jacobites, and Armenians, are purged of the errors peculiar to those sects; and he contends that this is the reason why those people renounce the Romish religion after having adopted it. Add Simon's *Lettres Choisies*, tome ii. lettre xxiii. p. 156, &c. who excuses this negligence or imprudence of the Romans.

[9] The Maronite doctors, and especially those who reside at Rome, take the utmost pains to prove that the Romish religion has always been held and preserved by their nation pure and uncontaminated with any error. Besides others, Nairon has done this very elaborately in his *Dissertatio de Origine, Nomine ac Religione Maronitarum*, Rome, 1679, 8vo. From this book, and from other Maronite authors, De la Roque composed his long and well written essay, *Sur l'Origine des Maronites et Abrégé de leur Histoire*, which is printed in his *Voyage de Syrie et du Mont Liban*, tome ii. p. 28—128, ed. Amsterd. 1723, 8vo. But the most learned men among the Catholics do not give credit to this statement, but maintain that the Maronites are the offspring of the Monophysites, and were addicted to the opinions of the Monothelites down to the twelfth century, when they united with the Latins. See Simon's *Histoire Critique des Chrétiens Orientaux*, chap. xiii. p. 146, &c.; Renaudot, *Historia Patriarchar. Alexandrinorum*, preface, p. iii. z. and the history itself, p. 49, and many other writers. Asseman, himself a Maronite, advances a sort of intermediate opinion, *Bibliotheca Orient. Vaticana*, tom. i. p. 496. Le Quien leaves the question dubious, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 1, &c. where he treats professedly of the Maronite church, and of its prelates. In my opinion, no one will readily put confidence in the Maronites, who like all Syrians are vainglorious, if he considers that all the Maronite nation have not yet subjected themselves to the Roman pontiff. For some

Latins should change nothing of their ancient rites, customs, and opinions, hence almost nothing Latin can be found among the Maronites except their attachment to the Romish prelate.[1] Moreover this friendship costs the pontiff dear. For as the Maronites live in extreme poverty under the tyranny of the Mohammedans, the pontiff has to relieve their poverty with his wealth, that their prelate and leading men may have the means of appeasing their cruel masters, supporting their priests, and defraying the expenses of public worship. Nor is the expense small of maintaining the college for Maronites established at Rome by Gregory XIII. in which Syrian youth are imbued with literature and with love to the Romish see. The Maronite church is governed by a patriarch residing at Cannobin on Mount Lebanon, which is a convent of monks of the rule of St. Anthony. He styles himself patriarch of Antioch and always takes the name of Peter, to whose see he claims to be the successor.[2]

PART II.

HISTORY OF MODERN CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

1. ACCORDING to our previous method, we have described the origin and progress of the church which assumes the name of evangelical, from having rescued from oblivion the Gospel, or the doctrine of salvation procured for men solely by the merits of Christ, when smothered in superstition; and which does not reject the appellation of Lutheran, from gratitude to the man who first dissipated the clouds which obscured the Gospel, and taught his followers to place no reliance on themselves or on glorified saints, but to give all their confidence to Christ. Its commencement is to be dated from the time when Leo X. expelled Luther and his adherents from the Romish church [A.D. 1520]. It acquired a stable form and consistency in the year 1530, when the public confession of its faith was presented to the diet at Augsburg. And it finally obtained the rank of a legitimate and independent community in Germany, and was entirely freed from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff in the year 1552, when Maurice of Saxony formed the religious pacification with Charles V. at Passau.

2. According to the opinion of this church, the entire rule for a sound faith and for a holy life is to be drawn exclusively from the inspired books; and it accordingly believes that these books are so plain and so easy to be understood in respect to the way of salvation, that every man who possesses common sense and understands their language can ascertain their meaning without an interpreter. This church has indeed certain books usually called symbolical, in which the principal truths of religion are collected together and perspicuously stated; but these books derive all their authority from the sacred volume, the meaning of which they exhibit; nor may theologians expound them differently from what the divine oracles will permit. The first of these [symbolical] books is the Augsburg Confession, with the Apology. Then follow what are called the Articles of Smalcald; and next the Catechisms of Luther, the larger for adults and persons more advanced in knowledge, and the shorter intended for children. To these, very many add the Formula of Concord, which however some do not receive, yet without any interruption

of this nation in Syria stand aloof from communion with the Latins, and in the last century not a few of them in Italy itself gave the court of Rome no little trouble. Some of them went over to the Waldenses inhabiting the valleys of Piedmont; others to the number of six hundred, with a bishop and many priests, went over to Corsica, and implored the aid of the republic of Genoa against the violence of the Inquisition. See Cerri, *Etat Présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 121, 122. I know not what could have excited these Maronites to make such opposition to the Roman pontiff, if they did not dissent at all from his doctrines and decrees; for the Romish church allows them freely to follow the rites and customs and institutions of their fathers. See the *Thesaurus Epistol. Croxianus*, tom. i. p. 11, &c. [and p. 258, above.—*Mur.*

[1] Here consult especially the Notes which Simon has annexed to his French translation of the Voyage of Jerome Dandini, an Italian Jesuit, to Mount Lebanon, written in Italian, Paris, 1685, 12mo. See also Renaudot. *Historia Patriarchar. Alexandrinor.* p. 548.

[2] See Petitqueux, *Voyage à Cannobin dans le Mont Liban*, in the *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus*, tome iv. 222, and tome viii. p. 355; La Roque, *Voyage de Syrie*, tome ii. p. 10; D'Arvieux, *Mémoires ou Voyages*, tome ii. p. 418, &c. and others. [See Jowett's *Christian Researches in Syria*, &c. p. 15, &c.—*Mur.* [On the past history and present condition of these Eastern churches and sects, the fullest and most recent information may be found in Wiggers' *Kirchliche Statistik oder Darstellung d. Christ. Kirche nach ihrem gegenwart. ausseren u. inneren Zustande*, Hamb. 1842-43, 2 vols. with a continuation to 1846, in the *Theolog. Studien und Kritiken*, No. 1 for 1848, p. 195, &c. The English reader will find important information on the same topics in Wingard's *Review of the Latest Events and Present State of the Church of Christ*, Lond. 1845, 12mo, and more recently in the Appendix to the second volume of Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, Edin. 1847, 2 vols. 8vo.—*R.*

of harmony; because the few things on account of which it is disapproved are of minor consequence, and neither add anything to the fundamentals of religion nor detract from them.[1]

3. Concerning ceremonies and forms of public worship, there was at first some dissension in different places. For some wished to retain more and others fewer of the immense multitude of the ancient rites and usages. The latter after the example of the Swiss thought that everything should give way to the ancient Christian simplicity and gravity in religion; the former supposed that some allowance should be made for the weakness and inveterate habits of the people. But as all were agreed that ceremonies depend on human authority, and that there is no obstacle to the existence of diversity as to rites in the churches and countries professing the same religion, this controversy could not long continue. All usages and regulations both public and private, which bore manifest marks of error and superstition, were everywhere rejected; and it was wisely provided that the benefits of public worship should not be subverted by the multitude of ceremonies. In other respects every church was at liberty to retain so many of the ancient usages and rites as were not dangerous, as a regard to places, the laws, the character, and the circumstances of the people seemed to require. And hence down to our time, the Lutheran churches differ much in the number and nature of their public rites; which, so far from being a dishonour to them, is rather good evidence of their wisdom and moderation.[2]

4. In the Lutheran church the civil sovereigns possess the supreme power in ecclesiastical affairs. This power is secured to them in part by the very nature of the civil government; and in part, I conceive, it is surrendered to them by the tacit consent of the churches. Yet the ancient rights of Christian communities are not wholly subverted and destroyed; but in some places more, in others fewer, in all some traces of them remain. Besides, the civil sovereigns are prohibited by the fundamental principles of the religion they profess from violating or changing at their own pleasure the system of religion or anything essential to it, or from legislatively imposing such creeds and rules of life upon the citizens as they may see fit. The boards which in the name of the sovereigns watch over the interests of the church, and direct ecclesiastical affairs, are composed of civil and ecclesiastical jurists, and bear the ancient name of Consistories. The internal regulation of the church is in form intermediate between the Episcopal and the Presbyterian systems, except in Sweden and Denmark, where the ancient form of the church, with its offensive parts lopped off, is retained. For while the Lutherans are persuaded that by divine right there is no difference of rank and prerogatives among the ministers of the Gospel, yet they suppose it to be useful, and indeed necessary to the preservation of union, that some ministers should hold a rank and possess powers superior to others. But in establishing this difference among their ministers, some states are governed more and others less by a regard to the ancient polity of the church. For that which is determined by no divine law may be ordered variously, without any breach of harmony and fraternal intercourse.

5. Each country has its own liturgy or form of worship, in accordance with which everything pertaining to the public religious exercises and worship must be ordered and performed. These liturgies are frequently enlarged, amended, and explained, as circumstances and occasions demand, by the decrees and statutes of the sovereigns. Among them all, there is no diversity in regard to things of any considerable magnitude or importance; but in regard to things remote from the essentials of religion or from the rules of faith and practice prescribed in the sacred Scriptures, there is much diversity. Frequent meetings for the worship of God are everywhere held. The services in them consist of sermons, by which the ministers instruct the people and excite them to piety, the reading of the holy Scriptures, prayers and hymns addressed to the Deity, and the administration of the sacraments. The young are not only required to be taught carefully the first principles of religion in the schools, but are publicly trained and advanced in knowledge by the catechetical labours of the ministers. And hence in nearly all the provinces, little

[1] On the symbolical books of the Lutheran church and the expounders of them, Köcher treats expressly, in his *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolicæ*, p. 114, &c. [See also Walch's *Introductio Historica et Theologica in Libros Symbolicos Ecclesiæ Lutheranæ*, Jena, 1732, 4to, p. 1008.—*Mur.* [There have been numerous editions of these books by Feuerlinn, Tittmann, and others. Among the fullest and latest may be mentioned Hase, *Libri Symbolici Eccles. Evang.* Lips. 1827, with ample Prolegomena. It contains the three ancient creeds, the Augsburg Confession, and the Apology for it; the Articles of Smalcald, the larger and smaller catechisms of Luther, the form of Concord, and the Articles of Visitation of 1592. The most recent edition is by Francke, entitled, *Libri Symbolici Ecc. Luther. cum Appendice Quinquepartita*, Leip. 1847.—*R.*

[2] See Meisner, *De Legibus*, lib. iv. art. iv. quæst. iv. p. 662—666; Scherzer's *Breviarium Hülsemann Enucleatum*, p. 1313—1321.

books commonly called Catechisms are drawn up by public authority, in which the chief points of religious faith and practice are explained by questions and answers. These the schoolmasters and the ministers follow as guides in their instructions. But as Luther left an excellent little book of this sort, in which the first elements of religion and morality are nervously and lucidly expressed, the instruction of young children throughout the church, very properly commences with this; and the provincial catechisms are merely expositions and amplifications of Luther's shorter catechism, which is one of our symbolical books.

6. As to holy days, in addition to the weekly day sacred to the memory of the Saviour's resurrection, the Lutheran church celebrates all the days which the piety of former ages consecrated to those distinguished events on which depends the divine authority of the Christian religion. And that it might not offend the weak, it has retained some of those festivals which superstition rather than religion appears to have created. Some communities likewise observe religiously the days anciently devoted to the ambassadors of Jesus Christ or to the Apostles. The ancient regulation which has come down to us from the earliest age of the church, of excluding the ungodly from the communion, the Lutheran church at first endeavoured to purify from abuses and corruptions and to restore to its primitive purity. And in this [sixteenth] century no one opposed the wise and temperate use of this power by the ministers of our church. But in process of time it gradually became so little used,[1] that at the present day scarcely a vestige of it in most places can be discovered. This change is to be ascribed in part to the fault of the ministers, some of whom have not unfrequently perverted an institution in itself most useful to the gratification of their own resentments, while others either from ignorance or indiscretion have erred in the application of it; in part also to the counsels of certain individuals, who conceived that for ministers to have the power of excluding offenders from church communion, was injurious to the interests of the state and to the authority of the magistrates; and lastly, in part to the innate propensity of mankind to unrestrained freedom. This restraint upon wickedness being removed, it is not strange that the morals of the Lutherans should have become corrupted, and that a multitude of persons living in open transgressions should everywhere lift up their heads.

7. The prosperous and adverse events in the progress of the Lutheran church, since the full establishment of its liberties and independence, may be stated in a few words. Its growth and increase have been already stated; nor could it easily, after what is called the religious peace, go on to enlarge its borders. Towards the close of the century, Gebhard, count of Truchsess and archbishop of Cologne, was disposed to unite with this [or rather with the Reformed] church; and having married, he attempted the religious reformation of his territories. But he failed in his great design, which was repugnant to the famous Ecclesiastical Reservation among the articles of the religious peace; and he was obliged to resign his electoral dignity and his archbishopric.[2] Neither on the other hand could its enemies greatly disturb the peace and prosperity of the church. Yet it was apparent from various indications, that a new war upon them was secretly plotted, and that the principal object aimed at was to annul the peace of Passau confirmed at Augsburg, and to cause the Protestants to be declared public enemies. Among others, Francis Burckhard sufficiently manifested such a disposition in his celebrated work *De Autonomia*, written

[1] Such, for example, are the nativity, death, resurrection, and ascension of the Son of God, the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles on the day of Pentecost, &c.—*Macl.*

[2] See Köhler's *Diss. de Gebhardo Truchsessio*, and the authors he cites. Add Ludewig's *Reliquæ Manuscriptor.* tom. v. p. 383, &c. *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A.D. 1748, p. 484. [Gebhard was of Truchsess in Waldburg. After his change of faith he married, privately at first, Agnes, countess of Mansfield; and he allowed the Protestants the free use of their religion, yet with the proviso that the rights of the archiepiscopal see should remain inviolate. But the chapter at the head of which was Frederick of Sachsenlauenburg, refused obedience to him in the year 1583; and they were supported in their disobedience by the Spaniards. On the other hand, Gebhard obtained the promise of assistance from the Protestants assembled at Heilbron and Worms; yet only the elector palatine, John Casimir, fulfilled the promise. For Gebhard was of the Reformed religion, and the contention between the Reformed and the Lutherans was then carried to a great height, otherwise probably this business would have had a very different termination. The chapter applied to pope Gregory XIII. and having obtained the deposition of their archbishop, made choice of prince Ernest of Bavaria, who was already bishop of Freysingen, Hildesheim, and Liege. The archbishop indeed sought to support himself. But Augustus, elector of Saxony, hated the Reformed too bitterly and needed the aid of the imperial court in the affair of the Henneberg inheritance too much, to be disposed to aid the archbishop; and John Casimir, who was threatened with the ban of the empire, dared not lead out all his forces, for fear of being abandoned by the other Protestant princes and becoming a prey to the Spanish and Bavarian army. Gebhard was therefore compelled, as he would not accept the terms proposed in the congress at Frankfort, to retire from the territory of the archbishopric, and he died in Holland, A.D. 1601.—*Schl.* [See also Ranke's *Popes of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 76, and 115, &c.—*R.*

in 1586; and also John Pistorius in his Reasons by which James marquis of Baden professed to be influenced in abandoning the Lutheran party.[1] These writers and others of the like character commonly assail the religious peace as being an iniquitous and unjust thing, because extorted by force and arms, and made without the knowledge and against the pleasure of the Roman pontiff, and therefore null and void; they also attempted to demonstrate, from the falsification or change of the Augsburg Confession, of which they say Melancthon was the father, that the Protestants have forfeited the rights conferred on them by that peace. The latter of these charges gave occasion in this century and the following to many books and discussions, by which our theologians placed it beyond all doubt that this Confession had been kept inviolate and entire, and that the Lutherans had not swerved from it in the least.[2] But none felt more severely the implacable hatred of the papists against the new religion (as they call that of the Lutherans) than those followers of this system who lived in countries subject to princes adhering to the Romish religion; and especially the Lutherans in the Austrian dominions, who at the close of this century lost the greatest part of their religious liberties.[3]

8. While the adherents of the Roman pontiff were thus plotting the destruction of the Lutherans by force and stratagems, the latter omitted nothing which might contribute in any way to strengthen and establish their own church. Their recent calamities were fresh in their recollection, which led them to the greater solicitude to prevent their recurrence; and to confess the truth, there was at that day more zeal for religion among men of distinction and high rank than at the present day. Hence the confederacy for the defence of religion, which had been formed among the German princes and of which the elector of Saxony was the head, was peculiarly strong and efficient; and foreigners, especially the kings of Sweden and Denmark, were invited to afford it their support. And as all were sensible that the church could not exist and prosper, unless its teachers were educated men, nor unless literature and science everywhere flourished, hence nearly all the princes set themselves to oppose the strongest barriers against ignorance, the mother of superstition. Their zeal in this matter is evinced by the new universities founded at Jena, Helmstadt, and Altorf, and among the Reformed at Franeker, Leyden, and other places; also by the reform and adaptation of the old universities to the state and necessities of a purer church, by the numerous inferior schools opened in nearly all the cities, and by the salaries, ample for those times, given to literary and scientific men, as well as the high honours and privileges conferred upon them. The expense of these salutary measures was defrayed for the most part out of the property which the piety of preceding ages had devoted to churches, to convents of monks and canons, and to other pious uses.

9. Hence almost every branch of human science and knowledge was cultivated and improved. All who aspired to the sacred office were required to study Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, and in these languages it is well known great men appeared among the Lutherans. History was greatly advanced by Melancthon, John Cario, David Chytræus, Reinerus Reineccius, and others. Of ecclesiastical history in particular Matthias Flacius may properly be called the father; for he and his associates by composing that immortal work, the *Magdeburg Centuries*, threw immense light on the history of the Christians, which before was involved in darkness and mixed up with innumerable fables. With him is to be joined Martin Chemnitz, to whose *Examination of the Council of Trent* the history of religious opinons is more indebted than many at this day are aware. The history of literature and philosophy, the art of criticism, antiquities, and other kindred studies, were indeed less attended to; yet beginnings were made in them,

[1] See Salig's *Geschichte der Augsburgischen Confession*, vol. i. book iv. c. iii. p. 767.

[2] Here Salig especially may be consulted, *ubi supra*, vol. i. It must be admitted that Melancthon did alter the Augsburg Confession in some places. It is also certain that in the year 1555 he introduced into the Saxon churches, in which his influence at the time was very great, a form of the Confession very different from its original one. But the Lutheran church [in general] never approved this rashness or imprudence of Melancthon; nor was his altered Confession ever admitted to a place among the symbolical books. [Melancthon doubtless looked upon the Confession as his own production, which he had a right to correct and improve; and he altered in particular the tenth article which treats of the Lord's Supper, from a love of peace and an honest desire to bring the Protestants into a closer union with each other, so that they might oppose their common enemies with their united strength. But his good designs were followed by bad consequences.—*Schl.*

[3] See Raupach's *Evangelisches Oesterreich*, vol. i. p. 152, &c. vol. ii. p. 287, &c. [This was attributed especially to the influence of the Jesuits, who found ready access to the Austrian and Bavarian courts. At Vienna, Peter Canisius rendered himself very conspicuous; and on account of his great pains to hunt out heretics and drive them to the fold of the church, the Austrian Protestants called him the Austrian Hound; but those of his own community called him the Second Apostle of the Germans. See *Versuch einer neuen Geschichte des Jesuitenordens*, vol. i. p. 372, 407, 468, and vol. ii. in various places.—*Schl.*

which excited those who came after to prosecute successfully these pleasing pursuits. Eloquence, especially in Latin, both prose and poetic, was pursued by great numbers, and by those worthy of comparison with the best Latin writers; which is proof that genius for erudition and literature was not wanting in this age, but that it was the circumstances and troubles of the times which prevented genius from attaining the highest excellence in every species of learning. Philip Melancthon, the common teacher of the whole Lutheran church, by his instructions, his example, and his influence, enkindled the ardour of all those who acquired fame in the pursuit of literature and the liberal arts; nor did scarcely an individual of those who prosecuted either divine or human knowledge venture to depart from the method of this great man. Next to him, Joachim Camerarius, a doctor of Leipsic, took great pains to perfect and to bring into repute all branches of learning, and especially the belles-lettres.

10. Philosophy met with various fortune among the Lutherans. At first, both Luther and Melancthon seemed to discard all philosophy.[1] And if this was a fault in them, it is chargeable upon the doctors of the schools, who had abused their barbarous method of philosophising as well as the precepts of Aristotle, to pervert and obscure exceedingly both human and divine knowledge. Soon however these reformers found that philosophy was indispensably necessary to restrain the licentiousness of the imagination, and to defend the territories of religion. Hence Melancthon explained nearly all the branches of philosophy in concise treatises written in a neat and perspicuous style; and these treatises were for many years read and expounded in the schools and universities. Melancthon may not improperly be called an eclectic philosopher. For while in many things he followed Aristotle, or did not utterly despise the old philosophy of the schools, he at the same time drew much from his own genius, and likewise borrowed some things from the doctrines of the Platonics and Stoics.

11. But this simple mode of philosophising devised by Melancthon did not long bear exclusive sway. For some acute and subtle men, perceiving that Melancthon assigned the first rank among philosophers to Aristotle, thought it best to go directly to the fountain and to expound the Stagyrite himself to the students in philosophy. Others, perceiving that the Jesuits and other advocates for the Roman pontiffs made use of the barbarous terms and the subtleties of the old scholastics in order to confound the Protestants, thought it would be advantageous to the church, for her young men also to be initiated in the mysteries of the Aristotelico-scholastic philosophy. Hence near the close of the century there had arisen three philosophical sects, the Melancthonian, the Aristotelian, and the Scholastic. The first gradually decayed, the other two insensibly became united, and at length got possession of all the professional chairs. But the followers of Peter Ramus sharply attacked them in several countries, and not always without success; and at last, after various contests, they were obliged to retire from the schools.[2]

12. The same fate was afterwards experienced by the Fire Philosophers (*Philosophi ex igne*), or the Paracelsists and the other men of like character, who wished to abolish altogether the peripatetic philosophy, and to introduce their own into the universities in place of it. At the close of the century, this sect had many eloquent patrons and friends in most of the countries of Europe, who endeavoured by their writings and their actions to procure glory and renown to this kind of wisdom. In England, Robert à Fluctibus or Fludd, a man of uncommon genius, adorned and illustrated this philosophy by extensive writings, which to this day find readers and admirers.[3]

[1] See Heumann's *Acts of the Philosophers*, written in German, art. ii. par. x. p. 579, &c.; Ab Elswich, *Dissert. de Fatis Aristotelis in Scholis Protestantium*, which he has prefixed to Launoi, *De Fortuna Aristotelis in Acad. Parisiensi*, sec. viii. p. 15, sec. xiii. p. 36, &c.

[2] Ab Elswich, *De Fatis Aristotelis in Scholis Protestantium*, sec. xxi. p. 54, &c.; Walch's *Historia Logices*, lib. ii. cap. i. sec. iii. sec. 5. in his *Parerga Academica*, p. 613, 617, &c.; Schützius, *De Vita Chytræi*, lib. iv. sec. iv. p. 19, &c. [Ramus was professor of eloquence at Paris, and wished to combine eloquence with philosophy. But as it would not coalesce with the scholastic philosophy, he devised a new species of philosophy, one which might be used in common life, at courts, and in worldly business. He separated from philosophy all the idle speculations which are useless in common life, and rejected all metaphysics. This innovation produced great disturbance at Paris. The Aristotelians opposed it most violently. And the king appointed a commission to investigate the controversy, from which Aristotle obtained the victory. From France this philosophy spread into Switzerland and Germany. At Geneva, Beza would have nothing to do with it. At Basil it found more patrons. The most zealous adherents of Luther, who imitated him in hating Aristotle, nearly all took the side of Ramus. Hence in our universities there was often fierce war between the Aristotelians and the Ramists, and it frequently cost blood among the students. Indeed the Calixtine contest originated from Ramism.—*Schl.*

[3] See Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*. vol. i. p. 610, and *Hist. et Antiq. Acad. Oxon.* lib. ii. p. 390; Gassendi's examination of Fludd's philosophy, an ingenious and learned performance, in his *Opp.* tom. iii. p. 259, &c. [Fludd's appropriate work is entitled, *Historia Macrocosmi et Microcosmi*, Oppenh. 1617, 1619, 2 vols. folio:

In France, one Riverius besides others propagated it at Paris, against opposition from the university there.[1] Through Germany and Denmark, Severinus spread it with uncommon zeal;[2] in Germany also after others, Henry Kunrath, a chemist of Dresden, who died in 1605;[3] and in other countries, others established it and procured it adherents. As all these combined the precepts of their philosophy with a great show of piety towards God, and seemed to direct all their efforts to glorifying God and establishing harmony among disagreeing Christians, they of course readily found friends. Just at the close of the century, they drew over to their party some persons among the Lutherans who were very zealous for the promotion of true religion, as Valerius Weigel,[4] John Arndt,[5] and others, who feared lest too much disputing and reasoning should divert men from the true worship of God, to run after the noisy and perplexing trifles of the ancient schools.

13. Towards the same party also leaned Daniel Hoffmann, a celebrated theologian in the university of Helmstadt, who in the year 1598 openly assailed all philosophy with great violence, and relying principally on certain passages and sentences in Luther's works, maintained that philosophy was the enemy of all religion and all piety; and moreover that there was a twofold truth, philosophical and theological, and that philosophical truth was falsehood in theology. Hence arose a fierce contest between him and the philosophers of the university in which he taught, namely, Owen Günther, John Caselius, Conrad Martini, and Duncan Liddel; and some out of the university likewise took part in it by their writings. Henry Julius, duke of Brunswick, to put an end to the commotion, took cognizance of the cause, called in the divines of Rostoc for counsel, and ordered Hoffmann in the year 1601 to retract what he had written and spoken disrespectfully of philosophy and the philosophers, and to acknowledge publicly that sound philosophy was in harmony with theology.[6]

14. The theology which is now taught in the Lutheran schools did not at once attain its present form, but was improved and perfected progressively. Of this fact those are aware who understand the history of the doctrines concerning the holy Scriptures, free-will, predestination, and other subjects, and who have compared the early systems of theology written by Lutherans with those of more recent date. For the vindicators of religious liberty did not dis-

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and another, *Philosophia Mosaica*, Gouda. 1638, folio. He was a doctor of physic at Oxford, and died in 1637. Fludd and those of his class assumed as a first principle, that men can never arrive at true wisdom until they learn the ways of God in his works of nature, and that nature can be learned only by the analysis of fire. Hence they were called Fire Philosophers, and they were all chemists. They combined their philosophical wisdom with theology. God who is unchangeable, said they, acts in the kingdom of grace just as he does in the kingdom of nature; so that whoever understands how natural bodies are changed, in particular the metals, understands also what passes in the soul in regeneration, sanctification, renovation, &c. Thus they erected a sort of theology upon the basis of their chemical knowledge; and of course no one can understand them unless he is a chemist, or at least has a chemical dictionary before him.—*Schl.*

[1] Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. vi. p. 327, and *passim.*

[2] Möller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 623, &c. [This Danish physician, who spent a great part of his life in travelling, was one of the strongest supporters of Paracelsus, and first reduced his ideas to a system in a work entitled, *Idea Medicinæ Philosophicæ.*—*Schl.*

[3] Möller's *Cimb. Liter.* tom. ii. p. 440, &c. [His principal work is entitled, *Amphitheatrum Sapientiæ Æternæ, solius Veræ, Christiano-Kabbalisticum, Divino-Magicum, Physico-Chymicum*, &c. Hanau, 1609, fol. and Frankf. 1653.—*Schl.*

[4] This singular man was pastor of Tschoppau in Meissen, and died in 1588. After his death he was, perhaps unjustly, pronounced a heretic, partly because his language was not understood, and partly because much that appeared in his writings was not his, but was added by his chantor who published his works after his death. He appears to have been an honest, conscientious man, without bad intentions, yet somewhat superstitious. See respecting his writings, Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, vol. ii. book vii. ch. xvii. and Hilliger's *Divs. de Vita, Fatis, et Scriptis Weigelii*, Wittemb. 1721.—*Schl.*

[5] Of the history and life of this divine, to whom our church and the cause of piety are so much indebted, nothing need here be said, since his writings are in every one's hands, and many editions of them contain a biography of him. It is well known that his writings gave occasion for violent contests; and for a long time public opinion was divided respecting his orthodoxy and his merits. The chancellor of Tübingen, Lucas Oslander, and many others, could find gross heresies in his writings; but the provost Bengel saw in him the Apocalyptical angel with the everlasting Gospel. Illacos intra muros peccatur et extra. If a man will read Arndt's writings with the feelings of a dispassionate historian, he will hear one speaking in them who is full of the spirit of Christianity, who abhors scholastic theological wrangling, and who speaks for the most part more forcibly and more like the Bible on practical Christianity, than his contemporaries do; yet he often sinks into a mysticism which is not the mysticism of the Bible, but of Valerius Weigel and of Angela de Foligny, from whose writings he borrows largely. In proof of this, read only the third and fourth books of his *True Christianity*, where also many chemical terms occur, such as the Theosophists use, and to which Arndt had accustomed himself, having been a physician in early life, and retaining in after life a fondness for chemical writings. And for this reason, it is probably not so wise in our times, when we have so many ascetic works which are more easy of comprehension and better adapted to our age, to be always recommending to common Christians the writings of Arndt. For the people of his time his books were very valuable; but we should not therefore be ungrateful for those of our own age, which God has vouchsafed to us. Respecting him, see Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, vol. ii. book xvii. ch. vi. sec. 5, &c. and Weismann's *Memorabilia Hist. Sacr.* tom. ii. p. 1174, &c.—*Schl.*

[6] An accurate account of this controversy and a list of the writings published on both sides are given by Möller in his life of Owen Günther, *Cimb. Liter.* tom. i. p. 225, &c. See also Ab Elswich, *De Fatis Aristotelis in Scholis Protestant.* sec. xxvii. p. 76, &c.; Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, book xvii. ch. vi. sec. xv. p. 947, &c.

cover all truth in an instant; but like persons emerging from long darkness, their vision improved gradually. Our theologians were also greatly assisted in correcting and explaining their sentiments, by the controversies in which they were involved, by their external conflicts with the papists, with the disciples of Zwingli, Calvin, and others, and by their internal contests, of which we shall speak hereafter. Those who, like James Benigne Bossuet and others, make this a reproach against the Lutherans, do not consider that the founders of the evangelical church never wished to be regarded as inspired men, and that the first virtue of a wise man is to discover the errors of others, and the second is to find out the truth.

15. The first and principal care of the teachers of the reformed religion was to illustrate and explain the sacred Scriptures, which contain, in the opinion of the Lutheran church, all celestial wisdom. Hence there were almost as many expositors of the Bible among the Lutherans, as there were theologians eminent for learning and rank. At the head of them all stand Luther and Melancthon; the former of whom, besides other portions of the divine records, expounded particularly the book of Genesis with great copiousness and sagacity; the expositions of the latter on Paul's Epistles and his other labours of this kind are well known. Next to these, a high rank among the biblical expositors was attained by Matthias Flacius, whose *Glosses* and *Key* to the holy Scriptures were very useful for understanding the sacred writers; by John Bugenhagen, Justin Jonas, Andrew Osiander, and Martin Chemnitz, whose *Harmonies of the Gospels* were of great value; by Victorinus Strigelius, and by Joachim Camerarius, who in his *Commentary on the New Testament* acted the part merely of a grammarian, as he himself informs us, or in other words, calling in the aid of polite literature in which he was well versed, he investigated and explained simply the import of the words and phrases, neglecting all theological discussions and controversies.

16. All these interpreters of the holy volume abandoned the uncertain and fallacious method of the ancients, who neglected the literal sense, and laboured to extort from the holy oracles by the aid of the fancy a kind of recondite meaning, or in other words, to divert them without reason to inappropriate applications. On the contrary, it was their first and great aim to ascertain the import of the words, or what it is they express; adopting that golden rule of all sound interpretation which Luther first introduced, namely, that all the sacred books contain but one single meaning. Yet it must be confessed that very many did not wholly lay aside the inveterate custom of extracting secret and concealed meanings from the language of the inspired writers, but were over-wise in applying the oracles of the Old Testament prophets to our Saviour, and in eliciting from ancient history prefigurations of future events. Moreover, all the expositors of this century may be divided, I conceive, into two classes. Some followed the example of Luther, who first explains in a free and familiar manner the import of the sacred text, and then makes application of it to theological controversies, to doctrines, and to practical duties. But others were better pleased with Melancthon's method, who first divides the discourses of the inspired writers into their constituent parts, or analyzes them according to rhetorical principles; and then closely and minutely surveys each part, rarely departing from the literal meaning, and but sparingly touching upon doctrines and controversies.

17. Philip Melancthon first reduced the theology of the Lutherans to a regular system, in his *Loci Communes;* and this work, afterwards enlarged and amended by the author, was in such estimation during this century and even longer, that it served as the common guide to all teachers of theology, both in their lectures and their written treatises.[1] The very title of the book shows that the doctrines of revealed religion are not here arranged artificially, or digested into a philosophical system, but are proposed in that free and artless manner which the genius of the author preferred. His mode of stating and explaining truth, especially in the earlier editions, is very simple and unencumbered with the terms, the definitions, and distinctions of the philosophers. For this first age of the Lutheran church, as well as Luther himself, wished to discard and to avoid altogether the subtleties and syllogisms of the dialectic and scholastic doctors. But the sophistry of their adversaries and the perpetual contests with them in process of time caused this artless mode of teaching to be almost wholly laid aside. Even Melancthon himself led the way, by introducing gradually into his *Loci Communes* many things taken from the armoury of the philosophers, with a view to meet the fallacies of opposers. And afterwards, when the founders of the church

[1] See Buddeus, *Isagoge ad Theologiam*, lib. ii. cap. i. sec. xiii. vol. i. p. 381, and the authors named by him.

were no more, and when the Jesuits and others resolutely attacked the purified church with the old scholastic arms, this crafty mode of warfare had such influence upon our theologians, that they restored the thorny mode of explaining divine truth which Luther and his companions had discarded, and employed in the explication of religious doctrines all the intricacies and barbarism of the scholastic philosophy. Several very distinguished and excellent men near the close of the century were exceedingly dissatisfied with this change, and bitterly lamented the loss of the ancient simplicity; but they could not at all persuade the teachers in the universities to return to Luther's sober and inartificial method of teaching. For they said, Necessity must govern us, rather than examples and authorities.

18. That practical theology should be restored to its purity by the same persons who exploded a corrupt doctrinal theology, might readily be supposed by such as understand the intimate natural connexion between them. And in fact more may be learned respecting real piety from the few writings of Luther, Melancthon, Weller,[1] and the two Riviers,[2]—not to mention others,—than from all the volumes of the casuists, and the moralisers (*moralisantes*) as they were barbarously called. And yet in this department also, all the truth did did not at once show itself to those excellent men. It appears rather from the various controversies agitated in this century respecting the extent of Christian duties, and from the answers which even great men gave to questions proposed to them respecting the divine law, that all the first and fundamental principles of Christian duty were not fully settled; nor was it universally understood how far the law of nature and the precepts of Christianity coincide and wherein they differ, or what there is in revealed religion consonant to the dictates of reason, and what that lies beyond the province of reason. If the fury of their numerous enemies had allowed the Lutheran doctors more leisure and more opportunity to cultivate and diffuse religion, they would doubtless have been free from these faults, and would not have fallen below the more modern teachers. And the same answer may be given to those who think it strange that no one, among so many excellent men,—not even Melancthon, who seemed formed by nature for such an undertaking,—should have thought of collecting and arranging the first principles of morals and forming a system of practical religion, but should have included all his instructions under the heads of the law, sin, free-will, faith, hope, and charity.

19. To designate any one as a noted theologian of this age is the same as to say that he was an ardent and energetic polemic. For the misfortunes of the times and the multiplicity of contests both internal and external required all to take up arms. Among these defenders of the truth, all who were contemporary with Luther or who lived near his time studied simplicity; nor did they assail their adversaries except with the arguments afforded by the holy Scriptures, and with the authority of the early fathers of the church. Those who flourished in the latter part of the century came forth armed with the weapons of the Aristotelian philosophy, and therefore are less lucid. The cause of this change is to be sought for in their adversaries, especially the papists. For the latter, having learned by sad experience that the plain and explicit mode of reasoning was ruinous to their cause, involved themselves and their opinions in all the absurdities and artifices of the scholastic doctors. And this led our theologians to think, that they must fight with the same weapons with which they were attacked. Moreover all disputants of this age, if we except Melancthon, to whom Providence had given a mild and modest spirit, are thought at this day to have been much too bitter and acrimonious, and no one more so than Luther himself, who inveighed against his adversaries, as is manifest, in the coarsest manner and without regard to rank or dignity. Yet this fault will appear much alleviated, if it be estimated according to the customs of those times and if compared with the ferocity and cruelty of his opposers. Is it not allowable to designate malignant railers and ferocious tyrants, who labour to destroy, and actually do destroy with fire and sword, the holy souls whom they cannot vanquish in argument, by applying to them the epithets appropriate to their crimes?

20. The internal history of the Lutheran

[1] Jerome Weller was born at Freyberg in Meissen, was long familiar with Luther at Wittemberg, and died the superintendent and inspector of schools in his native place, A.D. 1572. He was a practical theologian, and left many edifying and enlightened writings, which prove him a man of great experience.—*Schl.*

[2] There were two Riviers, both called John; the one was of Westphalia and a famous schoolmaster of his times, who taught at Cologne, Zwickau, Annaberg, Schneeberg, and Freyberg, and was afterwards counsellor to Augustus, elector of Saxony, and at last inspector of schools at Meissen. He died in 1553, and left many moral writings in Latin. The other John Rivier was of Venice, and lived near the same time; but whether he wrote anything on morals I know not. See Teissier's *Eloges des Hommes Savans*, tome i. p. 153, &c. and Melchior Adamus, *Vitæ Germanor. Philosophorum*, p. 60, &c.—*Schl.*

church and of the changes which took place in it, if we would render the subject easy of comprehension and make the causes of events intelligible, must be divided into three periods. The first extends from the commencement of the Reformation to the death of Luther in 1546. The second embraces what occurred between the death of Luther and that of Melancthon in 1560. The third period contains the remainder of the century. In the first period, everything among the Lutherans took place according to the will and pleasure of Luther, who, being a man of great energy of character, and possessing unbounded influence everywhere, suppressed without difficulty all commotions and disturbances which arose, and did not suffer nascent sects to attain maturity and acquire strength in his new community. Hence so long as Luther lived, the internal state of the church was tranquil and peaceful; and those who were disposed to foment divisions had to be quiet, or else retire beyond the bounds of the church and seek residence elsewhere.

21. The infancy of the new church was disturbed by a set of delirious fanatics who turned the world upside down, and who imagined that they were moved by a divine afflatus to set up a new kingdom of Christ free from all sin. The leaders of this turbulent and discordant tribe were Thomas Munzer, Nicholas Storck, Mark Stübner, and others, partly Germans and partly Swiss, who greatly disquieted some parts of Europe especially Germany, and raised tumults among the ignorant multitude, in some places very great, in others less, but everywhere formidable.[1] The history of these people is very obscure and perplexed, for it has not been methodically written, nor could it easily be so if one were disposed to narrate it; because men of this sort, of dubious sanctity, and differing variously from each other in opinions, everywhere roamed about; nor did the state of the times produce diligent recorders of such tumultuous proceedings. This however is certain, that the worst members of this motley company constituted that seditious band which produced the rustic war in Germany, and also that which afterwards disturbed Westphalia and settled itself at Munster; while the more respectable members, terrified by the miseries and slaughter of their companions, joined themselves at last to the sect called Mennonites. The vigilance, courage, and zeal of Luther prevented his community from being rent asunder by this sort of people, and kept the fickle and credulous populace from being deceived and led astray by them, as they would undoubtedly have been if he had possessed less energy of character.

22. Andrew Carlstadt, a Franconian and colleague of Luther, a man neither perverse nor unlearned though precipitate, was too ready to listen to this sort of men; and therefore in the year 1522, while Luther was absent, he raised no little commotion at Wittemberg, by casting the images out of the churches and by other hazardous innovations. But Luther suddenly returned, and his presence and discourses calmed the tumult. Returning now from Wittemberg to Orlamund, Carlstadt not only opposed Luther's opinions respecting the Lord's Supper, but in many other things also showed a mind not averse from fanatical sentiments.[2] He was therefore expelled from Saxony and went over to the Swiss, among whom he taught, first at Zurich and then at Basil; and as long as he lived he showed himself inclined to the side of the Anabaptists and of the men who made pretensions to divine visions.[3] This second

[1] Jo. Baptist Ott has collected much relating to these events in his *Annales Anabaptist.* p. 8, &c. and with him may be joined nearly all the historians of the Reformation. [The War of the Peasants in 1525 was noticed in sec. i. chap. ii. sec. 21. p. 578, &c. above, and that of the Anabaptists in Westphalia, A.D. 1533, ibid. chap. iii. sec. 10. p. 591. The rise of the sect of Mennonites will be considered in the 3d chapter of this second part of the present section.—*Mur.*

[2] See Löscher's *Historia Motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformatos*, p. 1, cap. i.; Gerdes, *Vita Carolostadii*, in his *Miscell. Gröning.* tom. i. p. 1, and most of the historians of the Reformation. [See above, p. 575, note 1.—*Mur.*

[3] This affirmation of Mosheim needs much to be modified. In the original it stands thus: "Dum vixit vero Anabaptistarum, hominumque divina visa jactantium partibus amicum sese ostendit;" *i.e.* as long as he lived, he showed himself a friend to the Anabaptists, and other enthusiasts who pretended to divine inspiration. But how could our historian assert this without restriction, since it is well known that Carlstadt after his banishment from Saxony, composed a treatise against enthusiasm in general, and against the extravagant tenets and the violent proceedings of the Anabaptists in particular? Nay, more: this treatise was addressed to Luther, who was so affected by it that repenting of the unworthy treatment he had given to Carlstadt, he pleaded his cause, and obtained from the elector a permission for him to return into Saxony.—See Gerdes, *Vita Carolostadii*, in his *Miscell. Groning.* After this reconcillation with Luther he composed a treatise on the eucharist, which breathes the most amiable spirit of moderation and humility; and having perused the writings of Zuingli, where he saw his own sentiments on that subject maintained with the greatest perspicuity and force of evidence, he repaired a second time to Zurich and from thence to Basil, where he was admitted to the offices of pastor and professor of divinity, and where, after having lived in the exemplary and constant practice of every Christian virtue, he died amidst the warmest effusions of piety and resignation, on the 25th of December, 1541. All this is testified solemnly in a letter of the learned and pious Grynæus of Basil to Pitiscus, chaplain to the elector Palatine, and shows how little credit ought to be given to the assertions of the ignorant Moreri, or to the insinuations of the insidious Bossuet.—*Mack.* [A full life of this extraordinary and eccentric reformer is much needed. That by Gerdes, referred to by Mosheim.

commotion therefore Luther happily terminated in a short time.

23. A man of similar turn of mind was Casper Schwenckfeld of Ossigk [or Ossig], a Silesian knight, counsellor to the duke of Liegnitz, who with Valentine Crautwald, a learned man living at the court of Liegnitz, saw many deficiencies in Luther's opinions and regulations; and undoubtedly, if Luther and others had not strenuously resisted him, he would have produced a schism and a sect of considerable magnitude. For he led a blameless and upright life, recommended and laboured to promote piety among the people with peculiar earnestness; and by these means so captivated very many even learned and discreet men, both among the Lutherans and the Zwinglians, that they thought it their duty to patronise him and to defend him against his opponents.[1] But in the year 1528 he was banished by the duke both from the court and the country, because Zwingli had declared that Schwenckfeld's sentiments respecting the Lord's Supper were not different from his own. From this time he wandered through various provinces and experienced various fortunes till his death in 1561.[2] He left a little community in his native Silesia, whom the papists in our own time ordered to quit the country, but whom the king of Prussia in the year 1742 permitted to return to their former habitations.[3]

24. Schwenckfeld merits the praise of good intentions, piety, and zeal for promoting religion; but not the praise of discretion, sound judgment, and intelligence. The good man inclined towards what is called fanaticism, and he supposed that he was taught by the Spirit of God. From Luther and the other professors of the Reformed religion he differed principally on three points; for I pass over inferences from his principles and minor points of doctrine. (I.) In regard to the Lord's Supper, he inverted the words of Christ, "This is my body," and would have them understood thus: "My body is this;" that is, is such as this bread which is broken and eaten; or, it is real food for the soul, nourishes, satisfies, delights it. And "my

is not complete, as it extends only to 1523; and the fifty-one letters which he has inserted in the fourth volume of his *Miscellanea Groningana* or *Scrinium Antiq.* (p. 291, &c.) from Carlstadt to Spalatin, end at the year 1521. I have not seen Füssly's *Leibensges. And. Bodenstein oder Carlstadt*, Erlang. 1776. Ranke, though he touches only incidentally on Carlstadt, supplies, as usual, additional information taken from his works now so rare, as to the extreme views which he promulgated at Wittemberg in 1522. Ranke's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 19, 20, and 24—27. See also respecting him, Weismann, *Memorabilia Hist. Sacr.* vol. i. p. 1416, &c.; and respecting his death and the Lutheran calumnies thereon, see the new and extended edition of Ruchat's *Hist. de la Réformation de Suisse*, Nyon, 7 vols. 8vo, vol. v. p. 168, &c.—*R.*

[1] See Fueslin's *Centuria I. Epistolarum a Reformator. Helvet. Scriptorum*, p. 169, 175, 225; *Museum Helvet.* tom. iv. p. 445, &c.

[2] Wigand's *Schwenckfeldianismus*, Lips. 1586, 4to; Schlüsselburg's whole tenth book of his *Catalogus Hæreticorum*, Frankf. 1599, 8vo. But the history of Schwenckfeld is most studiously investigated and accompanied with vindications of him, by Arnold, *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, book xvi. chap. xx. p. 720, &c. [vol. i. p. 835—856, and p. 1246—1292, ed. Schaffhausen, 1740, fol.—*Mur.*] and by Salig, *Geschichte der Augsb. Confession*, vol. iii. book xi. p. 961, &c. [Schwenckfeld was born in the year 1490, and was employed in the courts of Munsterberg and Liegnitz, and held a canonry at Liegnitz. He aided the Reformation in Silesia; but Luther's reformation in his view did not go far enough. He not only wished for a stricter church discipline, but he also found some fault with certain points of doctrine. As early as the year 1524, he commenced an attack upon the Evangelical church, by his essay on the abuse of the Gospel to carnal security; and the year following he brought forward his new opinion respecting the eucharist. According to the epistle of the superintendent of Liegnitz, Simon Grynæus, to Abraham Scultetus of Heidelberg (in the Supplem. ad Ind. l. Histor. No. 28 of Seckendorf's *Historia Lutheranismi*), it was not merely the duke who banished Schwenckfeld from Silesia, but also Ferdinand king of the Romans. He seems to have drawn on himself the hatred of this lord, chiefly by his opinion concerning the eucharist, which he defended in the year 1529 by a writing printed at Liegnitz with a preface by Capito. From Silesia he retired to Strasburg, where he was supported for some time by the preachers Matthew Zell and Capito. Afterwards he resided in several imperial cities of Swabia, and died at Ulm in 1561, after having obtained many followers in Alsace, the territory of Wurtemberg, and other places. His writings were at first printed separately, but after his death collectively at two different times, namely, in 1564, in two parts, or 4 vols. fol. and in 1592 in 4 large vols. 4to. The greater part of them were also published in 1566 fol. under the title of *Epistolar des edlen von Gott hochbegnadigten theueren Mannes Cäspar Schwenckfeld von Ossing*, &c. Besides these he left various manuscripts which are in the Wolfenbuttle library, and which Salig consulted. One tolerable and devotional tract is on the Love of God, and was printed at Amsterdam, 1594, 8vo.—Crautwald was a professor and a pastor at Liegnitz, a promoter of the Reformation, but who afterwards sided with Schwenckfeld, participated in his views of the eucharist, and published various writings under the name of Valentine Cratoald. Other adherents of Schwenckfeld were Werner, court preacher to the duke of Liegnitz, who was displaced in 1540, after being sent by the duke to Wittenberg to be better instructed by Luther and Melancthon. He now retired to the county of Glatz, where he established a school at Rengersdorf, and composed a Catechism and a Postille under the name of Siegm. Rengersdorfer. The catechism is still regarded by the Schwenckfelders as one of their best elementary books, and the postille is often used in their religious worship. Besides these, in the middle of the following century lived one Daniel Frederic, who in 1643 published the secret of self-examination. See concerning him Arnold, *ubi supra*, vol. iv. sec. ii. No. 24.—*Schl.*

[3] On the confessions of the Schwenckfelders, see Köcher's *Biblioth. Theol. Symbolicæ*, p. 457. [Most of the Schwenckfelders joined the body after the death of Schwenckfeld, when the concealed Protestants in Bohemia, the county of Glatz, and Silesia, obtained possession of his writings, which were spread abroad in great numbers; and they established congregations, principally in the territories of Leignitz, Hirschberg, and Goldberg. But as they were often severely persecuted under the Austrian government, especially since the year 1718, and were harassed by the Jesuit missionaries, hence the greater part of them retired to Pennsylvania, where they set up congregations and held communion with other fanatical parties. Others who remained in the vicinity being invited back, returned when the country fell under the Prussian government. See Baumgarten's *Geschichte der Religions-Parteyen*, p. 1059, &c.—*Schl.*

blood is this," namely, like wine which refreshes and strengthens the soul. And this singular doctrine he said had been divinely communicated to him, which alone shows how weak his mind and discernment were.[1] (II.) In regard to the efficacy of the word of God, he denied that there is efficacy in the external word, as written down in the inspired books, to heal, illuminate, and regenerate the minds of men. This efficacy he ascribed to the internal word, which he said was Christ himself. But of this internal word he expresses himself in his usual manner, without uniformity and clearness; so that it is not easy to decide whether he held the same views with the Mystics and the Quakers, or differed from them. (III.) In regard to the human nature of Christ, it displeased him to hear the human nature of Christ denominated a creature or created existence, in what theologians call its state of exaltation; for this language he thought below the dignity and majesty of Christ's human nature, since it had become united with the divine nature in one person. This opinion appeared to resemble what is called the Eutychian doctrine. But Schwenckfeld would not be considered a Eutychian, and on the contrary accused those of Nestorianism who called the human nature of Christ a creature.

25. As Luther taught that the gospel or the doctrine of a salvation procured for mankind by Jesus Christ should be inculcated on the people, and censured and chastised the papists for confounding the law and the gospel, and for promising men salvation by obedience to the law, John Agricola, a native of Eisleben and a celebrated divine of the Lutheran church, though an ostentatious and fickle man, thence took occasion in the year 1538 to teach that the law should be wholly excluded from the church, and never be taught to the people; and that the gospel alone should be taught, both in the schools and from the pulpit. Those who agreed in this with Agricola were called Antinomians or enemies of the law. But this sect also was suppressed in its very origin by the energy and the influence of Luther; and Agricola, through fear of so great a man, confessed and renounced his error. It is said however that Luther, the lion whom he dreaded, being dead, he returned to the opinion he had renounced, and drew some persons to embrace it.[3]

26. The opinions of the Antinomians were most pernicious, if we may believe their adversaries. For they are said to

[1] He also discarded infant baptism, though he did not require those baptized in infancy to be rebaptized, and therefore differed in this from the Anabaptists. Hence Grynæus informs us (in Seckendorf's *Hist. Lutheranismi*, Supplem. ad Ind. i. No. 28), that in the year 1526 infant baptism was nearly done away among the Schwenckfelders.—*Schl.* [The Lutheran writers thus tax Schwenckfeld with discarding infant baptism. The fact was, he placed no reliance upon any outward rites for the salvation of the soul, and was strongly opposed to the prevailing idea that water baptism was necessary to the salvation of any one. Baptism in the blood of Christ, or spiritual baptism, was everything in his estimation. And he deemed it proper, though not essential, that this spiritual baptism should precede water baptism. See Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, book xvi. chap. xx. sec. xiii. xiv. vol. i. p. 842, &c. and p. 1271. Neither does Grynæus (in the passage in Seckendorf mentioned by Schlegel) intimate that Schwenckfeld treated infant baptism with any greater neglect or disrespect than he did the Lord's Supper and other external rites. His words are these: "Eo vero, anno 1526, progredi cœpit fanaticorum insania, ut administratio sacræ cœnæ aliquandiu plane intermissa, pædobaptismus quoque penitus prope fuerit exterminatus."—*Mur.*

[2] Likewise in respect to the church he held singular opinions. He regarded it as a visible community of believers only, and therefore held that no hypocrite should be tolerated in the Christian church; that an absolute purity, not only of the church generally or as a body, but also of the individual members of it, was possible, and he therefore wished to restore the ancient church discipline in all its vigour. He likewise taught that all the ministrations of unconverted preachers were inefficient, and that the whole efficacy of the sacred ministry depended on the gracious state of the preachers, or on the Spirit and internal word of God residing in them. On the whole, Schwenckfeld possessed too little true philosophy to state correctly and to substantiate his own views, and too little acquaintance with their original languages to expound the Scriptures correctly. He first learned Greek from Crautwald.—*Schl.*

[3] See Sagittarius, *Introductio ad Historiam Ecclesiast.* tom. i. p. 838, &c.; Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Islebiens*, tome ii. p. 1567 [and art. *Agricola*, tome i. p. 100]; Schlüsselburg, *Catalogus Hæreticor.* lib. iv.; Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, book xvi. chap. xxv. p. 813, &c. [By the writers of those times he is generally called Master Eisleben. He was a pupil of Luther; and in 1530, when the Augsburg Confession was presented, he aided Luther in defending it. His character was not the best. He was a restless, fiery, contentious man, negligent in duty, and more of a courtier than was becoming in a minister. He was a rector and preacher, and after his dismission read lectures at Wittemberg. Perhaps rivalship between the two colleagues, Melancthon and Agricola, and the desire of the latter to obtain the pre-eminence, rather than honest zeal for rescuing the truth from perversion, occasioned this contest. Agricola thought that Melancthon, in the articles which he drew up for visitation of the churches, had deviated from the sentiments of Luther and other reformers; that he held the use of the law under the N. Test. to be indispensable for conversion; and he wrote some propositions in opposition, which are printed in Luther's Works (ed. Altenb. vol. vii. p. 310), and bear the title: *Positiones inter fratres sparsæ*. Luther confuted them in six discussions, and Agricola was now bound to retract, which he did at Wittemberg. But on leaving Wittemberg in 1540 and retiring to Berlin, where he possessed the good-will of the electoral prince in a high degree and was employed in furthering the Reformation, he did not cease occasionally to advance his propositions. Upon occasion of the Interim, he fell into the opposite error of the meritorious nature of good works. Among his adherents, James Schenk, superintendent at Freyberg in Meissen, was the most famous. He was dismissed in 1538 on account of his Antinomian opinions, when, appearing to retract, he was called to Leipsic, but again bringing them forward he was dismissed the second time. See also Walch's *Einleitung in die Streitigkeiten der Evangelisc. Luth. Kirche*, chap. ii sec. x. p. 115.—*Schl.*

have taught that a person may live as he lists, and break the law by sinning at his pleasure, provided he holds to Christ and has faith in his merits. But if we consider the whole subject with candour, we may readily believe that Agricola did not teach such impious and absurd doctrines; though he might sometimes utter harsh expressions which were liable to misrepresentation and perversion. By the law, Agricola understood the ten commandments of Moses, which he supposed were a law enacted especially for the Jews and not for Christians. The term gospel he used in a broad sense, as including not only the doctrine of Christ's merits and of salvation by faith, but likewise all that Christ and his apostles inculcated respecting holiness of life and the duties of men. Removing therefore the unsuitable modes of expression and the integuments of his doctrine, he seems to have held merely this—that the ten commandments of Moses were promulgated especially for the Jews, and of course might be neglected and laid aside among Christians; and that it would be sufficient to explain distinctly and to inculcate on the people what Christ and his disciples had taught us in the books of the New Testament, respecting both the way of salvation and repentance and a holy life. Most of the doctors of that age express their views with little precision and uniformity, and do not give us accurate definitions; and hence it often happens that they are understood by others differently from their real meaning.

27. On the death of Luther, in 1546, Philip Melancthon became the head and leader of the theologians of the Lutheran church. He was undoubtedly a great and excellent man, but much inferior to Luther in many respects,[1] especially in strength of mind, fortitude, and influence over others. For he was mild and gentle, excessively fond of peace and tranquillity, timid, and shrinking before the resentment or wrath of the powerful; in short, one who could secure the attachment and love of others, but who was not competent to terrify, to repress, and hold in awe the authors of disturbance and of new opinions. He also dissented from Luther on some subjects. For (I.) he thought that for the sake of peace many things may be given up and be borne with in the Romish church, which Luther thought could by no means be endured; indeed he did not hesitate to admit, that the ancient form of church government and even the supremacy of the Roman pontiff might be retained on certain conditions, and provided the truth as clearly taught in the holy Scriptures could be maintained. (II.) He supposed that certain opinions maintained by Luther against the papists,—for instance, concerning faith as the sole ground of justification, the necessity of good works in order to salvation, and the inability of man to convert himself to God,—might be softened down a little, so as not to give occasion to others to mistake. (III.) Though he believed with Luther in regard to the Lord's Supper, yet he thought the controversy with the Swiss on that subject was not of such moment that the parties could not maintain brotherly affection; that it would be a sufficient provision for peace and concord, if the doctrine in regard to the Lord's Supper were stated in ambiguous terms and phrases, on which each party could put his own construction. These opinions he did not indeed wholly dissemble and conceal during Luther's lifetime; but he proposed them with modesty, and always succumbed to Luther, whom he honoured and feared. But when Luther was dead, all that he had taught cautiously and timidly he now brought forward much more openly and explicitly. And all these things caused the Lutheran church, while he stood at the head of her theologians, to lose that peace which had been enjoyed under Luther, and to become in some measure the scene of many and fierce contests and commotions.

28. The commencement of these calamities was in the year 1548, when Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, directed Melancthon and the divines of Wittemberg and Leipsic to assemble at Leipsic, and to consider how far the noted Interim which Charles V. would obtrude upon Germany might be received. Melancthon, partly through fear of the emperor and partly from his native mildness and moderation, here decided with the concurrence of the other divines that in things indifferent (*in rebus adiaphoris*) the will of the emperor might be obeyed.[2] Among things indif-

[1] It would certainly be very difficult to point out the many respects in which Mosheim affirms that Luther was superior to Melancthon For if the single article of courage and firmness be excepted, I know no other respect in which Melancthon is not superior, or at least equal, to Luther. He was certainly his equal in piety and virtue, and much his superior in learning, judgment, meekness, and humanity.—*Macl.*

[2] The paper containing the opinion of Melancthon and the other divines respecting things indifferent, or the result of their deliberations, is commonly called The Leipsic Interim (*Das Leipziger Interim*), and was republished by Bieck, in his work entitled, *Das Dreyfache Interim*, Leipsic, 1721, 8vo. [This Interim is properly an appendage to the result of the diet of Leipsic, Dec. 22, 1548. In it the theologians define

ferent or *Adiaphora*, Melancthon and his associates reckoned many things which Luther deemed of great importance, and which therefore his genuine followers could not account indifferent; for instance, the doctrine of justification before God by faith alone, the necessity of good works in order to salvation, the number of the sacraments, several ceremonies contaminated with superstition, extreme unction, the dominion of the Roman pontiff and of bishops, certain feast days long abrogated, and other things. Hence arose the violent contest called the Adiaphoristic controversy;[1] which was protracted many years, and in which the defenders and advocates of the old doctrines of Luther (at the head of whom was Matthias Flacius of Illyricum) opposed with immense fervour the Wittemberg and Leipsic divines, especially Melancthon, by whose counsel and influence the whole had been brought about, and accused them of apostacy from the true religion. On the other hand, Melancthon and his disciples and friends defended his conduct with all their strength.[2]

In this sad and perilous controversy there were two principal points at issue. First, whether the things which Melancthon deemed indifferent actually were so, which his adversaries denied. Secondly, whether it is lawful in things indifferent and not essential to religion to succumb to the enemies of truth.

29. This Adiaphoristic controversy was the fruitful parent of other and equally pernicious contests. In the first place, it produced the contest with George Major, a divine of Wittemberg, respecting the necessity of good works to salvation. Melancthon had long been accustomed to concede, and in the consultation at Leipsic in 1548 respecting the Interim, he with his associates confessed, that it might be said without prejudice to the truth that good works are necessary to salvation. But as the defenders of the old Lutheran theology censured this declaration, as being contrary to the doctrine of Luther and highly useful to the popish cause, Major in the year 1552 defended it against Nicholas Amsdorf, in a tract expressly on the subject of the necessity of good works. And now broke out again a fierce and bitter contest, such as all the religious controversies of that age were, between the more rigid Lutherans and the more lax. And in the course of it, Nicholas Amsdorf, a strenuous vindicator of Luther's doctrines, was carried so far by the heat of controversy as to maintain that good works are pernicious to salvation,

what they regard as indifferent liturgical matters which might be admitted, to please the emperor and at his command. Among them were the papal dresses for priests, the apparel used at mass, the surplice, and many customs evidently indicative of worship paid to the host, such as tolling and ringing bells at the elevation of the host. Besides Melancthon, there were present at this diet, Paul Eber, Bugenhagen, and George Major of the Wittemberg divines, and Pfeffinger of Leipsic; likewise the bishop of Merseburg, prince George of Anhalt, and Justus Menius. This Leipsic Interim must be distinguished from that of Augsburg, and from the still older one of Regensburg [Ratisbon] of both of which, notice has already been taken.—*Schl.*

[1] Adiaphoristic, from ἀδιάφορος, indifferent. Melancthon and those who thought with him were called Adiaphorists.—*Mur.*

[2] Schlüsselburg, *Catalogus Hæreticorum*, lib. xiii.; Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, book xvi. chap. xxvi. p. 816; Salig's *Historie der Augsburgischen Confession*, vol. i. p. 611, &c.; *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A.D. 1702, p. 339, 393; Osiander, *Epitome Historiæ Eccles.* cent. xvi. p. 502, &c. [From the records of these contests (many of which are given by Schlüsselburg especially), it appears that besides the points already mentioned, they contended about the use of Latin formulas of worship, and about chanting them; whether the prayers in public worship, and particularly at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, should be read or sung; respecting the observance of various times of worship, as vespers, matins, the canonical hours, and the days devoted to St. Mary and the Apostles. The most of these, though previously abolished, had already been again introduced in electoral Saxony and Brandenburg, by prince Maurice in order to please Charles V. and likewise in most of the imperial cities; among which Nuremberg stood prominent, because there most of the preachers were Philippists.—*Schl.* [The representations of Mosheim in the text would seem to imply, what was by no means the fact, that Melancthon rejected the doctrine of justification by faith alone, maintained salvation by works, and admitted seven sacraments, &c. Schlegel's representations on the contrary would seem to imply that Melancthon only conceded the lawfulness of yielding to the imposition of certain ceremonies and forms of worship. According to Schroeckh (*Kirchengesch. seit der Reformation*, vol. iv. p. 690, &c.), the Augsburg Interim, which the emperor would force upon his subjects, contained nearly the whole system of the Romish theology, both as to faith and practice; yet expressed throughout in the most accommodating and unexceptionable language. Melancthon and the other divines endeavoured so to modify this Interim, that the Protestants might conscientiously yield to it under the existing circumstances. They therefore altered and interpolated the doctrinal articles, and sifted and modified those relating to worship and ceremonies. They allowed the pope to remain at the head of the church, but without conceding to him a divine right, and without allowing him to be the arbiter of faith. The seven sacraments were permitted to remain, as religious rites, but not under the denomination of sacraments, nor as efficacious to salvation in the popish sense. The mass was represented as merely a repetition of the Lord's supper. Good works were allowed to be necessary to salvation, yet not as the meritorious ground of justification, but only as an essential part of the Christian character. Salvation was wholly by grace, through faith in the merits of Christ. Thus they supposed that they secured all the essential articles of religion, and only consented to be saddled with a load of cumbersome and injudicious ceremonies, rather than incur the vengeance of the emperor and expose the whole Reformation to danger. Melancthon's actual belief is to be learned from his *Loci Communes* or System of Theology; no essential part of which, as he supposed, was given up in the Leipsic Interim.—*Mur.* [On this painful controversy see Ranke's *Deutche Gesch. ins Zeitalter d. Reform.* vol. v. p. 36, &c. and vol. vi. p. 435, &c.; Gieseler, *Lehrbuch d. neueren Kirchenges.* vol. i. p. 346, &c.; Sixt's *Paul Eber, ein Beitrage zur Gesch. des Reformationszeit.* Heidel. 1843. The English reader may consult Scott's *Continuation of Milner's Ch. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 46, &c.—*R.*

which imprudent admission furnished fresh matter for controversy. Major bitterly complained that his opinion was misrepresented by his opponents; and at last, that he might not appear to continue the war and disturb the church unreasonably, he gave it up. Yet the dispute was continued and was terminated only by the Formula of Concord.[1]

30. From the same source arose what is called the Synergistic[2] controversy. The Synergists were nearly the same as the Semipelagians; *i.e.* they were persons who supposed that God is not the sole author of our conversion to him, but that man co-operates with God in the renovation of his own mind. On this subject also Melancthon differed at least in words from Luther; and in the Leipsic conference he did not hesitate to say that God so draws and converts adults, that some agency of their wills accompanies his influences. The pupils and friends of Melancthon adopted his language. But the strenuous Lutherans conceived that this sentiment contravened and subverted Luther's doctrine of the servitude of the will, or of man's impotence to regenerate himself and to perform any good actions; and they therefore violently assailed the persons whom they denominated Synergists. In this contest, the principal champions were Victorin Strigel, who the most openly and ingeniously defended the Melancthonian doctrine, and Matthias Flacius, who defended the old opinion of Luther. Of these men we shall give an account shortly.[3]

31. In the midst of these tumults and commotions, the dukes of Saxe-Weimar (the sons of that John Frederick whose unsuccessful war with Charles V. brought on him so many evils and the loss of his electoral dignity) founded and opened a new university at Jena. And as the founders wished this school to be the seat of the true reformed religion of Luther, they called to it eminent teachers and theologians, who were distinguished for their attachment to the genuine theology of Luther, and for their hatred of all more moderate sentiments. And as none was more celebrated in this respect that Matthias Flacius, a most strenuous adversary of Philip Melancthon and of all the Philippists or moderate party, he was made professor of theology at Jena in the year 1557. But this turbulent man, whom nature had fitted to sow discord and to promote contention, not only cherished all the old controversies with vast zeal but likewise stirred up new ones, and so involved the divines of Weimar and those of electoral Saxony with each other, that the discerning were afraid of a permanent secession and schism among the Lutherans.[4] And undoubtedly the Lutheran church would have been split into two communities, if his councils had had the effect intended; for in the year 1559, he advised his lords, the dukes of Weimar, to order a confutation of all the errors which had been broached among the Lutherans, and especially of those with which the Melancthonians were taxed, to be drawn up, published, and annexed to the formulas of faith in their territories. But this attempt to rend the Lutheran church into opposing parties proved abortive, because the other princes who were truly Lutheran disapproved of the book, and feared it would be the cause of greater evils.[5]

[1] Schlüsselburg, *Catalog. Hæreticor.* lib. vii.; Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, book xvi. chap. xxvii. p. 822, &c.; Musæus, *Prælect. in Form. Concord.* p. 181, &c.; Grevius, *Memoria Joh. Westphali*, p. 166, &c. [Schlegel here inserts a long note, showing that neither Melancthon nor Major maintained justification on the ground of merit or of good works, though they held good works to be necessary in some sense to a man's salvation. It seems the parties misunderstood each other; and that both used very unguarded language, which led them into furious conflicts, for which there was no sufficient cause.—*Mur.*

[2] From συνέργεια, co-operation.—*Mur.*

[3] See Schlüsselburg, *Catalogus Hæreticor.* lib. v.; Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, b. xvi. chap. xxviii. p. 826, &c.; Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Synergistes*, tome iii. p. 2898; Salig, *Historie der Augsb. Confession*, vol. iii. p. 474, 587, 880, &c.; Musæus, *Prælect. in Formulam Concord.* p. 88. [Melancthon in his early writings, as well as Luther at first, maintained with St. Augustine an irresistible operation of divine grace, according to God's unconditional decrees; and he so taught in the first edition of his *Loci Communes*. But afterwards, in the third and eighteenth articles of the altered Augsburg Confession, he taught that for our conversion we need only the assistance of God and his spirit; and that though weak and hard pressed, we can ourselves commence it and effect it. In his *Examen Ordinandorum* he maintains, that there are three causes of conversion—God, the word of God, and free-will; and he seems to ascribe to free-will and to human ability an appropriate natural power, though feeble in its operation, to bring about conversion. Many of his pupils hereupon went still farther; and especially Victorin Strigel, one of his most able pupils, distinguished himself in this controversy.—*Schl.*

[4] See the memorable epistle of Augustus, the prince elector, respecting Flacius and his attempts, published by Grevius, *Memoria Joh. Westphali*, p. 393, &c.

[5] See Salig's *Historie der Augsb. Confession*, vol. iii. p. 476, &c. [A confutation was actually drawn up by Strigel, Erhard Schnepf, and a preacher of Jena. When it was ready, the theologians of Jena and the superintendents of the whole land were called to Weimar to examine it. Flacius advised that the writers of it should not be admitted into the assembly, urging that the theologians would then express their opinions more freely, and that the presence of the writers, whose opinions might easily be known from the book itself, might occasion controversy and disunion. But the duke would not follow this advice, and the writers were called to the council. There was now a continued scene of altercation; for Flacius and others found much to censure in the confutation, and the writers of it would not allow it to be altered. The superintendents next collected together various confutations, out of which an abstract was afterwards made, which being amended by Flacius, Erasmus Sarcarius,

32. This extremely contentious man threw the Weimarian church and the university of Jena, of which he was a professor, into commotion, by his attacks upon Victorin Strigel, his colleague, who was a pupil and friend of Melancthon.[1] Strigel taught in many points according to the views of Melancthon, and especially he denied that the human mind is altogether inactive while God moves and draws it to repentance. Flacius therefore so successfully accused him of Synergism before the court of Weimar, that Strigel was put into close custody by order of the prince. From this calamity he delivered himself in 1562, by publishing an exposition of his views, and he was restored to liberty and to his office. Yet the contest did not subside here; because it was thought that he concealed his errors under ambiguous expressions, rather than renounced them. Therefore to escape being involved in new troubles, he retired from Jena first to Leipsic and then to Heidelberg where he died, leaving posterity in doubt whether he ought to be classed among the true followers of Luther or not.

33. But Flacius stirred up this controversy with Strigel greatly to his own injury, as well as to that of the whole Lutheran church. For while pursuing his adversary intemperately, he fell himself into a sentiment so monstrous and erroneous that his own friends regarded him as a heretic and a corrupter of true religion. In the year 1560 there was a formal dispute between him and Strigel at Weimar, respecting the natural power of man to regenerate himself and to do good, which Strigel seemed to exalt too much. In this conference, Strigel, who was well skilled in philosophy, with a view to cramp Flacius, asked him whether original sin or the corrupt tendency of the human soul was to be classed among substances or among accidents? Flacius most imprudently replied that it should be reckoned among substances; and thenceforth to the end of his life, he maintained the portentous sentiment that original sin is the very substance of a man, and with so much zeal and pertinacity that he would sooner part with all his honours and privileges than with this error. The greatest part of the Lutheran church condemned this Flacian doctrine, and judged it to be nearly allied to Manichæism. But the high rank of the man, his learning, and his reputation, induced many and even some very learned men, to embrace and eagerly defend his cause; among whom, Cyriac Spangenberg, Christopher Irenæus, and Cælestine, were the most celebrated.[2]

34. It is almost impossible to express how much this new contest afflicted those Lutheran countries in which it raged, and how much detriment it brought to the Lutheran cause among the papists. For it spread also to the churches which had a dubious toleration in papal lands, especially in the Austrian dominions; and it so excited the teachers who were surrounded by papists, that they were regardless of all prudence and danger.[3] There are many who think that Flacius fell into this error through ignorance of philosophical distinctions and ideas, and that he failed more in propriety of language than in point of fact. But Flacius himself seems to refute this; for in numerous passages, he declares that he understood well the force of the word substance, and that he was not ignorant of the consequences of his doctrine.[4] Be this as it may, it is beyond all doubt that unbridled obstinacy was in the man who would rather ruin his own fortune and disturb the peace of the church, than discard an unsuitable term and a sentiment made up of contradictions.

35. Finally, the well-known mildness of Melancthon, which Andrew Osiander contemned, gave rise to those contests which the latter in 1549 excited in the Lutheran church. For if Luther had been alive, Osiander would doubtless have not dared to bring forward and defend his new opinions. This arrogant and eccentric man, after removing from Nuremberg where he had been a pastor, to the university of Königsberg on account of the Interim, first publicly taught opinions very different from Luther's respecting penitence and the divine image, and afterwards from the year 1550,

Joachim Mörlin, and John Aurifaber, was printed in 1559 with an edict of the duke, and was afterwards admitted into the *Corpus Doctrinæ Thuringicum*, but Strigel from the first strenuously opposed this form of a confutation. See *Narratio Action. et certam. Matth. Flacii*, in Schlüsselburg's *Catal. Hæreticor.* tom. xiii. p. 802, &c.— *Schl.*

[1] See the biographers of Strigel; and, besides the others above mentioned, Bayle, in his *Dictionnaire*, tome iii. p. 1262.

[2] See Schlüsselburg's *Catalogus Hæreticor.* lib. ii.; Ritter's *Life of Flacius*, in German, Frankf. 1725, 8vo; Salig's *Historie der Augsb. Confess.* vol. iii. p. 593; Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, b. xvi. chap. xxix. p. 829; Musæus, *Prælection. in Formulam Concord.* p. 29, &c., Leuckfeld's *History of Spangenberg*, in German, 1728, 4to. On the dispute at Weimar, see *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A.D. 1740, p. 383, &c.

[3] Raupach's *Zwiefache Zugabe zu dem Evangeliach. Œsterreich*, p. 25, 29, 32, 34, 43, 64, who treats of the Austrian Flacians, and particularly of Irenæus, *Presbyterol. Austriacæ*, p. 69, &c. Respecting Cælestine, see *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A.D. 1748, p. 314, &c.

[4] See the Letters of Jo. Westphal (a friend of Flacius, and who endeavoured to persuade him to give up the term substance), addressed to Flacius, and the answers of Flacius, published by Grevius, in his *Memoria Joh. Westphali*, p. 186, &c.

he did not hesitate to attempt to correct the public opinion of the Lutheran church respecting the mode of our obtaining justification before God. Yet it is easier to tell what he did not believe than what he did believe; for, according to the custom of the age, Osiander expressed his views neither with clearness nor in a uniform manner. Comparing all that he has said it seems to have been his opinion—That the man Christ Jesus could not, by his obedience to the divine law, have merited for us righteousness before God. And therefore it cannot be that we can become righteous before God, by apprehending with faith and applying to ourselves this righteousness of the man Christ Jesus. But a man obtains righteousness by that eternal and essential righteousness which resides in Christ as God, or in that divine nature which was united to the human. And of this divine righteousness, a man becomes partaker by faith. For by faith Christ dwells in the man, and together with Christ also his divine nature; and this righteousness being present in the regenerate, God on account of it regards them as righteous, although they are sinners. The same divine righteousness of Christ, moreover, excites believers to cultivate personal righteousness or holiness. The principal theologians of the Lutheran church, and among them Melancthon especially and his colleagues, impugned this doctrine. Yet Osiander had also great men to support his cause. But after his death [A.D. 1552], the controversy gradually subsided.[1]

36. His colleague Francis Stancarus, an Italian and professor of Hebrew at Königsberg, a turbulent and passionate man, in attempting to confute the error of Osiander respecting the mode of obtaining justification before God, fell into another opinion which appeared equally false and dangerous. Osiander maintained that the man Christ was under obligation to keep the divine law on his own account, and therefore that he could not, by obeying the law, procure righteousness for others; and of course it was not as man, but only as God, that Christ expiated the sins of mankind and procured us peace with God. Stancarus on the contrary excluded the divine nature of Christ from the work of redemption and atonement, and maintained that the office of a mediator between God and men, pertained exclusively to the human nature of Christ. Finding himself to be odious on account of this doctrine, he left Königsberg and retired first to Germany and then to Poland, where he died in 1574. He likewise excited considerable commotion in Poland.[2]

37. All good men friendly to the new church were the more desirous of a termination of so many bitter contests, because it was manifest that the papists turned them to their own advantage. But while Me-

[1] See Schlüsselburg's *Catalogus Hæreticor.* lib. vi.; Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhist.* b. xvi. chap. xxiv. p. 804, &c.; Hartknoch's *Preussische Kirchenhistorie*, book ii. chap. ii. p. 309, &c.; Salig's *Historie der Augsb. Confession*, vol. ii. p. 922. The opinion of the divines of Wittemberg respecting this controversy, may be seen in the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A.D. 1739, p. 141, &c. and that of the divines of Copenhagen, in the *Dänischen Bibliothek*, part vii p. 150, &c. where there is a long catalogue of the writers on this controversy. Add part viii. p. 313, &c. On the arrogance of Osiander, see Hirsch's *Nüremberg. Interims-Historie*, p. 44, 59. 60, &c. [Andrew Oslander, or Hosemann as his name was in German, was born at Sunzenhausen in Franconia, 1498, studied at Leipsic and Altenburg under great poverty, and then at Ingolstadt. He possessed superior native talents, and became very learned, particularly in Hebrew, mathematics, and theology. He was eloquent yet proud, self-sufficient, and contentious. In 1522, he became first preacher in a church at Nuremberg, and was there very active and highly respected, notwithstanding he advanced some singular opinions. He supposed the second person in the Trinity was that image of God after which man was fashioned; that the Son of God would have become incarnate if man had not sinned; and that repentance consisted in abhorrence of sin and forsaking it, without including faith in the Gospel. He also refused to pronounce the general absolution in public worship, which involved him in controversy. While at Nuremberg he wrote his famous *Harmony of the Gospels.* The margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg had been converted by his preaching, and therefore became strongly attached to him. Having founded the university of Königsberg in 1544, Albrecht placed Osiander at the head of the theological department in 1548. His colleagues disliked having a foreigner placed above them; and his bold avowal of singular opinions soon gave them occasion to break with him. He considered the justification spoken of in the New Testament to be equivalent to sanctification, or to be not a forensic act of God acquitting men from liability to punishment, but a gracious operation which conferred personal holiness. And in this sense he used the term in his theological writings. Legal justification through the imputed righteousness of Christ he would denominate redemption, and this he supposed always preceded what he called justification. The mode of justification, in his sense of the term, he supposed to be by the indwelling of Christ in the soul producing there a moral change. See Arnold, *ubi supra*, and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformat.* vol. iv. p. 572, &c.—*Mur.*

[2] See Hartknoch's *Preussische Kirchenhistorie*, b. ii. ch. ii. p. 340, &c.; Schlüsselburg's *Catalogus Hæreticor.* lib. ix. the whole of it; Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, article *Stancarus*, tome iii. p. 2649, &c. Before he came to Königsberg in 1548, he lived a while among the Grisons and the Swiss, and among them he occasioned disputes; for he approved of several Lutheran sentiments, particularly those respecting the efficacy of the sacraments, which were offensive to the Grisons and the Swiss. See *Museum Helveticum*, tom. v. p. 484, 490, 491, [and De Porta's *Historia Reformat. Ecclesiar. Ræticar.* lib. ii. p. 89, 121.—*Mur.*] On the commotions he excited in Poland in 1556, see Bullinger, in Fueslin's *Centuria* i. *Epistolarum*, &c. p. 371, 459, &c. [Stancarus is said to have contributed to the spread of Socinian sentiments in Poland, by maintaining that it was only the human nature of Christ which made the atonement, and by arguing that if the divine nature of Christ mediated between God and man, then his divine nature must have been inferior to that of God. From the first, the Socinians inferred that there was no need of any nature but the human in the Mediator; and from the second, they inferred that he could not at any rate be equal with God the Father. See Bayle, *ubi supra*, note G.—*Mur.*

lanchthon, the principal cause of the disputes, continued alive, scarcely anything could be done to terminate them. But when he died in 1560, something could be attempted with more safety and better prospects. Therefore after other efforts, Augustus prince elector of Saxony, and John William duke of Weimar, in the year 1568 ordered the best theologians of both parties to assemble at Altenburg, and there discuss in a friendly manner their principal controversies; so that it might better appear in what way they could be settled. But the warmth of the disputants and other causes, prevented any good effects from this conference.[1] It was therefore thought best to try some other method of restoring harmony; and it was resolved that a formula or book should be drawn up by wise and moderate theologians, in which all those controversies should be examined and decided; and that this book, when approved by all the Lutheran princes and churches, should be annexed to the Symbolical books of the Lutheran church. To this great and difficult work, James Andreä, a theologian of Tubingen at that time in very high estimation, was appointed in the year 1569 by authority of his prince the duke of Würtemberg, and of Julius duke of Brunswick. With these princes, Augustus of Saxony and other princes of the Lutheran communion, concurred; and supported by such authority, Andreä repeatedly travelled over Germany, and consulted with the ministers of the courts and with theologians, respecting the best method of drawing up the formula so that it might secure the assent of all.

38. This business was hastened forward by the rash temerity of Casper Peucer, the son-in-law of Melancthon, a physician and professor of physic at Wittemberg,[2] and by others, theologians at Wittemberg and at Leipsic, who were pupils of Melancthon. For relying on the approbation and countenance of George Cracovius, the chancellor of Dresden, and of others in the Saxon court both civilians and clergymen, they endeavoured by various clandestine arts in the year 1570 to abolish throughout Saxony the doctrine of Luther concerning the holy supper, and to introduce in its stead the opinion of Calvin respecting both the Lord's Supper and the person of Christ. What Melancthon's final sentiments concerning the eucharist were, appears uncertain;[3] though it is abundantly proved that he would willingly have united the Saxons and the Calvinists, but was prevented by his timidity from directly attempting such a union. His son-in-law, with his associates above named, openly assented to [the doctrines of] Calvin, as appears from their writings; and thus they showed more courage and resolution than their father-in-law and preceptor, but less prudence. Therefore in the year 1571, in a German book entitled *The Foundation* (*die Grundfeste*), and afterwards by other writings, they explicitly declared their dissent [from Luther] respecting the doctrine of the sacred supper and the person of Christ; and the more readily to accomplish their wishes, they introduced into the schools a new Catechism drawn up by Petzel, favourable to the doctrine of Calvin. These measures having produced commotions and disputes in the Lutheran church, Augustus of Saxony ordered his theologians and superintendents to assemble at Dresden in 1571, and declare their sentiments respecting the sacred supper. They did so, but deceitfully; and returning home, they zealously pursued the plan they had formed, and by teaching and writing and in other ways, endeavoured to extinguish the old Saxon doctrine concerning the sacred supper. The prince elector Augustus, when fully informed of this project by numerous witnesses, summoned the celebrated convention of Torgau in 1574; and having clearly learned the views of those Crypto-Calvinists as they were generally called, he imprisoned and banished some of them, and compelled others to change their sentiments. On none of them did he animadvert with greater severity than

[1] See Sagittarius, *Introductio ad Histor. Ecclesiast.* par. ii. p. 1542. [The subjects discussed were, the Majoristic, Synergistic, and Adiaphoristic contests. The debaters were in part Misnian and in part Thuringian divines. As all the transactions were in writing, the conferences were protracted to a great length; and on one single expression in the article on justification, the discussion lasted five months.—*Schl.*

[2] This Peucer, whom Mosheim mentions without any mark of distinction, was one of the wisest, most amiable, and most learned men who adorned the annals of German literature during this century; as the well-known history of his life, and the considerable number of his medical, mathematical, moral, and theological writings, abundantly testify.—*Macl.*

[3] This is certain, that in his last years Melancthon was more inclined towards the doctrine of the Reformed respecting the holy supper; but it is also equally certain that he did not receive their whole doctrine on this subject. See his *Reflections*, in Latin, published by Petzel, Neustadt, 1600, 8vo. Here he writes, one year before his death, in a letter to Dr. Jo. Crato, p. 385, concerning the supper: Verum est, filium Deum adesse mysterio et in eo efficacem esse, καὶ τὸν ἄρτον κοινωνίαν εἶναι τοῦ σώματος, ut Paulus diserte locutus est. Scio enim, te virum doctum recte cogitare, quid κοινωνία significet. Hæc nunc breviter scripsi, nec volo spargi in populum. And in p. 390, writing to Abraham Hardenberg, he cites a passage from Macarius' *Homilies*, which he thus translates: In ecclesia offertur panis et vinum antitypon carnis et sanguinis Ipsius; et accipientes de pane visibili spiritualiter comedunt carnem Domini. And he subjoins: Scio te libenter tam vetus testimonium lecturum. This letter is dated Feb. 9, 1560. See also Löscher's *Historia Motuum*, vol. ii. p. 30, and especially p. 39, &c.—*Schl.*

on Peucer, who had acted a leading part in the transaction. He was kept in constant and close confinement till the year 1585; when, being liberated at the intercession of the prince of Anhalt whose daughter Augustus had married, he retired to Zerbst.[1]

39. The plans of the Crypto-Calvinists being frustrated, the prince elector and those who agreed with him, urged forward more anxiously and pressingly the business of the *Formula of Concord* already mentioned.[2] After various consultations therefore in the year 1576, James Andreä especially, in a convention of many divines assembled at Torgau by order of Augustus, drew up the treatise which was intended to give peace to the Lutheran church and to guard it against the opinions of the Reformed, and which from the place received the name of the *Book of Torgau*. This book after being examined, amended, and elucidated by most of the theologians of Lutheran Germany, was again submitted to certain select divines assembled at Bergen (an old Benedictine monastery near Magdeburg), and when all the suggestions from various quarters had been carefully weighed, the famous *Formula of Concord* was brought to its perfected state. James Andreä had for assistants at Bergen at first Martin Chemnitz and Nicholas Selnecker, and afterwards also Andrew Musculus, Christopher Cörner, and David Chytræus. The Saxons first received this new rule of the Lutheran religion by order of their prince Augustus; and the greatest part of the Lutheran churches afterwards followed their example, some sooner and others later.[3] The effect of this celebrated

[1] See Schlüsselburg's *Calvinistic Theology*, in German, book ii. p. 207, b. iii. Pref. and p. 1—22, 52, 57, 69, b. iv. p. 246, &c.; Hutter's *Concordia Concors*, cap. i.—viii.; Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhist.* book xvi. chap. xxxii. p. 389—395; Löscher's *Historia Motuum inter Lutheranos et Reform.* par. ii. p. 176, par. iii. p. 1, &c. Add, on the other side, Peucer's *Historia Carcerum et Liberationis Divinæ*, published by Petzel, Zurich, 1605, 8vo. [Likewise Kiesling's *Continuation of the Historia Motuum*, Schwabach, 1770, cap. i. sec. ix. x. The Catechism of Petzel was printed at Wittemb. 1571, and entitled, *Catechesis continens Explicationem Decalogi, Symboli, Orationis Dominicæ, Doctrinæ de Pœnitentia et Sacramentis.* The theologians of Jena and Lower Saxony wrote against this catechism. See Walch's *Biblio. Theol. Selecta*, tom. i. p. 485. The Crypto-Calvinists defended it the same year in a treatise entitled, *Grundfeste von der Person und Menschwerdung unseres Herrn Jesu Christi, wider die neuen Marcioniten, Samosatener*, &c. In reply, the divines of Lower Saxony wrote *Die wiederbehlte Christliche gemeine Confession und Erklärung*, &c. At the convention of Dresden, the *Consensus Dresdensis*, was drawn up, through the intervention of the court party and especially of the court preacher Schütze or Sagittarius. It met with the greatest opposition from the foreign churches; and the houses of Brunswick, with the duke of Wurtemberg, made strong representations against it to the prince elector. Upon this, in 1574, followed the *Exegesis perspicua Controversiæ de Cœna Domini*, in which indeed they sought to keep up an appearance of coincidence with our symbolical books; but very manifestly took pains to defend the Melancthonian doctrine concerning the holy supper. The electoral prince prompted by so many complaints of foreign princes, who were apprehensive the religious peace might be assailed by the Catholics under the pretence of this contest, at last took measures to check the evil. He commanded certain articles to be drawn up, by the general adoption of which the religious contests might be terminated. These were actually formed in the diet of Torgau, 1574, and may be found in Hutter's *Concordia Concors*, p. 184, &c. They were however by the foreign theologians to whom they were sent for examination, deemed insufficient to remove the contests. But mild as these first articles were (and they must not be confounded with the articles of Torgau of 1576), yet many hesitated to subscribe them; and many who did subscribe afterwards revoked their subscription. And now resort was had to those harsh measures which never can be justified; to imprisonments and banishments, and to the forcible introduction of certain theological statements which were opposed to the statements of the Philippists. For Philippists [or Melancthonians] is the proper appellation for these Crypto-Calvinists; since they for the most part admitted the real presence in the eucharist, and questioned only the omnipresence of Christ's human nature.—*Schl.*

[2] See section 37, above.

[3] The writers on the Formula of Concord are mentioned by Walch, *Introductio ad Libros Symbolicos*, lib. i cap. vii. p. 707, and by Köcher, *Bibliotheca Theologiæ Symbol.* p. 188. A catalogue of unpublished documents relating to its history is extant in *Unschuld. Nachricht.* A.D. 1573, p. 322. The principal historians of it are Hospinian, a Swiss theologian, *Concordia Discors*; and Hutter, *Concordia Concors*; and by comparing the accounts of both, it will be easy to discriminate the true from the false, and to understand the reasons of what took place. [See Balthasar's *Geschichte des Torgischen Buches nebst andern zur Historie des Concordienbuches gehörigen Nachrichten*, Greifsw. 1741, &c. 4to; and Semler's edition of the book of Torgau from a contemporary manuscript document, with a compendium of the most remarkable parts of that manuscript collection, 1760, 8vo. In tracing the history of the Formula of Concord we should consider the preparatory events. These were (I.) the Swabian Concord or *Formula Concordiæ inter Suevicas et Saxonicas Ecclesias*, which was formed in 1574. By the Saxon churches must here be understood those of Lower Saxony, and in particular the *Ecclesiæ Tripolitanæ*, or the churches of Hamburg, Lubec, and Luneburg, whose preachers were strenuous Lutherans; together with the duchies of Brunswick and Luneburg, and the cities of Brunswick, and Magdeburg. All these united with the Swabian and especially with the Wurtemberg theologians against those of electoral Saxony; and they sent their formula to the prince elector of Saxony, in order to show him that his theologians had departed from the Lutheran doctrine, and that he could no longer be the chief director of the affairs of the Protestants. Then followed (II.) the convention at Torgau, in 1574. Next followed, by order of Lewis duke of Wurtemberg (III.) the convention of Maulbronn in 1576, where the Wurtemberg divines Lucas Osiander and Balth. Bidenbach, with the concurrence of some foreign divines, drew up what is called the Formula of Maulbronn; in which the orthodox ministers of our church state on what conditions they would unite with the divines of electoral Saxony, and recognise them as members of our church. Afterwards came (IV.) the Lichtenberg convention in Feb. 1576, in electoral Saxony, at which the Formula of Maulbronn was examined and pronounced too rigorous. Then followed (V.) the convention of Torgau in June of the same year, after the suspected divines of electoral Saxony were removed. Here the *Book of Torgau* was compiled from the *Swabian Concord* and the *Maulbronn Formula*, and this was the real basis of that *Formula of Concord* which was afterwards sent to all the German courts and churches to collect suggestions and amendments. After the suggestions of the foreign theologians were received, in the year 1577 and at the cloister of Bergen, the proper *Formula of Concord* was formed from the *Book of Torgau*. The principal person concerned in it was James Andreä, who was occupied many years in the

Formula, as is well known, was to decide and terminate the many controversies which had drawn the Lutherans, especially after Luther's death, into disagreeing parties; and also to exclude from the Lutheran community the opinions of the Reformed respecting the Holy Supper and the person of Christ.

40. Yet the book which was to have restored harmony among the Lutherans, and which actually did so in many places, furnished also new ground of discord. In the first place the Reformed, and those who either favoured the Reformed or at least wished to be at peace with them for the sake of the common good, when they perceived that by this *Formula* all hope of healing the schism was at an end, and that the Reformed were entirely excluded from all communion with the Lutherans, violently attacked and in bitter terms censured both the *Formula* and its authors. Beyond the bounds of Germany, the Swiss (of whom Rudolph Hospinian was the chief) and the Belgians,[1] and in Germany those of the Palatinate,[2] of Anhalt, of Baden, and others, waged furious war upon the *Formula*. This imposed upon the Lutheran divines, and especially upon those of Saxony, the disagreeable task of defending it and its framers in various treatises.[3]

41. Even among the Lutherans themselves, some of the most distinguished churches could not be persuaded either by entreaties or arguments to receive the *Formula*, and to add it to their guides in doctrinal instruction. It was therefore rejected by the Hessians, the Pomeranians, the Nürembergers, the Holstenians (through the influence of Paul von Eitzen the superintendent-general), by the Silesians, the Danes, the Brunswickers or Julians, and others.[4] But all these were not influenced by the same motives and arguments. Some of them, as the Holstenians, were led by their high respect and reverence for Melancthon, to abhor a book in which the opinions of so great a man were censured and exploded. Others were not only partial to Melancthon, but they also believed that some of the sentiments condemned in the *Formula* were nearer the truth than the prevailing views. Some were kept from approving the *Formula* by their secret attachment to the opinions of the Reformed, and some by the hopes they had indulged that the Reformed and the Lutheran churches might form an alliance.[5] Some

business, took a number of journeys and showed extraordinary zeal in the whole affair, yet incurred many reproaches by the ambiguous expressions which he employed. And by his influence it was that the opinions of the Swabian divines respecting the person of Christ, the communication of the attributes [of Christ's divine nature to his human] (communicatio idiomatum), and the omnipresence of Christ's human nature, which before had been only private opinions, were received into the *Formula of Concord* as doctrines of the whole Lutheran church. With him was joined Nicholas Selnecker, a native Frenchman of Herspruck, and at that time superintendent at Leipsic, a learned and persevering man, who had endured much persecution from the Philippists. The two others who were associated with James Andreä were still more learned, and at the same time much disposed to peace, namely, Martin Chemnitz and David Chytræus, both pupils of Melancthon. The first was then superintendent at Brunswick, and had few equals in learning and facility in writing. He was a venerator of Melancthon, and endeavoured in many respects to find out a middle path, and to check the violence of Andreä. Hence he and Andreä may be considered as the proper composers of the instrument. Chytræus was of Rostock. Musculus and Cörner were of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and were famed for their zeal for Luther's doctrines, yet these had no great concern with the *Book of Torgau*.—*Schl.*

[1] Vilier's *Epistola Apologetica Reformatorum in Belgio Ecclesiarum ad et contra Auctores Libri Bergensis dicti Concordiæ*, with the notes of Rencsse, republished by Gerdes in his *Scrinium Antiquarium*, or *Miscellanea Groningana*, tom. i. p. 121, &c. Add *Unschuld. Nachricht.* A.D. 1747, p. 957, &c.

[2] The palsgrave [*i.e.* the Elector Palatine] Jo. Casimir, in the year 1577, forthwith called a convention of the Reformed at Frankfort for the purpose of repelling this *Formula*. See Alting's *Hist. Eccles. Palatinæ*, sec. 179, p. 143, &c.

[3] See Walch's *Introductio in Libros Symbolicos Lutheranor.* lib. i. cap. vii. p. 734, &c.

[4] On the fate of the *Formula of Concord* in Holstein, see *Die Dänische Bibliothek*, vol. iv. p. 212, &c.; vol. v. p. 355; vol. viii. p. 333—468; vol. ix. p. 1, &c.; Muhlius, *Dissert. Histor. Theolog. Diss.* i. *de Reformat. Holsat.* p. 108, &c.; Grevius, *Memoria Pauli ab Eitzen*, who however only touches upon this subject. The transactions in Denmark relative to the *Formula* and the causes of its rejection may be learned from the above-mentioned *Dänische Bibliothek*, which contains numerous documents, vol. iv. p. 222—282; and from Pontoppidan's *Annales Eccles. Danicæ Diplomatici*, tom. iii. p. 456, &c.; who also shows (p. 467, &c.) that what Von Elswich and others endeavour to make doubtful was a real fact, namely, that king Frederick II. on receiving a copy of the *Formula* threw it into the fire and burned it. Respecting the rejection of the *Formula* by the Hessians, see the documents in *Die Dänische Bibliothek*, vol. vii. p. 273—364, vol. ix. p. 1—87. Add Tielemann's *Vitæ Theologor. Marpurgens.* p. 99, &c. Respecting the countries of Liegnitz and Brieg, see the *Unschuld. Nachricht.* A.D. 1745, p. 173, &c. [It cannot be denied that there were faults preceding this *Formula of Concord* which gave to many Lutheran churches a reasonable excuse for procrastinating or even refusing to subscribe to it. It was published too hastily, and before the suggestions of all the churches had been received; whence many, as, *e.g.* the churches of Pomerania and Holstein, believed that the *Formula* was sent to them only for form's sake. It was thought that the Saxons assumed a power in the whole transaction which did not belong to them, and that they sought a kind of control over the Lutheran churches which no one would in this sense concede to them.—*Schl.*

[5] It was the fact that the *Formula of Concord* cut off all prospects of a union of our church with the Reformed, and opposed a bar to all attempts at pacification. At that time the points in controversy with the Reformed were only two, namely, respecting the doctrine of the Supper and the person of Christ. The first pervaded the whole Lutheran church, the second did not; for before the *Formula of Concord* it was only the Swabian divines who defended the omnipresence of Christ's human nature, on the ground of a communication of attributes. Luther never attempted to prove his doctrine concerning the supper from the doctrine *de communicatione idiomatum*, but solely from the Scriptures. And if, when Zwingli (who would parry his proofs from Scripture) brought him on to the subject of the person of Christ, he derived the ubiquity of Christ's human nature from its personal union with the divine

either actually feared or at least pretended to fear, that the peace and harmony of the Lutheran church might be injured by adding a new symbolical book to their old ones. And others offered other reasons for their dislike of it.

42. Julius, duke of Brunswick, had been a kind of second father of the *Formula of Concord*, and had contributed to the fabrication of it both by his counsels and by liberal expenditures. And when drawn up, he had commanded all the ministers of religion in his dominions to receive it and to subscribe their names to it. But after the *Formula* was published, Julius changed his mind and permitted his divines at Helmstadt, Tilemann Heshusius and the others, to oppose it and to exclude it from a place among the symbolical books of his territories. The principal grounds on which the divines of Julius rejected the *Formula* were: (I.) That the printed copy differed in some parts from the written *Formula*, which the Brunswickers had approved. (II.) That the doctrine of free-will was incorrectly explained in the *Formula*, and that some of the harsh and unsuitable phrases of Luther were employed in it. (III.) That the ubiquity (as it was then termed) or the boundless presence of Christ's human nature, which the Lutheran church had never adopted as her doctrine, was taught in it. Besides these reasons, perhaps other and secret ones influenced duke Julius not to adopt the *Formula*. There were various negociations with him and his theologians to remove these difficulties; and particularly in the year 1583, a convention of theologians from the electoral Palatinate, Saxony, Brandenburg, and Brunswick, was held at Quedlinburg for the purpose of terminating this dissent; but Julius remained inflexible in his purpose, and wished to have the cause of the *Formula* referred to a council of the whole Lutheran church.[1]

43. In Saxony itself, not a few detested in their hearts that *Formula* which they subscribed with their hands, holding fast the doctrines which they had received from Melancthon and his friends. On the death of Augustus and the accession of Christian I. who from his childhood had been imbued with the milder sentiments of Melancthon, and is said to have been too friendly to the doctrines and institutions of the Swiss, these parties again lifted up their heads and seemed to be plotting against the *Formula of Concord*, in order to open the way for Calvinistic opinions and regulations being introduced among the Saxons. And they found much support from men of the first rank, and especially from Nicholas Crell, the prime minister of state. Through their influence, first some laws were enacted which might prepare the minds of the people to acquiesce in the contemplated revolution; and then in the year 1591, the formula of exorcism as it is called was required to be omitted in the administration of baptism.[2] Moreover, not only was there a new German catechism published, which was favourable to the designs of these patrons of the Reformed doctrines, but likewise a new edition of the German Bible with the notes of Henry Salmuth, adapted to the object in contemplation, was prepared in 1591 at Dresden. And as violent commotions and seditions of the people now broke out everywhere, the government animadverted severely on those ministers of religion who

nature, yet he never maintained that the man Christ was always and everywhere present, but merely that he could be present wherever the execution of his mediatorial office and the fulfilment of his promises required, and of course at the celebration of the Holy Supper. And in this the theologians of Upper and Lower Saxony followed him. But the theologians of Swabia and Alsace maintained an absolute omnipresence; and their statements were transferred to the *Formula of Concord* (yet so that the other opinion was not explicitly excluded), and thus were made articles of faith (just as the doctrine of election by grace was previously a private opinion of Calvin, and was transformed by the Synod of Dort into an article of faith to all who received the decrees of that synod). Thus the points of controversy between us and the Reformed were increased by the *Formula of Concord*. They were also rendered more virulent, because we censured and condemned as heretical a church which hitherto wished to be a sister to us.—*Schl.*

[1] See Hutter's *Concordia Concors*, cap. xlv. p. 1051; Rehtmeyer's *Braunschweig Kirchenhistorie*, vol. iii. chap. viii. sec. i. p. 483, and the writers mentioned by Pfaff, *De Actis et Scriptis Ecclesiæ Würtemberg.* p. 62, and in his *Historia Literar. Theolog.* par. ii. p. 423. On the conference at Quedlinburg and its Acts, see also *Die Dänische Bibliothek*, part viii. p. 595, &c. [The court appears to have been actuated in this matter by political considerations. For the objections of the theologians to the *Formula* might admit an answer. The first objection respecting the discrepance between the printed and the written copies of the *Formula* was founded on fact. There really were words and phrases interpolated in some of the statements which were not in the written copy. The other party did not deny the fact, but said they were minute things and not alterations of the doctrine, but merely changes in the phraseology introduced for the sake of perspicuity. And this was actually true. Mosheim once compared the subscribed copy with the printed; and as he asserted, the doctrine in both was the same. So that if they had been disposed, they might easily have compromised this point. So also the two other points were not so very important. The Helmstadt theologians would not concede the ubiquity; yet they held it possible that Christ, as man, should be in various places at the same time. Now, how far is one who concedes this from believing the ubiquity? The grand difficulty was this:—The electoral Saxons had in the whole business assumed too much to themselves, and had acted as lawgivers to the church. It was perceived that if this matter was allowed to pass thus, the elector of Saxony would personate the pope, and his principal clergy the cardinals, and they would in future prescribe laws to the whole Lutheran church. They resolved therefore to maintain against the Saxons their right to think for themselves in matters of religion, and show that they conceded to Saxony the direction of religious affairs only under certain restrictions—*Schl.*

[2] See Kraft's *Geschichte der Exorcismi*, p. 401, &c.

opposed the designs of the court. But the sudden death of Christian, which took place this very year, frustrated all these machinations. The theologians by whom the business had been principally managed were, after the death of the elector, punished with imprisonment and exile; and Crell, the prime director of it, received in 1601 the fruit of his temerity, by being brought to a capital punishment.[1]

44. At the end of the century, Samuel Huber, a Swiss of Berne, indiscreetly awakened a new controversy at Wittemberg where he taught theology. Fired with hatred of the Calvinistic doctrine of absolute decrees, he maintained that the whole human race were from eternity elected of God to salvation; and he accused his colleagues, together with all the divines of the Lutheran church, of being Calvinists, because they taught that those only are elected whom God foresaw would die in faith. Learned men are at this day agreed that Huber swerved from the common Lutheran doctrine in words rather than in meaning; for what the Lutherans maintain respecting the love of God as embracing the whole human race, and excluding no one absolutely from eternal salvation, this he would explain in a new manner and in new phraseology. But this age, having learned from numerous examples that new phraseology and new modes of explaining doctrines produced as lasting and as pernicious disturbance as new errors, urged Huber to adopt the old and universal method of teaching, in preference to his own. And when he declared that he could not do so, and his patrons here and there threatened to produce disturbance, he was compelled to relinquish his office and go into exile.

45. That the controversies here recounted and others of less magnitude were very injurious to the public interests of the church founded by Luther, no one who is well informed in the history of those times will deny.[3] The method also of discussing and terminating controversies in that age, if estimated according to the modern views of good men, contained much that was inconsistent with equity, moderation, and charity. And while they are unjust who indiscriminately load with reproaches the authors of those evils, and boldly pronounce them destitute of all reason and all virtue, those are still more unjust who cast all the blame on the victors, and pronounce the vanquished to be saints and deserving of a better fate. That men recently led out of the thickest darkness into the light should not at once discern and distinguish all objects, as they are able to do who have long been in the light, is not at all strange. Besides, that was an unpolished age, and one which not only tolerated but applauded many things in morals and in the modes of living, acting, and contending, which modern times, improved by experience and education, disapprove and reject. But with what views and intentions the individuals contended, whether they acted maliciously or ingenuously and in good faith, belongs not to us to decide, but to Him who knoweth the hearts of men.

46. The theologians among the Lutherans who illustrated the various branches of sacred learning form a very long list. Besides Luther and Melancthon, who excelled all the rest in genius and learning, the more distinguished were, Jerome Weller, Martin Chemnitz, John Brentius, Matthias Flacius, Urban Regius, George Major, Nicholas Amsdorf, Erasmus Sarcerius, John Matthesius, John Wigand, Francis Lambert, James Andreä, David Chytræus, Nicholas Selnecker, Martin Bucer, Paul Fagius, Casper Cruciger, Victorin Strigelius, Cyriac Spangenberg, Matthew Judex, Tilemann Heshusius, Joachim Westphal, John Æpinus, Andrew Osiander, and many others.[4]

[1] See Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, part. ii book xvi. ch. xxxii. p. 863, and the writers mentioned by Engelcken, *Diss. de Nic. Crellio, ejusque Supplicio*, Rostoch, 1724.

[2] The writers on this controversy are mentioned by Pfaff, *Introductio in Histor. Literar. Theolog.* par. ii. lib. iii. p. 431, &c. [See, in particular, Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, book xvi. ch. xxx. vol. i. p. 952, &c. It must not be supposed by the incautious reader that Huber believed in the final salvation of all men. He used the words decree and election as equivalent to gracious invitation. This he supposed in the eternal counsels of God extended to all men equally, and without distinction. But to make their calling and election sure, they must repent and believe; which he supposed the greater part of mankind will not do, and of course will be damned to all eternity. This he expressly stated in the confession of his faith which he published in 1595. See Arnold, *ubi supra*, p. 953, and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. iv. p. 664.—*Mur.*

[3] The English reader will see some excellent observations on these deplorable controversies and their sad results to German Protestantism, in one of the early works of Dr. Pusey, since so celebrated. I allude to his *Historical Inquiry into the Theology of Germany*, Lond. 1828, p. 9, &c. On the controversies themselves, see Welsmann, *Memorabilia Hist. Sac.* vol. i. p. 1520, &c.—*R.*

[4] For an account of these, Melchior Adamus, *Vitæ Theologorum, the Historical and Literary [and Biographical] Dictionaries*, Du Pin's *Bibliothèque des Auteurs séparés de la Communion de l'Eglise Romaine*, and others, may be consulted. The lives of many of them have been separately written with care in our age; *e.g.* the life of Hieronymus Weller by Laemmel, of Flacius by Ritter, of Heshusius and Spangenberg by Leuckfeld, of Fagius by Feuerlinn, of Chytræus by Schütze, of Westphal by Grevius, of Bucer by Verporten, of Æpinus by Grevius, &c. [See also notices of these minor Lutheran divines in the first volume of Weismann's *Memorabilia Hist. Sac.* from p. 1429, &c. There is a recent life of Francis Lambert by Baum of Strasburg, 1840, 12mo.—*R.*

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH.

1. THE church which chooses to be called the Reformed or the Evangelical Reformed church, and which was formerly by its opponents called the Zwinglian or the Calvinistic church, and is now by many called the Calvinistic Reformed,[1] differs in character from nearly all others. For all other churches stand united by the bond of a common system of doctrine and discipline; but this is not the case with the Reformed church. It neither maintains one system of faith, for it has many creeds differing considerably in some points; nor does it adopt the same modes and forms of worship; nor has it everywhere the same constitution and government. Of course, this church does not require of its ministers that they should all hold and teach the same things, but allows very many points of doctrine and those of no little consequence to be variously stated and explained, provided the great first principles of religion and piety remain inviolate. This church may therefore be called a great community, comprising various kinds of churches, which the moderation of all in tolerating each other's differences keeps from splitting into various sects.[2]

2. This was not the original character of the Reformed church, but it was thrown into this state by the force of circumstances. The Swiss with whom it originated, and especially John Calvin who was its second founder, spared no pains to bring all the congregations which united with them to adopt the same forms of faith and practice and the same mode of government; and while they looked upon the Lutherans as brethren who were in error, they were not disposed to grant indulgence and impunity themselves, nor were they willing their associates should grant it, to those who openly favoured the Lutheran views of the Lord's Supper, the person of Christ, predestination, and the kindred subjects.[3] But when fierce contests arose in Britain, both respecting the form of church government and respecting rites and some other subjects, between what were called the Episcopalians and the Puritans, it seemed to be necessary to expand the arms of the church, and to reckon among genuine brethren those who might deviate from the opinions and the regulations of the Genevans. And after

[1] In England and America the term Reformed is commonly applied to all the different sects which in this century separated from the Romish church; and the term Protestant is used with the same latitude. But the Lutheran writers use the term Reformed to denote all the larger sects except their own which separated from the Romish church during this century. In this sense Mosheim here uses it. It would have been more accurate however had he said the Reformed churches; for the sects he includes do not pretend to be one church or one ecclesiastical body. They are and they profess to be as distinct from each other as any or all of them are from the Lutheran church. See the following note.—*Mur.*

[2] These observations are designed to give the Lutheran church an air of unity, which is not to be found in the Reformed. But there is a real fallacy in this specious representation of things. The Reformed church, when considered in the true extent of the term Reformed, comprehends all those religious communities which separated themselves from the church of Rome, and in this sense includes the Lutheran church as well as the others. And even when this epithet is used in opposition to the community founded by Luther, it represents not a single church, as the Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Independent, but rather a collection of churches; which, though they be invisibly united by a belief and profession of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, yet frequent separate places of worship, and have each a visible centre of external union peculiar to themselves, which is formed by certain peculiarities in their respective rules of public worship and ecclesiastical government. An attentive examination of the discipline, polity, and worship of the churches of England, Scotland, Holland, and Switzerland [as well as of those of France, Ireland, and North America], will set this matter in the clearest light. The first of these churches, being governed by bishops and not admitting the validity of Presbyterian ordination, differs from the other three more than any one of these differs from the other. There are however peculiarities of government and worship which distinguish the church of Holland from that of Scotland. The institution of deacons, the use of forms for the celebration of the sacraments, an ordinary form of prayer, the observation of the festivals of Christmas, Easter, Ascension Day, and Whitsuntide, are established in the Dutch church; and it is well known that the church of Scotland differs from it in these respects. But after all, to what does the pretended uniformity among the Lutherans amount? are not some of the Lutheran churches governed by bishops, while others are ruled by elders? It shall moreover be shown in its proper place, that even in point of doctrine the Lutheran churches are not so very remarkable for their uniformity.—*Mael.*

[3] This sentence, in connexion with what follows, seems to charge the Reformed of this century with excommunicating the Lutherans as heretics, or with refusing to have any Christian fellowship with them so long as they retained their peculiar opinions. Veniam tamen et impunitatem nec ipsi dabant, nec a suis [sociis—*R.*] dari volebant illis, &c. But on what grounds can Mosheim assert this? That the Reformed would not give up their own belief nor admit that the Lutherans were free from all error, is certain. But that they refused all communion with their Lutheran brethren, is I believe the direct opposite of the truth. In the conference at Marpurg in 1529, of which some notice is given above, p. 576, 7, note 5, and p. 581, the Reformed divines begged the Lutherans to allow them mutually to regard each other as brethren, notwithstanding their difference in opinion as to the eucharist. But Luther absolutely refused. See the statements of Melancthon, Bucer, and others, quoted by Hospinian, *Historia Sacramentaria*, par. ii. p. 131. 133, 135, 136. So also Calvin in the year 1546 expressly declared, that the Lutherans and the Reformed ought not to separate from each other, and to call each other heretics, on account of the difference between them in regard to the real presence. See Hospinian, *ubi supra*, p. 311. And in the year 1631, the subject came before the Reformed National Synod of France at Lyons; and they decided explicitly that their churches might consistently admit open and avowed Lutherans to enjoy the privileges of members in their respective bodies. See Aymon, *Synodes Nationaux des Egl. Ref. de France*, tome ii. p. 500, &c. in Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. v. p. 194. See also cent. xvii. sec. ii. part ii. chap. i. sec. 4, below.—*Mur.*

the Synod of Dort, much greater moderation ensued. For although the opinions of the Arminians were rejected and condemned, they found their way into the minds of great numbers. The English church, in the time of Charles I. publicly renounced the opinions of Calvin respecting the divine decrees;[1] and studied entire conformity with the opinions and practices of the first ages of Christianity. Some German churches dared not publicly give their entire assent to the Genevan views, lest they should be declared to have cut themselves off from the privileges of the Augsburg Confession. Finally, the French exiles who had long been accustomed to milder views, and had philosophised in the free manner of their countrymen, having become dispersed over the whole Reformed world, by their eloquence and their talents allured many to imitate them. All these and some other circumstances have gradually instilled such a spirit of gentleness and patience, that at the present day all, except those who either adhere to the Roman pontiff or fiercely defend the errors of the Socinians, Anabaptists, or Quakers, can hold their place among the members of the Reformed church. This has taken place contrary to the wishes and against the opposition of many; but they are far inferior in numbers and influence to the others, who suppose there are but few things necessary to be believed in order to salvation, who allow many doctrines to be variously explained, and who wish to extend the Reformed church as widely as possible.[2]

3. The founder of the Reformed church was Ulric Zwingli, a Swiss, an acute man and a lover of truth.[3] He not only wished to have many things suppressed in the public worship and in the churches which Luther thought might be borne with, images for instance, altars, candles, the formula of exorcism, the private [auricular] confession of sins, &c. and prescribed the most simple forms of worship, but he likewise taught on some points of doctrine, in particular respecting the Lord's Supper, very differently from Luther. And those who laboured with him in banishing the popish superstitions among the Swiss, approved of these singular opinions of Zwingli. From these men all the churches of Switzerland which separated from the Romish communion received those opinions. From Switzerland, by the preachings and writings of his pupils and friends, the same tenets spread among the neighbouring nations. Thus the Reformed church of which Zwingli was the parent was at first small and of limited extent, but by degrees became an extensive body.

4. The principal cause of the separation of the Lutherans from the Swiss was Zwingli's doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper. While Luther maintained that the body and blood of Christ are truly, though in an inexplicable manner, present in the Holy Supper, and are presented along with the bread and wine in that ordinance, Zwingli held on the contrary that the bread and wine are only signs and symbols of the absent body and blood of Christ; and he so taught in his public writings from the year 1524 onward.[4] The next year, John Œcolampadius, a theologian of Basil and one of the most learned men of that age, did the same thing.[5] Both were opposed by Luther and his friends, and especially by the Swabians, with great firmness and resolution. Philip, the landgrave of Hesse, fearing much injury to the incipient cause of the Protestants from these contests, endeavoured to put an end to them by a conference held at Marpurg in the year 1529, between Zwingli, Luther, and some others. But he could obtain only a truce, not a peace. Luther and Zwingli came to an agreement on many points; but the controversy respecting the

[1] Many members of the church of England, with archbishop Laud at their head, did indeed propagate the doctrines of Arminius both in their pulpits and in their writings. But it is not accurate to say that the Church of England renounced publicly in that reign the opinions of Calvin. See this matter farther discussed in the note, century xvii. sec. ii. part ii. chap. ii. sec. 20.—*Mael.*

[2] There has never yet been published a full and accurate History of the Reformed church. Abraham Scultetus would have given us one down to his time, in his *Annales Evangelii Renovati;* but only a very small part of that work has been preserved. Theodore Hase, who projected *Annales Ecclesiæ Reformatæ*, was cut off by a premature death. James Basnage's famous work, which was last published, Rotterdam, 1725, 2 vols. 4to, entitled, *Histoire de la Religion des Eglises Réformées*, is not a history of this church, but merely shows that the peculiar doctrines of the Reformed church are not novel, but very ancient, and have been held in all ages of the church. Maimbourg's *Histoire du Calvinisme* is filled with innumerable errors, and written with the pen of partiality. [This want is not yet supplied, nor likely to be so. The separate histories which have appeared of the several Reformed churches seem to have superseded the necessity for a general history of the Reformed, as distinct from the Lutheran body.—*R.*

[3] See above, sec. i. *History of the Reformation*, p. 571, &c.

[4] Yet before that year Zwingli had so believed and taught in private. See Gerdes, *Historia Evangelii Renovati*, tom. i. Append. p. 228 [and Zwingli's own letters in the recent collection by Schulter, part i. p. 258. The student should by all means read with attention the admirable exposition of the difference between the views of Zwingli and Luther on this subject, which Ranke has given in his *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 88-99.—*R.*

[5] See Fueslin, Cent. i. *Epist. Theol. Reformatorum*, p. 31, 35, 44, 49, &c. [See also above, sec. i. chap. ii. p. 577, and note.—*Mur.*

Lord's Supper was left for Providence and time to heal.[1]

5. Zwingli had but just settled his church, when in the year 1530 he fell in a battle of the Zurichers with the Roman Catholic Swiss, the defenders of the old religion. He marched out to this war, not for the purpose of fighting but for the sake of encouraging and comforting the soldiers, though he went armed according to the customs of his country.[2] After his death, certain good and moderate men among the Lutherans, especially Martin Bucer, laboured with all zeal and diligence by exhortations, explanations, and perhaps also by shrouding the opinions of both parties in ambiguous language, to bring about a compromise of some sort.[3] That those who undertook this difficult task had good intentions and designs, no one who is himself honest and candid will call in question; but whether they took the right and proper method to accomplish their object is less clear. In Switzerland some commotions resulted from these movements of Bucer. For some refused to give up the opinion of Zwingli, while others embraced the modified views of Bucer.[4] But these commotions had no influence to bring about a peace with Luther. Yet out of Switzerland, and among the theologians of Upper Germany who had inclined to the side of the Swiss, Bucer's efforts to settle the controversy had such effect, that in the year 1536 they sent a deputation to Wittemberg and connected themselves with Luther, abandoning the Swiss.[5] The Swiss he could not persuade to do so; yet for some years afterwards the prospect of an agreement was not absolutely desperate. But in the year 1544, when Luther published his *Confession of Faith respecting the Lord's Supper*, in direct opposition to the opinions of the Swiss, the Zurichers in the following year publicly defended their cause against him; and by these movements all the efforts of the pacificators were rendered nugatory.[6]

6. The blessed death by which Luther was removed in 1546 seemed to dispel this cloud, and again to inspire the hope that a compromise might take place. For Melancthon and his friends and disciples so eagerly desired to have the Lutherans and Zwinglians unite, that he did not refuse even a dissembled peace, and was ready to turn every way to accomplish it. On the other side, John Calvin, a native of Noyon in France and a teacher at Geneva, a man venerated even by his enemies for his genius, learning, eloquence, and other endowments, and moreover the friend of Melancthon, tempered the offensive opinion of Zwingli, and endeavoured to prevail upon the Swiss, and especially the Zurichers among whom his influence was very great, to adopt his views.[7] He rejected indeed the idea of the actual presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper; but he supposed a certain divine influence from Christ accompanied the bread and wine, to those who received them with full faith and an honest heart; and to render this doctrine the more acceptable, he expressed it in nearly the same phraseology in which Luther expressed his doctrine.[8] For it was the common error of all who assumed the office of pacificators in this contest, or who attempted to restore harmony, that they endeavoured rather to produce agreement in words than in sentiment. But Melancthon, though extremely desirous of peace, neither had fortitude enough openly to engage in this perilous enterprise, nor would his opposers allow him tranquillity enough after the death of Luther to collect himself and begin the arduous business. Besides, the contention which had been intermitted was renewed in 1552 by Joachim Westphal, a pastor at Hamburg, than whom, after Flacius, there was no more strenuous vindicator of the sentiments of Luther. For to the *Mutual Consent of Genevans and*

[1] Ruchat, *Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse*, tome i. passim, tome ii. livr. vi. p. 463, &c.; Hottinger's *Helvetische Kirchengeschichte*, part iii. book vi. p. 27, 51, &c. p. 483; Löscher, *Historia Motuum*, par. i. cap. ii. iii. p. 55, &c. cap. vi. p. 143, &c.; Fueslin's *Beyträge zur Schweitzer Reformation*, vol. iv. p. 120, &c. [and above, p. 577, note, and p. 581.—*Mur.*

[2] Those of our church who formerly reproached Zwingli and the Reformed church with this death did not consider the customs of the Swiss nation in that age. For all the Swiss, when summoned to defend their country, were at that time obliged to march, and not even the religious teachers and ministers were excused. And in the very battle in which Zwingli fell there fell likewise a doctor of Bern, Hieronymus Pontanus. See Fueslin's *Centuria Epistolar. Theol. Reform.* p. 84, &c.

[3] See Verpoorten's *Comment. de Martino Bucero et ejus Sententia de Cœna Domini*, sec. ix. p. 23, &c. Coburg, 1709, 8vo; Löscher's *Historia Motuum*, par. i. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 181, and par. ii. lib. iii. cap. ii. p. 15.

[4] See Fueslin's *Centuria* i. *Epistolar. Theol.* p. 162, 170, 181, 182, 190, 192, 215.

[5] Löscher, *ubi supra*, cap. ii. p. 205; Ruchat, *Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse*, tome v. p. 535, &c.; Hottinger's *Helvet. Kirchen.* vol. iii. book vi. p. 702, &c. [See p. 588, above, note.—*Mur.*

[6] Löscher, *ubi supra*, par. ii. lib. ii. cap. iv. p. 241, &c. [This Confession is a different work from Luther's large Confession published in the year 1528. —*Mur.*

[7] Salig's *Historie der Augsburg. Confession*, vol. ii. book vii. chap. iii. p. 1075.

[8] The English reader will see a clear and succinct statement of the Lutheran, Zwinglian, and Calvinian views on the presence of Christ in his Supper, in Hill's *Lectures on Divinity*, ed. of 1825, vol. iii. p. 330, &c.—*R.*

Zurichers in regard to the Doctrine of the Sacrament, he opposed a book written in the caustic style of Luther, entitled, *A Farrago of Confused and Discordant Opinions respecting the Sacred Supper, collected from the Books of the Sacramentarians;* in which he bitterly taxed the Reformed with their disagreements on the doctrine of the Supper, and most earnestly contended for the opinion of Luther. In a style no less harsh, Calvin first replied to him; and soon after, some joining Westphal and others joining Calvin, the parties became insensibly excited, and the contest raging even worse than before, no human power seemed adequate to check it.[1]

7. To these controversies an immense accession was afterwards made by the contest respecting the decrees of God in relation to the eternal salvation of men, which originated with John Calvin, and which stirred up many abstruse and difficult questions. The first teachers among the Swiss were so far from the views of those who hold that God by his supreme and absolute sovereignty appointed some to everlasting joy and others to everlasting pain, from all eternity, and without any regard had to their condition and conduct, that they seemed not far removed from the sentiments of the Pelagians; nor with Zwingli did they hesitate to promise heaven to all who lived according to right reason.[2] But Calvin, differing widely from them, supposed that God by his sovereign pleasure assigns to mankind their future condition, and that his absolute decree is the only cause both of the eternal felicity and the eternal misery of all men.[3] And this opinion was in a short time propagated by his writings and his pupils throughout the whole body of the Reformed; nay, was added to the public doctrines of the church in some regions. The Italian, Jerome Zanchius, who was devoted to the views of Calvin, first excited this baneful controversy at Strasburg, in the year 1560; and it soon grew to such a height in the hands of various persons, that it may be questioned whether this or the former controversy respecting the Lord's Supper contributed most to exasperate feelings and to confirm the schism [between the Lutherans and the Reformed].[4]

8. The only prospect remaining to the Helvetians of these animosities being calmed and these great contests subsiding, depended on the Saxons, the pupils and followers of Melancthon, who after his death, as it was well known, laboured to find out some means of reconciliation. But being destitute of a prudent leader, who could avail himself of favourable opportunities, they applied remedies to the apparently fatal wound which rendered it absolutely incurable. For while, as has been stated, they endeavoured by means of certain publications to corrupt the public teachers and the youth, or at least to induce them to tolerate the opinions of the Swiss, they drew ruin upon themselves and their project, and gave occasion for the formation of the noted *Formula of Concord*, which condemned the doctrines of the Reformed respecting the Sacred Supper and the person of Christ. And this document, being received by the greatest part of the Lutherans among their rules of faith, was an insurmountable obstacle to all efforts of the pacificators.

9. Thus far we have attended to the origin, causes, and progress of the schism which separated the Reformed from the Lutherans. We must next look into the internal state, the history, and the growth of the Reformed church. The history of the Reformed body during this century may be divided into two periods; of which the first extends from the year 1519, when Zwingli began to form a church separate from the Romish community, to the time when John Calvin settled at Geneva and obtained an absolute ascendancy among the Reformed. The latter period embraces the remainder of the century. In the first period, the church (which afterwards assumed the title of Reformed in imitation of their neighbours the French, who distinguished themselves from the Roman

[1] Löscher's *Historia Motuum*, par. ii. lib. iii. cap. viii. p. 83, &c.; Jo. Möller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 642, &c.; Grevius, *Memoria Joachimi Westphali*, p. 62, 106, &c.

[2] See this demonstrated by many proofs in Daillé's *Apologia pro Duabus Ecclesiarum Gallicarum Synodis, adversus Frider Spanhemium*, par. iv. p. 946; Turretin, *Epistola ad Antistitem Cantuariensem*, printed in the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, tome xiii. p. 92; Simon, *Bibliothèque Critique*, under the fictitious name of Saniore, tome iii. chap. xxviii. p. 292, 298; the author of the French notes to the *Formula Consensus Helvetica*, p. 52, &c. The very learned Gerdes indeed in his *Miscell. Groning.* tom. ii. p. 476, 477, seems to teach the contrary, namely, that Calvin held the same opinions as the first teachers among the Swiss. But he may be refuted by what he himself adduces concerning the disturbances in Switzerland produced by Calvin's opinions.

[3] This statement appears quite too strong. Neither Calvin nor Augustine, nor any other distinguished teacher of the divine decrees in ancient times, maintained that God's "absolute decree is the only cause of eternal felicity and eternal misery." On the contrary, they maintained that the sinfulness of men is the sole cause of their eternal misery. Neither did they suppose that the righteous are saved without any acts or agency of their own.—*Mur.*

[4] See Löscher's *Historia Motuum*, par. iii. lib. v. cap. ii. p. 27, &c. cap. x. p. 227; Salig's *Historie der Augsburg. Confession*, vol. i. book ii. chap. xiii. p. 441, &c.

Catholics by this title) was of no great extent, being almost confined to Switzerland. Some small states indeed in the adjacent countries of Swabia and Alsace, as Strasburg and a few others, adhered to the side of the Swiss;[1] but these in the year 1536 by the influence of Bucer abandoned the Swiss, reverted back to the Saxon community, and became reconciled with Luther. The other churches which revolted from the Romish pontiff had either embraced openly the sentiments of Luther, or were composed of persons of diverse sentiments, who may be considered as of neither party. And within these narrow limits the church collected by the efforts of Zwingli would perhaps have remained stationary, had not John Calvin arisen. For as the Swiss are contented with their own country and not solicitous to extend their empire, so they seemed not anxious for the extension of their church.[2]

10. In this first age of the Reformed church nothing separated it from the Lutheran save the controversy respecting the Lord's Supper; out of which arose another respecting the person of Jesus Christ, but the Lutheran church never engaged in this latter controversy as a body. For when the Swabian divines, in their disputes with the Swiss, drew an argument in proof of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Sacred Supper from the doctrine of the communication of the divine attributes (omnipresence in particular) to the human nature of Christ, in consequence of the hypostatic union,[3] the Swiss, to meet this argument, denied the communication of the divine properties to the human nature of Christ, and opposed in particular the omnipresence of the man Christ. Hence originated the very perplexing controversy respecting the communication of attributes, and the ubiquity, as the Swiss termed it, which produced so many books and subtle disquisitions and so many mutual criminations. During this period the Swiss in general followed the opinion of Zwingli respecting the Lord's Supper, which differed from that of Calvin. For this father of the Swiss church believed that the bread and wine only represent the body and blood of Christ, or are signs and emblems of the blessings procured for the human race by the death of Christ; and therefore that Christians derived no other benefit from coming to the Lord's Supper than that of meditation on the merits of

[1] Among these states, besides Strasburg where Wolfgang Fabricius, Capito, and Martin Bucer were entirely on Zwingli's side, were the following: Reutlingen, where the pastor Conrad Herman was of Zwingli's opinion; Ulm, where the preacher Conrad Somius, and Constance, where Ambrose Blarer adhered to Bucer; Augsburg, where Martin Cellarius and Wolfgang Musculus adhered to the Reformed religion; Memmingen and Lindau, which with Strasburg and Constance at first refused to subscribe to the Augsburg Confession, and presented a separate one called Tetrapolitana, (that of the four cities). But all these were persuaded by Bucer to subscribe to the Augsburg Confession, and to accept the Wittemberg agreement. In Strasburg, especially, the Reformed lost all public offices after the contests of Zanchius with John Marbach, John Sturm, and John Pappus; and their community at last fell to the ground. See Löscher's *Historia Motuum*, tom. ii. p. 283, &c.—*Schl.*

[2] Mosheim is still blinded by his theory of the unity of the Reformed church, on which remarks were made in notes 1 and 2, page 658. He seems moreover in this section to represent what he calls the Reformed church as being originally a little schismatic body of Helvetians, headed by Zwingli and a few other obstinate men whose influence did not extend far, while the mass of those who forsook the Romish church were disposed to follow after Luther. This schismatic body, he represents, was also long held in check by the Lutherans, and several portions of it had been actually reclaimed, when John Calvin arose, infused into it some new errors, and spread it far and wide in many countries. Such is the view given by Mosheim. But the truth is, that while the Reformation was going on simultaneously in most countries of Europe under different leaders, all actuated by a similar zeal for detecting and exposing the errors of the Romish church, when the popish doctrine of transubstantiation came under their review, it was generally seen to be absurd and untenable. But when Luther's attention was called to this subject by some of his associates who were in advance of him on this point, he could see no objection to admitting the real or bodily presence of Christ in the eucharist; and he would therefore tolerate no other change in this doctrine but the substitution of consubstantiation instead of transubstantiation. This led to bitter contention, and to actual schism among the Reformers. Luther would hold no fellowship with those who denied the real presence; and so great was his influence and authority, that he actually arrested the progress of reformation at this point in most of the countries of Germany. But in all other countries, with the exception of Sweden and Denmark, he could not arrest it. Hence the Swiss, the French, the Belgians, the English, and the Scotch, severally set up their reformed national churches, all independent of each other and actually differing in several minor points, yet all with one voice discarding both the popish and the Lutheran doctrine concerning the eucharist. As for John Calvin, he was at the head of only a portion of the Swiss church, but he possessed such talents and wisdom as procured him an influence among all Protestants, greater than that of any other man then on the stage. Yet he did little directly to extend the Reformation into other countries. He rather enlightened the communities already reformed, and brought them to greater uniformity in doctrine and discipline. Indeed most of the national churches except the Lutheran embraced substantially his doctrinal views. Even the Lutherans began to make advances towards them, when opposition was raised by the strenuous adherents to Luther's creed; and after violent internal commotions, the Lutheran church succeeded in purging itself of nearly every vestige of Calvinism. —*Mur.*

[3] Especially Brentius and James Andreä; the former in his *Sententia de Libello Bullingeri*, Tübingen, 1561, 4to, and still more largely in his book, *De Personali Unione, et de Divina Majestate Christi*; as also in his *Recognitio Doctrinæ de Vera Majestate Christi*, Tübingen, 1564, 4to, and Andreä in his *Assertio de Persona et Unione*, 1565, 4to. Also in the Conference of Maulbronn in 1564, this subject was much discussed, and the Tübingen divines published in 1565 their *Declaratio et Confessio Majestatis Christi*. Christopher, duke of Würtemberg, sent this production of his divines to Augustus, the elector of Saxony, and requested him to get the opinion of his divines respecting it. But these found much to set aside in this doctrine, which they regarded as novel and dangerous. See Hutter's *Concordia Concors*, p. 49, &c. 61, &c.—*Schl.*

Christ, or as the patrons of this sentiment used to express themselves, the Lord's Supper is nothing but a memorial of Christ.[1] Martin Bucer for the sake of peace laboured to correct and amend this doctrine of the Holy Supper and to make it appear more like, nay actually allied, to that of Luther. But the remembrance of Zwingli was too fresh to allow the Swiss to be drawn off from his opinion.

11. The Reformed church assumed an entirely new aspect when John Calvin in the year 1541 returned to Geneva, from which he had been driven, and obtained not only the direction of the new Genevan church[2] but vast influence in the republic. He was of Noyon in France, and a man with whom few of his age will bear any comparison for patient industry, resolution, hatred of the Roman superstition, eloquence, and genius. Possessing a most capacious mind, he endeavoured not only to establish and bless his beloved Geneva with the best regulations and institutions, but also to make it the mother and the focus of light and influence to the whole Reformed church for its enlargement and extension, just as Wittemberg was to the Lutheran community; in short, his aim was to shape the entire Reformed church after the model and pattern of that of Geneva. This was truly a great undertaking and one not unworthy of a great mind, and it was an undertaking no small part of which he actually accomplished by his perseverance and untiring zeal. In the first place therefore by his writings, his epistles, and other means, he induced very many persons of rank and fortune to emigrate from France, Italy, and other countries, and to settle at Geneva; and others in great numbers took journeys to Geneva merely to see and hear so great a man. In the next place he persuaded the senate of Geneva, in 1558, to establish a college at Geneva, in which he and his colleague Theodore Beza, and other men of great erudition and high reputation were the teachers. This new college acquired in a short time so much distinction and glory in consequence of its teachers, that students eagerly repaired to it in great numbers from England, Scotland, France, Italy, and Germany, in pursuit of sacred as well as secular learning. By means of these his pupils, Calvin enlarged everywhere the Reformed church, and recommended and propagated his own sentiments in more than one nation of Europe. He died in 1564, but his institutions continued vigorous after his decease; and the college of Geneva in particular flourished under Theodore Beza no less than under Calvin himself.[3]

[1] That this was Zwingli's real opinion respecting the Sacred Supper is demonstrated by numerous proofs in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. i. p. 485, &c. 490; tom. iii. p. 631. I will adduce only one short sentence from his book *De Baptismo*, in his *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 85: "Cœna Dominica non aliud, quam commemorationis nomen meretur." Compare, in various places, Fuesslin's *Centuria Epistolar. Theol.* p. 255, 262, &c. [See above, p. 588, note.—*Mur.*

[2] Calvin was in fact superintendent at Geneva, for he presided till his death over the body of the clergy, and in the Consistory or ecclesiastical judicatory. But when dying he proved that it was dangerous to commit to one man perpetually an office of so much authority. See Spon's *Histoire de Genève*, tome ii. p. 111, &c. And therefore after him the Genevan church had no standing president.

[3] The wise and vigorous conduct of Calvin in the church and in the republic of Geneva is elucidated, with many documents never before published, by the learned men who republished with enlargements Spon's *Histoire de Genève*, 1730, 4to and 8vo. See tome ii. p. 87, &c. p. 100, &c. and other passages. [Senebier, in his *Hist. Littér. de Genève*, tome i. p. 74, gives the names of the editors of this new edition of Spon. They were Jean Antoine Gautier and Firmin Abauzit.—*R.*] [Calvin was not the first reformer of Geneva, but Wm. Farell, a zealous clergyman of Dauphiné, who preached the Gospel with acceptance there as early as the year 1532, but was driven from the city by the instigation of the bishop. His successor, Anthony Froment, met the same fate. But as the internal state of the city became changed, and the council which had hitherto been on the side of the bishop abandoned him, and he left the city in 1533, the two preachers were recalled, and they, in connexion with a third, Peter Viret, gathered a numerous church in Geneva; so that in the year 1535 the Reformation was supported by the council. Yet the full organisation and establishment of the church was the work of John Calvin. He was born in the year 1509, and in his studies connected law with theology, studying the former at the command of his father and the latter from his own choice; and from Melchior Volmar, a German and professor of Greek at Bourges, he acquired a knowledge of the evangelical doctrines. After the death of his father he devoted himself wholly to theology, and publicly professed the Reformed doctrine, which he spread in France with all diligence. His name soon became known in Switzerland as well as France; and Farell and Viret besought him, as he was travelling through Geneva, to remain there and aid them in setting up the new church. But in the year 1538, great dissension arose in Geneva; and Calvin and his assistant Farell severely inveighed from the pulpit against the conduct of the council, who resolved to introduce the ceremonies agreed on at Berne, in the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper, and to reject those which these ministers wished to have adopted; and the consequence was that Calvin and Farell were banished from the republic. Calvin now spent a considerable time as a preacher and a professor at Strasburg, where he lived in great intimacy with Bucer and Capito, and with them very strenuously defended the cause of the Protestants in Germany both orally and in his writings. But in the year 1541, at the repeated and pressing invitations of the Genevans he returned to them again, and there officiated with great perseverance, zeal, prudence, and disinterestedness, to his death in the year 1564. His great talents and virtues were shaded by the love of control, by a want of tenderness, and by passionate rigour against the erring. His works have been published in nine volumes, folio; among which his Institutes of the Christian religion and his exegetical writings are most valued.—*Schl.* [His life was written by Beza, and is prefixed to his Letters. See also Middleton's *Evangelical Biography*, vol. i. p. 1, &c.; Waterman's *Memoirs of J. Calvin*, Hartford, 1813, 8vo; Beza's *Life of Calvin*, translated by Fr. Sibson, with copious notes by an American editor, Philad. 1836, 12mo; and Bayle's *Dictionary*, art. *Calvin.*—*Mur.* [The fullest and most satisfactory life of Calvin, indeed the only one worthy of the subject which has yet appeared, is by a German Protestant minister, Paul Henry, entitled *Das Leben J. Calvins, d. grossen Reformators*, &c. 3 vols. Hamb. 1835-44. A translation

12. The theology taught by Zwingli was altered by Calvin principally in three respects. (I.) Zwingli assigned to civil rulers full and absolute power in regard to religious matters, and—what many censure him for—subjected the ministers of religion entirely to their authority.[1] He moreover did not object to a gradation of offices among religious teachers, nor to a standing superior over the ministers of parishes.[2] But Calvin circumscribed the power of the magistrate in matters of religion within narrow limits; and maintained that the church ought to be free and independent, and to govern itself by means of bodies of presbyters, synods, or conventions of presbyters in the manner of the ancient church; yet leaving to the magistrate the protection of the church and an external care over it; in short, he introduced at Geneva, and he endeavoured to introduce throughout the Reformed church, that form of church government which is called Presbyterian; for he did not allow of bishops and grades of rank among ministers, but maintained that (*jure divino*) by divine appointment they ought all to be on a level or be equals. He therefore established at Geneva a judicatory or consistory composed of ruling elders or lay presbyters and teaching elders, and he assigned to them great power. He also established conventions or synods; and in these consistories and synods he caused laws to be enacted relating to religious matters. He also among other things reinstated the ancient discipline, by which offenders were excluded from the church. All these things were effected with the consent of the greater part of the senate. (II.) To facilitate a pacification with the Lutherans, he substituted in place of the Zwinglian doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper, another doctrine in appearance more like that of Luther, indeed not greatly differing from it. For while Zwingli admitted only a symbolical presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Sacred Supper, and promised no other benefit from its celebration than the calling to mind the death of Christ and the blessings procured by that death, Calvin admitted a sort of spiritual presence—that is, he held that the regenerate, in the exercise of faith, do become united in a certain way to the man Christ, and from this union receive an increase of spiritual life. And as he used the phraseology of Luther on this subject, and acknowledged among other things that divine grace was conferred and sealed by the Sacred Supper, he was thought by many to believe in what is called impanation, or to agree very nearly with Luther.[2] According to Zwingli's opinion, all Christians whatsoever, whether regenerate or in their sins, can be partakers of the body and blood of Christ; but according to Calvin none can, except the regenerate and the holy. (III.) The celebrated doctrine of an absolute decree of God respecting the salvation of men, which was unknown to Zwingli, was inculcated by Calvin; that is, he taught

of this elaborate work into English is advertised from two quarters in this country. There has also been recently published by M. Audin, the Romanist biographer of Luther and of Leo X. a life of Calvin, entitled *Histoire de la Vie, des Ouvrages, et des Doctrines de Calvin*, Paris, 2 vols. 8vo, 1841. He gives in the end of the Introduction an ample list of the Protestant and Romanist authorities which he had used. Mackenzie's *Life of Calvin* is a very meagre compilation, and Scott's *Calvin and the Swiss Reformation* is merely an abridgment of that portion of his Continuation of Milner.—*R.*

[1] This is by no means a correct representation of Zwingli's views, but there is not room here for showing how far it ought to be qualified. It will be enough to refer to the passage on this subject from one of his works, quoted by Scott in his *Continuation of Milner's Church History*, vol. iii. p. 32, note; and Hess's *Life of Ulrich Zwingle*, translated by Lucy Aikin, p. 159, &c. —*R.*

[2] See Fueslin's *Centur. i. Epist. Theol.* tom. i. p. 255, 260, 262, 263, &c.; *Lettres de Calvin à M. Jac. de Falaise*, published a few years since at Amsterdam, p. 84, 85. Calvin himself wrote to Bucer (in Fueslin, *ubi supra*, p. 263) that he approved of his sentiment. Perhaps he received his own opinion from Bucer. See Bossuet's *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, tome ii. p. 8, &c. p. 14, 19; Courayer's *Examen des Défauts des Théologiens*, tome ii. p. 72, &c. who endeavours to show that Calvin's sentiments respecting the Lord's Supper were nearly the same as those of the Roman Catholics. But he is in general very obscure on the subject, and does not express himself uniformly, so that it is difficult to ascertain his real opinion. [The term Impanation (which signifies here the presence of Christ's body in the eucharist in or with the bread there exhibited) amounts to what is called Consubstantiation. It was a modification of the monstrous doctrine of Transubstantiation first invented by some of the disciples of Berenger, who had not a mind to break all measures with the church of Rome, and was afterwards adopted by Luther and his followers, who in reality made sad work of it. For in order to give it some faint air of possibility and to maintain it as well as they could, they fell into a wretched scholastic jargon about the nature of substances, subsistences, attributes, properties, and accidents, which did infinite mischief to the true and sublime science of Gospel theology, whose beautiful simplicity it was adapted to destroy. The very same perplexity and darkness, the same quibbling, sophistical and unintelligible logic which reigned in the attempts of the Roman Catholics to defend the doctrine of Transubstantiation, were visible in the controversial writings of the Lutherans in behalf of Consubstantiation or Impanation. The latter had, indeed, one absurdity less to maintain; but being obliged to assert, in opposition to intuitive evidence and unchangeable truth, that the same body can be in many places at the same time, they were consequently obliged to have recourse to the darkest and most intricate jargon of the schools. The modern Lutherans are grown somewhat wiser in this respect; at least they seem less zealous than their ancestors about the tenet in question.—*Mael.* [The Lutherans of the present day wisely reject the opinion of Luther and the doctrine of their symbolical books. Thus Bretschneider writes, in 1819 (*Entwickelung*, &c. p. 715): "The modern systematic divines either change—as do Zecharia, Reinhard, Storr—the præsentia realis of the body and blood of Christ into a præsentia operativa, a presence of Christ, not in substance but in operation; or they deny altogether—with Henke, Eckermann, De Wette, Wegscheider—the presence of the celestial body of Christ in the sense maintained by the ancients."—*Mur.*

that God had no other ground for his electing some persons from all eternity to everlasting life, and appointing others to everlasting punishments, except his own pleasure or his most free and sovereign will.

13. The first of these three doctrines neither Calvin nor his disciples could persuade all the Reformed churches to adopt; for instance, the Germans, the English, or even the Swiss; yet he persuaded the French, the Dutch, the Scotch, and some others. The Swiss would by no means allow the form of church government established by Zwingli, and the prerogatives of the magistrates in matters of religion, to be changed. And on the two other points there was very warm debate in Switzerland for a long time. For the inhabitants of Zurich, Berne, &c. were utterly averse to parting with the doctrine they had learned from Zwingli respecting the Sacred Supper.[1] Nor were they easily persuaded to admit the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination among the doctrines of the church.[2] Yet by the perseverance, the high reputation, and the prudence of Calvin, after very warm altercations, a reconciliation between him and the Swiss was effected, first in regard to the Lord's Supper in 1549 and 1554, and afterwards in regard to predestination.[3] After this, his pupils were so successful as gradually to bring nearly the whole Reformed church to embrace his new opinions; to which event his own writings contributed not a little.[4]

14. Let us next survey the countries in which the Reformed religion as shaped by Calvin obtained a fixed and permanent residence. Among the German princes, Frederick III. elector Palatine, in the year 1560 substituted followers of Calvin's doctrines in place of the Lutheran teachers whom he removed, and ordered his subjects to receive the rites and opinions of the Genevans.[5] His successor Lewis in the year 1576 rescinded the acts of his father, and restored the Lutheran doctrine to its former dignity and authority. But this fell again on the accession of John Casimir to the government of the Palatine countries in 1583; for he had gone over to the side of the Reformed with his deceased father[6] Frederick III. and it was necessary again to give Calvinism the pre-eminence.[7] From that time onward, the Palatine church held the second rank among the Reformed churches, and it possessed such influence over the others, that the institutes of religion composed for its use by Zechariah Ursinus, and denominated the Heidelberg Catechism, were received nearly throughout the whole body.[8] In the republic of Bremen, Albert Hardenberg, a friend of Melancthon, in the year 1556 first attempted to propagate the Calvinistic doctrine respecting the Lord's Supper. And although his attempt for the present was unsuccessful and he was expelled the city, yet it was impossible to withhold the people of Bremen from uniting with the Reformed church towards the close of the century.[9] In what manner other portions of the German population were gradually brought to relish the doctrines of Calvin, must be learned from those who undertake to write a full history of Christianity.

15. The first among the French who abandoned the Romish religion are commonly called Lutherans, by the writers of those times; and from this name and some other circumstances, the inference has been drawn, that they were all believers in Luther's doctrines and averse from those of the Swiss.[10] To me they appear to have

[1] See Fueslin's *Centuria i. Epist. Theol.* p. 264; *Museum Helvet.* tom. i. p. 490; tom. v. p. 479, 483, 490; tom. ii. p. 79, &c.

[2] See *Museum Helveticum*, tom. ii. p. 105, 107, 117; Gerdes, *Miscell. Groning.* tom. ii. p. 476, 477. I omit the common writers, as Ruchat, Hottinger, &c.

[3] See the *Consensus Genev. et Tigurinor.* in Calvin's *Opuscula*, p. 754, &c.

[4] Jablonski, in his *Epistolæ ad Leibnitium*, published by Kepp, p. 24, 25, 41, contends that there is no longer any one among the Reformed who maintains Zwingli's opinion respecting the Lord's Supper. But it is certain there are many such; and at the present day his opinion has in a sense revived in England, in Switzerland, and in other countries.

[5] Alting's *Historia Eccles. Palatina*, in Mieg's *Monumenta Palatina*, tom. i. p. 223, &c.; Löscher, *Historia Motuum*, par. ii. lib. iv. cap. iv. p. 125; Salig's *Historie der Augsburg. Confession*, vol. iii. book ix. chap. v. p. 433, &c.

[6] In the original it is not father, but brother, which is a manifest error of the press. For John Casimir was not the brother of Frederick III. but his son.—*Schl.*

[7] Alting, *ubi supra*, p. 223, 245; Löscher, *ubi supra*, par. iii. lib. vi. p. 234; but especially Struve's *Pfälzische Kirchenhistorie*, who has learnedly treated of these events, p. 110, &c.

[8] On the Heidelberg or Palatine Catechism and Confession, see Köcher's *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolicæ*, p. 593 and 308 [and especially his *Catechetical History of the Reformed Churches*, in which he treats particularly of the history of the Heidelberg Catechism, Jena, 1756, 8vo.—*Schl.* [This excellent catechism may be found in Latin in the collections of the symbolical books of the Reformed church; and in English, in a pamphlet entitled *Corpus Disciplinæ, or the Discipline of the Dutch Churches in England*, Lond. 1645. It was on the model of this work that the Westminster divines framed the *Shorter Catechism* of the Presbyterian churches in Britain.—*R.*

[9] Salig, *ubi supra*, part iii. book x. chap. v. p. 715, and chap. vi. p. 776, &c.; Löscher, *ubi supra*, par. ii. lib. iv. cap. v. p. 134, and par. iii. lib. vi. cap. vii. p. 276; Gerdes, *Historia Reformationis*, tom. iii. p. 157 [and especially his *Historia Motuum Ecclesiasticor. in Civitate Bremensi, ab anno* 1547 *ad an.* 1561, *tempore Alberti Hardenbergii Suscitatorum, ex Authenticis Monumentis*, Groningen, 1756, 4to; also reprinted in his *Scrinium Antiquar. seu Miscell. Groning.* tom. v. par. i. See also the *Brem-und Verdische Bibliothek*, vol. iii. part iii. No. 5.—*Schl.*

[10] See Löscher's *Historia Motuum*, par. ii. cap. vi. p.

been a mixed company of various sorts of persons. The vicinity however of Geneva, Lausanne, and other cities which embraced the Calvinistic system of doctrines and discipline, and the astonishing zeal of Calvin, Farell, Beza, and others, in fostering, encouraging, and multiplying the opposers of the Romish see in France, induced them all, before the middle of the century arrived, to profess themselves the friends and brethren of the Genevans. By their enemies they were contumeliously denominated Huguenots, the origin of which appellation is uncertain. They were however tossed by various tempests and misfortunes, and endured greater calamities and sufferings than any other portion of the Protestant church, and this notwithstanding they could number exalted princes and nobles of the nation among their party.[1] Even the peace which they obtained from Henry III. in 1576 proved the commencement of a most destructive civil war, in which the very powerful family of Guise, being instigated by the Roman pontiffs, endeavoured to overthrow and extirpate the Reformed religion together with the royal family; and on the other hand, the Huguenots, led on by generals of the highest rank, fought for their religion and their kings with various success. These horrible commotions, in which both parties committed many acts that posterity must ever reprobate, were at length terminated by the prudence and heroism of Henry IV. The king himself, perceiving that his throne would never be firm and stable if he persevered in spurning the authority of the pontiff, forsook the Reformed religion and embraced the old faith; but on the other hand, he published the edict of Nantes in 1598, in which he gave to the Reformed, who he saw could not be subdued, full liberty to worship God in their own way, together with the greatest security that was possible.[2]

16. The Scotch church honours John Knox, a disciple of Calvin, as its founder; and from him of course it received from its

46; Salig's *Historie der Augsburg. Confession*, vol. ii. book v. chap. v. and vi. p. 190, &c.

[1] See *Histoire Eccléss. des Eglises Réformées au Royaume de France*, in three volumes, Antwerp, 1580, 8vo, which is commonly ascribed to Theodore Beza. The writers on the Gallic church and its Confession of faith are enumerated by Köcher, *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolicæ*, p. 299, &c.

[2] Benoit, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, tome i. livr. v. p. 200, &c.; Daniel's *Histoire de France*, tome ix. p. 409, &c. of the last Paris edition; Bulæus, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. vi. the whole volume. [For a sketch of the rise and progress of Protestantism in France, till the death of Francis I. in 1547, see note 2, p. 584, &c. above. During the reign of Henry II. the son and successor of Francis, or from 1547 to 1559, the persecution of the Reformed was still more systematic, determined, and unsparing. In 1551, the civil courts were required to co-operate with the spiritual, and to exterminate all heretics. The estates of all emigrants on account of religion were to be confiscated. No books whatever might be imported from any Protestant country, and to print, or sell, or possess Protestant books, was made penal. Many were imprisoned and put to death. In 1555, the civil courts were forbidden to hear appeals from the ecclesiastical; and all magistrates were to execute the decisions of the latter. The parliament of Paris refused to register this decree, and made a noble remonstrance to the king. In 1557, the king appointed commissioners to aid the bishops in exterminating all heretics; but the parliament refused to register this decree. In 1558, cardinal Lorrain with the consent of the king established a limited Inquisition. But several of the courts still favoured and protected the Protestants; and the king summoned a meeting called a mercurial, and learning that a number of his judges secretly favoured the Reformers, he imprisoned several of them, and one was put to death. But amid all their persecutions the Protestants multiplied greatly during this reign. Two princes of the blood, the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, and a great number of the nobility and gentry, were their friends and supporters. Hence they set up churches everywhere, had regular preachers, and stated though generally secret meetings for worship. In 1559, the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé encouraged and attended meetings of some thousands for worship in a meadow near Paris in open day, at the close of which the people publicly marched into the city. In the same year the Protestants held their first national synod privately at Paris, and there adopted a confession of faith, catechism, and directory for worship composed by Calvin, and likewise formed a system of church government. Their doctrines were strictly Calvinistic, their worship very simple and almost without written forms, and their system of government entirely Presbyterian. Single churches were governed by Consistories (Sessions) composed of the pastors and ruling elders, many of whom were noblemen. From the Consistories lay appeals to the Colloquies or Classes (Presbyteries), composed of pastors and elders deputed from the Consistories and meeting twice a year. From these Colloquies there were appeals to the Provincial Synods, composed of all the Colloquies in a province and meeting once a year. National Synods were composed of one pastor and one elder from each of the sixteen Provincial Synods. This supreme ecclesiastical tribunal did not meet regularly, but as occasion required; and at each meeting some province was named to call the next meeting. From A.D. 1559 to the year 1659, there were twenty-nine National Synods holden, which heard appeals, answered cases of conscience, revised their rules and regulations, and transacted various concerns of the whole body. (See their acts published by John Quick, entitled *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, London, 1692, 2 vols. fol.) Francis II. a youth of sixteen, and feeble both in body and mind, succeeded his father Henry II. in 1559. His mother Catherine de Medicis, the duke of Guise, and his brother the cardinal of Lorrain, all decided Catholics, in fact ruled the nation and endeavoured to crush the Reformation. The king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, the admiral Coligni, and others friendly to the Protestants, conspired to overthrow the power of the Guises; but they were betrayed, and thus involved themselves and all the Protestants in persecution. Many perished, numbers fled the country, and still more were imprisoned, robbed of their property, and variously harassed during the seventeen months of this reign. In 1560, Charles IX. aged eleven years, succeeded his brother Francis till 1574. His mother was regent. To secure her power she now sought the friendship of the king of Navarre and of the Protestants, and even listened herself to Protestant preachers. She needed money, and the States General were assembled in 1561, but they did nothing but wrangle. The Catholics demanded the extirpation of all heretics, and the Protestants demanded toleration. The court issued a decree forbidding religious disputes, releasing the imprisoned Protestants and allowing toleration to all who would externally conform to the established religion, unless they chose to quit the country. The provincial authorities favourable to the Protestants carried the decree into effect the others would not. In July 1561, there was a fruitless conference of Catholic and Protestant divines at

commencement the doctrines, institutions, and government of the Genevans. In maintaining these pure and uncontaminated, it ever has been and still is so zealous, that in the seventeenth century it did not hesitate to avenge with the sword the temerity of those who would introduce some-

Poissy to effect a compromise between the two religions. Though the country was in great disorder, the Protestants were prosperous and continually multiplying. To prevent murders and seditions, the court persuaded the people of both religions to give up their arms and to trust to the protection of the government. In January, 1562, a national convention met at St. Germain, and agreed that the Protestants should be allowed to hold private worship till a general council should decide all religious disputes. The Protestants were not quite satisfied with this, but the Catholics were outrageous. Tumults ensued. The king of Navarre, to gain an addition to his territory, abandoned the Protestants, and summoned the duke of Guise to the capital to suppress the tumults. He obeyed; and passing through Vassi in Champagne, found a Protestant assembly holding worship in a barn. His soldiers commenced a quarrel with them, and then murdered 260 of their number. A civil war now broke out. The Protestants made Orleans their head-quarters, and had the prince of Condé and admiral Coligni for leaders; while the Catholics were commanded by the duke of Guise, the king of Navarre, and the constable Montmorency. Much blood was shed and many towns were taken and ravaged. The king of Navarre fell in battle, the duke of Guise was assassinated, Montmorency and Condé were both taken prisoners. Peace was concluded at Amboise, March, 1563, on the ground of a general amnesty for the past, and free toleration of Protestant worship in particular places throughout France. The treaty was not well observed; and the Protestants, finding the court determined on their ruin, renewed the war in 1567 under Coligni and the prince of Condé. Montmorency fell, and many other noblemen on both sides. Peace was concluded early in 1568, on nearly the same terms as before. But three months after, hostile movements on the part of the court caused the war to be renewed with increased violence. The prince of Condé fell in battle in 1569; but the queen of Navarre, with her son and the young prince of Condé, all zealous Protestants, now appeared in the field. Peace was concluded in 1570 on the conditions of amnesty for the past, free toleration of the Protestants everywhere, a limited right to except against Catholic judges, and the possession of four cities (Rochelle, Cogniac, Montauban, and La Charité) for two years, to be garrisoned by Protestants. To lull the Protestants into security, the court now enforced the terms of the treaty with much apparent zeal, proposed a marriage between the young king of Navarre and the king's sister, and at length drew Coligni, the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé to appear at court. All this was preparatory to the assassination of the Protestants by order of the king and queen mother on St. Bartholomew's eve, August 22, 1572. The bloody scene began at midnight at the signal of tolling the great bell of the palace, and continued three days at Paris. Coligni was the first victim. With him, five hundred noblemen and about 6,000 other Protestants were butchered in Paris alone. Orders were despatched to all parts of the empire for a similar massacre everywhere. More than 30,000—some say 70,000—perished by the hands of the royal assassins, and the pope ordered a jubilee throughout Christendom. The Protestants were weakened but not destroyed. Losing all confidence in the government, they entered into combinations for their safety. The prince of Condé escaped from his prison, and went to Germany to form alliances in their behalf. Charles IX. died in 1574, and was succeeded by his brother, Henry III. a dissolute man and a violent Catholic. Civil war raged again, but peace was concluded in 1576. The Protestants were to enjoy freedom of worship everywhere, except at Paris and within two miles of the king's residence. Courts, half Catholics and half Protestants, were to be established in the principal cities, and ten cautionary towns were to be given them. The Catholics, dissatisfied as usual with concessions of liberty to the Protestants, combined with the pope and the king of Spain, and obliged the king to abrogate his decrees for giving effect to the treaty. The war was renewed in 1577, and continued with some interruptions till 1580, when the Protestants were again allowed their former liberties, and their cautionary towns for six years. But in 1584, the Catholic chiefs, particularly the Guises, formed a league with Philip, king of Spain, for exterminating the Protestants, and transferring the crown of France to the family of Guise on the demise of the present king. War was of course renewed with the Protestants, at the head of whom were the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé. The Guises and their allies checked the Protestants, but alienated the king, who caused the duke of Guise to be assassinated. Henry III. now found himself so odious to the Catholic league that he was obliged to make peace with the king of Navarre and the Protestants, and they generously supported him till his death in 1589. The king of Navarre was the next legal heir to the crown of France, which he assumed with the name of Henry IV. and was supported by all the Protestants and by the Catholics who adhered to the late king. But the leaguers refused to acknowledge him, and he had to contend several years for his crown. At length in 1595, to put a stop to the civil wars, he professed the Catholic religion. Yet he gave free toleration to his Protestant subjects. In 1598, he published the edict of Nantes as the basis of their liberties, and by it he confirmed to them all the privileges ever before conceded to them; gave them equal civil rights and equal privileges in the universities and public schools; allowed them courts, half Protestant and half Catholic, in the principal cities; made them eligible to all public offices; and allowed them to establish public worship in places of a particular description throughout the realm. He also gave them an annual stipend of about 40,000 crowns, for the support of their ministers. And though the Catholics murmured and endeavoured to infringe upon their rights, Henry protected them to the end of his reign in 1610. The number of Protestants in France during the last half of this century was supposed to be from a million to a million and a half. At one time (1571) they claimed to have 2,150 churches; but many of them were only family churches or the households of the nobles. The number of regular churches stated in the acts of their national synods was generally from 700 to 800. Some of these were vastly large, and had three, four, and even five pastors; while others were very small, and two or three were joined under one pastor. They could reckon men of great learning and talents among them. They were in close fellowship with the church of Geneva, and with the Flemish Protestants. Their adherence to their creeds and also their discipline were strict. Take an example:—In 1573, the Consistory of Rochelle debarred the prince of Condé the communion, because one of his ships had taken a prize after the signing of the last peace, which he continued to hold as a lawful prize, because the capture was made before the forty days assigned for the publication of the treaty had expired. He appealed to the National Synod, but it decided against him. See Quick's *Synodicon*, vol. i. p. 122. For the facts in this note I am indebted chiefly to Gifford's *History of France*, vol. iii.; Quick's *Synodicon*, vol. i.; and Ingram Cobbin's *Historical View of the Reformed Church of France*, London, 1816. For a more full and circumstantial account, see Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. ii. p. 239—348.—*Mur.* [The English reader has abundant means of becoming acquainted with the history of the Reformed church of France. The *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, referred to by Mosheim in the beginning of this note, has been, in part, translated into English, 2 vols. 4to, London, 1694. Laval, a French refugee minister in Dublin, published *A Compendious History of the Reformation and of the Reformed Churches in France*, in six vols. 8vo, Lond. 1737–43, a valuable but unattractive work. More recently there has appeared Smedley's *History of the Reformed Religion in France*, three vols. 12mo, Lond. 1832–34, written by an English high-churchman; it is not free from prejudices against the French Reformers, and is more a political than a religious history. Browning's *History of the Huguenots*, new edit. in one volume, Lond. 1840, is an accurate and carefully compiled work.—*R.*

thing foreign into it.[1] In England the case was very different. This nation never could be persuaded to submit itself entirely to the decisions of Geneva, nor did it long retain unaltered what it did receive from that quarter. It is pretty well attested

[1] Salig's *Historie der Augsburg. Confession*, vol. ii. b. vi. chap. i. p. 403. [Some notice of the first dawning of the Reformation in Scotland was given in note 1, p. 586, and note 1, p. 598, above. James V. died in 1542, and left his crown to an infant daughter, only a few days old, Mary queen of Scots. At the age of six years she was affianced to the dauphin of France, afterwards Francis II. and was sent to be educated in that country, and did not return to Scotland till after the death of her husband in 1561. During these 19 years, Scotland was governed by the queen dowager, Mary of Guise, widow of James V. and by a series of regents. At the commencement of this period, the Reformed doctrines were spreading slowly, without noise, and with little direct opposition. But in February, 1546, cardinal Beaton, the archbishop of St. Andrews, seized and burned at the stake George Wishart, a Reformed preacher. This excited great indignation; and Norman Lesly, a young man, with an armed force surprised and murdered the cardinal in his castle, and held possession of it fourteen months. During this time the reformed doctrines were preached freely at St. Andrews, and among others, by the famous John Knox. On the reduction of St. Andrews, Knox and most of the prisoners were sent out of the country. The same year Henry VIII. died, and the Reformation in England went forward rapidly, under Edward VI. This excited the Scotch to emulation, and several of the nobles embraced the Reformation. The queen dowager, for political reasons, found it necessary to treat the Protestants with indulgence. In 1553, Edward VI. of England died; and was succeeded by his sister Mary, a violent Catholic, whose bloody persecutions drove great numbers of her subjects into foreign countries, several of them into Scotland. This also strengthened the Reformation there. The Scottish clergy possessed about half the wealth of the country, and the nobles were eager to get their estates; while they, ignorant and dissolute, were willing to allow Protestant doctrines to spread, so long as they could enjoy their revenues. In 1554, the queen dowager was made regent. Her partialities to the French so disgusted the nation, that to maintain her power she had to favour still more the Protestants. In 1555 John Knox returned to Scotland, and he and other zealous preachers spread the Reformed doctrines with great success. The queen dowager kept many of the bishoprics and richer benefices vacant, in order to enjoy their revenues, and others she filled with persons devoted to her; and both alienated the more zealous Catholics, and weakened the power of the clergy. In 1558, the archbishop of St. Andrews commenced persecution. But the Protestants, who were now nearly half the nation, were indignant and applied to the queen regent, who gave them protection. The next year however, through French influence, she abandoned the Protestants and sided with the Catholic clergy. In May 1559, she summoned most of the Reformed ministers to appear at Stirling, to answer for their conduct. They set out attended by noblemen and immense crowds of armed companions. She was afraid to meet them and sent them a discharge, on condition that they should peaceably return to their homes. They did so; and she then basely proceeded to try them, and for their non-appearance pronounced them all outlaws. The Protestants in their rage attacked the churches and monasteries, destroying images, altars, crosses, &c. The queen resolved to quell them by force, and a civil war ensued. After various contests, the Protestants, having been frequently deceived by the queen, determined to remove her from the regency. They also found themselves so strong, that they demanded more than a bare toleration; and being aided by queen Elizabeth, they obtained a complete triumph. The queen dowager died; and the French and English embassies, which met in Scotland in 1560, negotiated a peace, by which the Protestants were left at full liberty, and all religious disputes were committed to the adjustment of a Scottish parliament. The French and English troops were both withdrawn, and a full parliament was assembled, which overturned the whole system of popery and established Protestantism in its stead. These acts of parliament were sent to France for the queen's ratification. At the close of this year Francis II. died, and his queen Mary the next year, 1561, returned to Scotland to take the government of the country into her own hands. The first general assembly of the Scottish church was held in December, 1560. Here a Calvinistic creed and a Presbyterian form of government, as delineated in the First Book of Discipline, were adopted. Five of the pastors were made standing superintendents or visiters of the churches, instead of bishops; pastors and teachers, readers and exhorters, and annual elders and deacons, were the church officers; and church sessions, synods, and general assemblies were to be the judicatories. The clergy in vain attempted to persuade the government to transfer the funds of the Catholic churches to the Protestant. But the parliament of 1561 undertook to purge the land of idolatry, and "abbeys, cathedrals, churches, libraries, records, and even the sepulchres of the dead, perished in one common ruin." The queen did not ratify the acts of the parliament of 1560 subverting popery, and in opposition to them she set up the mass in her own chapel; yet she allowed the Protestants for the present free toleration, and also chose her council chiefly from among them. Many of the richer benefices were still held by Catholics, while others were in the hands of the Protestants; and parliament unanimously decreed, that all the incumbents should continue to enjoy their revenues, yet each paying over a third part of his income to the public treasury. In 1563, the queen had not yet sanctioned the legal abolition of popery, and the Protestant nobles did not see fit to urge it. This provoked the ministers and especially Knox, to utter violent denunciations and to commit some outrages; but the prudence of the nobles prevented any fatal consequences. In 1565, the queen married Henry lord Darnley, a weak and insolent young man, who soon rendered himself odious to his queen and to most of the nation. The next year the queen was delivered of a son, James, afterwards James VI. of Scotland. In 1566, Mary, at the instigation of the French, began to form projects for establishing popery. The next year lord Darnley was murdered; and Bothwell, the queen's favourite, who aspired to the throne, persuaded her to sanction the legal establishment of Protestantism. The scandalous marriage of the queen with Bothwell induced the nobles to seize the person of the infant prince James, for whose safety they were solicitous. This act, and the loud demands for an investigation of the murder of Darnley, produced a civil war, in which the queen was taken, forced to resign her crown to her son, and confined in Lochleven. Escaping, she renewed the war without success, and retiring into England, she threw herself upon the generosity of queen Elizabeth, who kept her a prisoner twenty years, and then caused her to be beheaded on a charge of treasonable practices in England. Being thus delivered from a Catholic sovereign in 1567, the Protestants of Scotland found no difficulty in fully establishing, during the minority of James, their own religion, and suppressing entirely that of the Catholics. Notwithstanding many were friendly to episcopacy, the Presbyterian system of government was universally adopted, as laid down in the Second Book of Discipline. Generally, three or four contiguous churches were united and had one church session in common, from which lay appeals to the provincial synods; and these sessions, which were called elderships, afterwards became presbyteries, when the individual churches were provided with distinct sessions. James VI. on assuming the government was a zealous Protestant, though somewhat inclined to episcopacy, and disposed to make himself head of the church. He curbed the insolence of the clergy, who claimed liberty to denounce public men and measures from the pulpit, as they had done in the preceding unsettled times. There were warm disputes respecting the boundaries between the civil power and the ministerial prerogative, the expediency of admitting bishops, and the disposition to be made of the old ecclesiastical funds. In 1603 queen Elizabeth died, and James VI. of Scotland succeeded.

that the greatest part of those Englishmen who first renounced the superstitions of their fathers were more inclined to the opinions of Luther respecting the Holy Supper, the mode of public worship, and the government of the church, than to those of the Swiss. But after the death of Henry VIII. the industry of Calvin and his disciples, especially Peter Martyr, caused the former opinions to be excluded, and the latter to gain admission into the universities, the schools, the pulpits, and the minds of the majority.[1] Hence in the reign of Edward VI. when they came to deliberate what system of doctrine and discipline to establish, the English embraced the communion of the Genevans; yet with this limitation, that they would retain the old organization of the church which was very different from that of Geneva, together with some rites and ceremonies which most of the Reformed regard as very superstitious. Yet this diversity, slight as it might then be deemed and tolerable as Calvin himself intimated it to be, afterwards produced numerous perils, calamities, and wars, to the injury both of the church and the commonwealth of England.

17. This lamentable schism, which to this day no means have been able to heal, commenced with those who fled to save their lives and liberties in the year 1554, when Mary reigned or rather raged in England. Some of these celebrated their public worship according to the liturgy established by Edward VI. but others preferred the more simple and in their view more pure worship of the Swiss. The former were denominated Conformists, because they conformed their worship to the pattern legally established by Edward; the latter were called Nonconformists and also Puritans, because they desired greater purity in worship, and did not regard the liturgy of king Edward as free from all the dregs of superstition. These appellations have continued in use, and to this day they designate the Christian communities by which Great Britain is divided. When the exiles returned to their country on the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, this controversy, being introduced into England, soon became so great and threatening that the more sagacious even then despaired of any reconciliation. The wise queen did not confine the reformation to the rigorous principles of the Genevans and their followers the Puritans, but she enjoined on those to whom she entrusted this business to follow the patterns of the early ages rather than that of the Genevans.[2] When she had modelled the whole church and especially the public worship on these principles, she published the celebrated Act of Uniformity, requiring all Englishmen to observe her regulations. The Puritans urged that they could not in conscience yield obedience, and they bitterly complained that the discarded superstitions of popery were reintroduced. The more ardent insisted that these regulations should be wholly removed, and that the church should be regulated according to the principles of the Genevans; while the more temperate merely requested liberty to worship God themselves according to their own opinions. The queen, determined to show no indulgence to either, employed all the means which penal laws and her own sagacity could afford, in order to suppress the obstinate sect. And thus that purification of the old religion, by which the English church is equally distinguished from the popish and from all the others which have renounced the dominion of the pontiff, was confirmed and established; and at the same time a foundation was laid for permanent discord, to the vast injury of this otherwise happy nation.[3]

to the throne of England, under the name of James I. See Robertson's *History of Scotland*, M'Crie's *Life of John Knox*, and Scott's *Lives of the Protestant Reformers in Scotland.—Mur.* [See the other authorities referred to in the end of the notes, p. 586, and p. 598.—*R.*

[1] See Löscher's *Historia Motuum*, par. ii. lib. iii. cap. vii. p. 67, and the authorities he quotes; Salig's *Historie der Augsburg. Confession*, vol. ii. b. vi. chap iii. p. 317, &c. and others.

[2] Mosheim seems disposed, by this ambiguous expression of the primitive ages, to insinuate that queen Elizabeth had formed a pure, rational, and evangelical plan of religious discipline and worship. It is however certain that, instead of being willing to strip religion of the ceremonies which remained in it, she was rather inclined to bring the public worship still nearer to the Romish ritual (Heylin, p. 124), and had a great propensity to several usages in the church of Rome which were justly looked upon as superstitious. She thanked publicly one of her chaplains who had preached in defence of the real presence; she was fond of images, and retained some in her private chapel (Heylin, p. 124); and would undoubtedly have forbidden the marriage of the clergy, if Cecil, her secretary, had not interposed. (Strype's *Life of Parker*, p. 107, 108, 109.) Having appointed a committee of divines to review king Edward's liturgy, she gave them an order to strike out all offensive passages against the pope, and to make people easy about the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament. (Neal's *Hist. of the Purit.* vol. i. p. 138).—*Macl.*

[3] No one has treated this subject more fully or more agreeably than Daniel Neal, whose *History of the Puritans or Protestant Nonconformists* was published not long since at London, in four volumes. The first volume of this elaborate work was printed, London, 1732, 8vo; the last volume appeared in 1738. Yet the author, who was himself a Puritan, could not so command his party feelings and his passions as entirely to avoid sectarian zeal. For while he is full in narrating and emblazoning the wrongs which the bishops inflicted or caused to be inflicted upon the Puritans, he frequently extenuates, excuses, or passes silently over the faults of the Puritan sect. [But he also often condemns them; *e.g.* see note l. p. 672, below.—*R.*] The reader may also

18. The first cause which gave rise to so many strange and calamitous events was very trivial, and of no importance to religion and piety. The leaders of the Puritans held in abhorrence those garments which the English clergy wore for the sake of distinction in their public assemblies. For these garments, having been derived from the papists, were in their view the badges of Antichrist. From this they proceeded to other matters of somewhat greater importance. First, they conceived that the constitution of the English church was a departure from the form established by Christ; and they maintained, what they had learned from Calvin and the Genevans, that all the ministers of religion ought, by divine appointment, to be equal in rank and authority. They had indeed no objections to allowing an individual to bear the title of bishop, and to preside in the meetings of his brethren for the sake of preserving order; but they would not allow him to claim the prerogatives of the old bishops, to rank among the peers of the realm, to be employed in civil affairs, and be distinguished by wealth and power. The weight of this controversy was not great, so long as the English prelates founded their rank and authority upon the laws of the land and human constitution; but it became of vast moment from the year 1588, when Richard Bancroft, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, first ventured publicly to affirm that bishops are an order superior to that of presbyters, not by mere human appointment, but by the will of God.[1] This sentiment meeting the approbation of great numbers, the consequence was what might be anticipated, that none were deemed properly inducted into the sacred office unless they were ordained by a bishop; and that the ministers of those churches which have no bishops were declared to lack the qualifications necessary for their office, and to be inferior to the popish priests.

19. In the next place, the Puritans conceived that those churches which, from being the residence or seat of the bishops, are called cathedrals, ought to be done away, together with all who live upon their revenues, the archdeacons, the deans, the prebendaries, and the canons; they also disapproved of the mode of worship usually practised in cathedrals, and in particular, denied that instrumental music and chanting were proper in the worship of God. They likewise thought that not only the vicious, but also persons of dubious piety should be excluded from the church. For it being their opinion that the church is the company of the faithful, they of course held that care should be taken lest any who are destitute of faith should creep into it. They required many alterations in those rites and ceremonies which were enjoined by the authority of the queen and the supreme council.[2] For instance,

consult Strype's Lives of archbishops Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift, which are written with great copiousness and labour. [See also Bogue and Bennet's *History of Dissenters*, vol. i. London, 1809, and Benjamin Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. i. London, 1813.—*Mur.* [On Elizabeth's policy in religious matters towards both the Romanists and the Puritans, see Hallam's *Constitutional Hist. of England*, vol. i. chaps. iii. and iv. For some new facts on the early Puritan history of this reign, see Brook's *Memoir of the Life, &c. of Tho. Cartwright*, Lond. 1845.—*R.*

[1] See Strype's *Life and Acts of Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury*, p. 121, Lond. 1718, fol. [Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. i. chap. vii. p. 180, &c.— *Mur.*

[2] Maclaine supposes the supreme council here mentioned to be the noted high commission court. But that court was an executive and visitatorial body, not legislative. It seems therefore that Mosheim intended by the supreme council either the British parliament, or perhaps the Queen's privy council, which possessed much the same powers as a German prince with his Consistorial council. The queen with her privy council repeatedly published Injunctions or regulations for the church, which she enforced by the episcopal and the high commission courts; and these arbitrary decrees of the queen were substituted for acts of parliament, which she more than once forbade to legislate on such subjects, so that she assumed to be the real lawgiver of the English church. See Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. chap. iv. p. 167, &c. Yet the account which Maclaine here gives of the high commission court is worth repeating. "This court," says he, "took its rise from a remarkable clause in the Act of Supremacy, by which the queen and her successors were empowered to choose *persons* to exercise, under her, all manner of jurisdiction, privileges, and preeminences, touching any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the realms of England and Ireland; as also to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, offences, enormities whatsoever; provided that they have no power to determine anything to be heresy but what has been adjudged to be so by the authority of the canonical scripture, or by the first four general councils, or any of them, or by any other general council, wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of canonical scripture, or such as shall hereafter be declared to be heresy by the High Court of Parliament, with the assent of the clergy in Convocation." Upon the authority of this clause, the queen appointed a certain number of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, who in many instances abused their power. The court they composed was called the Court of High Commission, because it claimed a more extensive jurisdiction and higher powers than the ordinary Courts of the Bishops. Its jurisdiction reached over the whole kingdom, and was much the same with that which had been lodged in the single person of lord Cromwell, vicar general to Henry VIII. These commissioners were empowered to make inquiry, not only by the legal methods of juries and witnesses, but by all other ways and means which they could devise, that is, by rack, torture, inquisition, and imprisonment. They were vested with a right to examine such persons as they suspected, by administering to them an oath (not allowed of in their commission, and therefore called *ex-officio*), by which they were obliged to answer all questions, and thereby might be obliged to accuse themselves or their most intimate friends. The fines they imposed were merely discretionary; the imprisonment to which they condemned was limited by no rule but their own pleasure; they imposed, when they thought proper, new articles of faith on the clergy, and practised all the iniquities and cruelties of

they deemed all holy days, consecrated to the memory of the saints, to be unlawful; they would prohibit the sign of the cross in various transactions, but especially in the sacrament of baptism; they were displeased with the employment of sponsors or godfathers and godmothers at the baptism of infants whose parents were still living;[1] nor would they allow new-born infants to be baptized by any persons but the priests; they would not have the sacred books of secondary rank, or those commonly denominated the Apocrypha, to be read and expounded to the people; the stated forms of prayer they would not indeed wholly exclude from public worship, but they demanded that the teachers should be allowed to vary from them and to alter them as they saw fit, and be permitted to pray to God in their own language, and not merely in the words of others: in short, they conceived that the worship of their country ought to be conformable to the principles and institutions of the Genevans, and that nothing should be tolerated which was coincident with the Romish worship.

20. These opinions could not well be defended or impugned, without calling in the aid of certain general principles which would support the positions adopted, and from which the importance of the controversy may be estimated. Those who sided with the queen and the supreme council maintained (I.) that the right to reform or to abolish and correct errors and defects, both in doctrine and in discipline and worship, belonged to the civil magistrate. The Puritans on the contrary denied that God had assigned this office to the magistrate, and held with Calvin that it was rather the business of the ministers of Christ to restore religion to its purity and dignity. (II.) The former supposed that the rule of proceeding in reforming the doctrine and discipline of the church was not to be derived exclusively from the Holy Scriptures, but also from the writings and the practice of the early ages of the church. The Puritans on the other hand maintained, that the divinely-inspired books were the only pure source from which could be derived rules for purging and regulating the church, and that the enactments and the doctors of the early ages had no authority whatever. (III.) The former declared the church of Rome to be a true church, though much deformed and corrupted; they said the Roman pontiff presumptuously indeed claims to be the head and monarch of the whole church, yet he must be acknowledged to be a legitimate bishop; and of course the ministers ordained by his authority have the most perfect right to minister in holy things. It was necessary for the English prelates to inculcate such principles, if they would trace back the origin and prerogatives of their office to the apostles of Christ. But very different were the views of the Puritans. They constantly maintained that the Romish church had forfeited the title and the rights of a true church; that its bishop was the very Antichrist; that all its discipline and worship were vain, superstitious, and opposed to the precepts of the gospel; and of course, that all communion with that church was to be shunned as pestilential. (IV.) The former deemed the best form of the church to be that which prevailed in the first four or five centuries; indeed, that it was preferable to that established by the Apostles themselves, because they gave such a shape to the church as suited its infantile and nascent state, and left to those who should come after them to regulate it more perfectly, when it should become fully established and extended. On the contrary, the Puritans contended that all the principles of church government were laid down in the Scriptures; and that the ambassadors of Christ set forth an unchangeable pattern which was to be imitated by all succeeding ages, when they directed the first Christian churches to be regulated and governed in the manner then practised in the Jewish congregations [or Synagogues]. (V.) The former contended that things indifferent which are neither commanded nor forbidden by the Holy Scriptures, such as the rites of public worship, the attire of the priests, the festivals, &c. the supreme magistrate may regulate and establish according to his pleasure; and that to disobey his laws on these subjects is as sinful as to violate his laws relative to civil affairs. But the Puritans contended that it was improper and wrong to impose as necessary things what Christ himself had left free; for thus the liberty which Christ has procured for us is subverted. They added that such rites as tend to infect the mind with superstition can by no means be regarded as indifferent, but must be avoided as impious and profane. And such, in their estimation, were those ancient ceremonies which

a real inquisition. See Rapin's and Hume's *Histories of England* under the Reign of Elizabeth, and Neal's *History of the Puritans*, passim.—*Mur.*

[1] Other rites and customs displeasing to the Puritans and omitted by our author were, kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, bowing at the name of Jesus, giving the ring in marriage, the prohibition of marriage during certain times of the year, and the licensing it for money, as also the confirmation of children by episcopal imposition of hands.—*Macl.*

the queen and the parliament refused to abrogate.[1]

21. This contest of the court and bishops with those who called aloud for a farther reformation of the church would have been far more severe and perilous, if those who bore the common name of Puritans had been agreed in their opinions and feelings. But this body was composed of persons of various dispositions and characters, whose only bond of union was their dislike of the religion and discipline established by law; and therefore it very soon became divided into sects, some of which were both misled themselves and misled others by fanatical imaginations, and others displayed their folly by devising strange and unusual forms for the constitution of churches. Among these sects, none is more famous than that which was formed about the year 1581 by Robert Brown, an unstable and fickle-minded man. He did not differ materially from either the Episcopalians or the other Puritans as to the doctrines of religion, but he had new and singular views of the nature of the church and of the regulation and government of it. He first distributed the whole body of Christians into small associations, such as those collected by the apostles; because so many persons as could conveniently be assembled in one place and that of moderate dimensions, he affirmed constituted a church and enjoyed all the powers and privileges of a church. And each of these small congregations he pronounced to be independent and free, by divine constitution, from all jurisdiction both of bishops who, according to the court, and of synods which, according to the Puritans, have the right of governing the church. The supreme power to provide for the welfare and the peace of these little associations, according to his views, resided in the people, and all the members had equal powers and prerogatives. The congregated multitude therefore deliberated on sacred subjects, and whatever was voted by the majority was considered as legitimately decided. The brotherhood selected certain persons from among themselves to teach publicly and to administer ordinances; and if the interests of the church seemed to require it, they remanded these teachers of their own creation again to a private station. For these teachers were in no respects more sacred or elevated than the rest of the brethren, except by their power to perform sacred functions, for which they were wholly indebted to the election and consent of the brethren. Moreover the office of teaching was by no means confined to them, but all the brethren, if they pleased, might prophesy in public or exhort and instruct the fraternity. Hence, when the appointed preacher of the church had closed his discourse, the brethren severally were at liberty to hold forth and to exhibit what they might have been revolving in their minds, or had not clearly apprehended in the discourse of the preacher. In short, Brown thought that the Christian world should now present the same aspect as that of the churches in the days of the Apostles. In maintaining such opinions, he and his associates were so intolerant as to hold that all bonds of harmony, communion, and charity, with churches differently constituted were to be severed; and to declare that the English church in particular was above all others to be shunned, as being a spurious church, contaminated with the pollutions of popery and destitute of all divine influences. This sect, impatient under the great injuries it received (perhaps through its own fault) in England, removed to Holland, and settled at Middleburg, Amsterdam, and Leyden; but it did not long continue. Brown himself returned to England, and forsaking his new opinions, obtained a parsonage in the Established Church. The other exiles became embroiled by many internal dissensions.[2] These effects induced the wiser among them to modify the discipline of their founder and make it more tolerable. In this manner, from them originated the noted sect of the Independents or Congregational Brethren, which still exists. But their history belongs to the next century.

22. In the provinces of the Netherlands it was long doubtful whether those who renounced the Romish communion would join the fellowship of the Lutherans or that of the Swiss, for each of these had many and strong partisans.[3] But in the year

[1] Mosheim in these five articles has followed the account of this controversy given by Mr. Neal, in his *History of the Puritans*. This latter adds a sixth article, not of debate but of union. Both parties (says he) agreed too well in asserting the necessity of a uniformity of public worship, and of calling in the sword of the magistrate for the support and the defence of their several principles, which they made an ill use of in their turns, as they could grasp the power into their hands. The standard of uniformity, according to the bishops, was the queen's supremacy and the laws of the land; according to the Puritans, the decrees of provincial and national synods allowed and enforced by the civil magistrate. But neither party was for admitting that liberty of conscience and freedom of profession which is every man's right as far as is consistent with the peace of the government under which he lives.—*Mael.*

[2] Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. chap. vi. p. 324; Hornbeck's *Summa Controversiarum*, lib. x. p. 738, &c.; Fuller's *Ecclesiastical History of Britain*, book x. p. 168 [Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 306. &c.—*Mur.*

[3] Löscher's *Historia Motuum*, par. iii. lib. v. cap. iv. p. 74.

1571, the preference was publicly given to the Swiss. For the Belgic Confession of Faith,[1] which was published in this year, was for the most part in unison with that adopted by the French Reformed church, and differed from the Augsburg Confession in several respects, and especially on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper.[2] The causes of this will readily appear if we consider the proximity of the French and the number of them residing in the Netherlands, the high reputation of Calvin and the Genevan school, and the indefatigable industry of the Genevans in extending the boundaries of their church. From this period the Belgians publicly assumed the title of the Reformed instead of that of Lutherans which they had before borne; and in this they followed the example of the French, who had invented and first assumed this appellation. So long however as the Belgians were subject to the Spaniards, they disused the term Reformed to avoid incurring odium, and styled themselves Associates of the Augsburg Confession; because the Spanish court looked upon Lutherans as far better citizens than the disciples of Calvin, who from their commotions in France were deemed more inclined to sedition.[3]

23. The knowledge of a more sound religion was carried into Poland by the disciples of Luther from Saxony. Afterwards, not only the Bohemian Brethren whom the Romish priests had expelled from their country, but likewise some of the Swiss, disseminated their opinions among the Poles; not to mention the Anabaptists, the Antitrinitarians, and others, who travelled in that country and there collected congregations.[4] Hence there existed here and there throughout Poland three religious associations—those of the Bohemian Brethren, the Lutherans, and the Swiss. In order to oppose with greater vigour their common enemies, they held a convention at Sendomir in the year 1570, and entered into a kind of confederation, the terms of which are comprehended in a confession usually called the Agreement of Sendomir.[5] But as this compromise was deemed too condescending and injurious to the truth (for in it the opinions which separate the Lutherans from the Reformed were expressed in vague and ambiguous language), it was not long after opposed by many of the Lutherans, and in the next century was entirely abrogated; nor have those who desired and laboured to restore it to this day met with the success they had hoped for. In both the [Brandenburg and the Polish] Prussias, after the death of Luther and Melancthon, very large congregations of the Reformed religion were gathered by several persons, which are still in a flourishing state.[6]

24. The Bohemian Brethren as they are called, or the Moravians, who were descended from the better sort of Hussites, and had adopted some peculiar regulations designed especially to guard against the reigning vices, upon hearing of Luther's efforts to reform the church, sent envoys to him as early as 1522, soliciting his friendship; and

[1] For an account of the Belgic Confession, see Köcher's *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolicæ*, p. 216. [It was first composed in the Walloon language by Guy de Brès, and first printed in French in 1562. Afterwards it was translated into various languages, and was ratified (together with the Heidelberg Catechism with which it harmonizes) by the Synod of Dort in 1619, and again at the Hague in 1651.—*Mur.*

[2] Brandt's *Historie der Reformatie in en omtrent de Nederlanden*, vol. i. book v. p. 253, &c. [translated into English; see note 3, pages 599, 600, above.—*R.*

[3] The words of Brandt, *ubi supra*, p. 254, 255, are these: "Nochtans behielpen sick de Nederlandtsche Gereformeerden met den titel van Augsburgsche Confessie, om dat die te hove niet so onængenæm was als de Calvinsche of Fransche, die de partije doorgæns hield te wesen een oproeriger Secte dan de Luthersche." [This sentence stands as follows in the English translation: —"Nevertheless the Dutch Reformed screened themselves sometimes behind the Augsburgian Confession, because it was not so disagreeable at court as the French or Calvinian, since the latter sect was esteemed to be more addicted to tumults and uproars than the Lutheran." Brandt's *Hist. of the Reformation*, &c. vol. i. p. 142.—*R.*

[4] Löscher's *Historia Motuum*, par. iii. lib. iii. cap. vi. p. 36; Salig's *Historie der Augsburg. Confession*, vol. ii. b. vi. chaps. iii. iv. v. p. 516; Regenvolscius, *Historia Ecclesiar. Slavonicar.* lib. i. cap. xvi. &c. p. 71, &c.; Solignac's *Histoire de Pologne*, tome v. p. 40, &c.; Kantz, *Præcipua Relig. Evangelicæ in Polonia fata*, Hamb. 1738, 4to. [The disciples of Luther from Saxony were not the first preachers of reformation in Poland as Mosheim asserts. The Bohemian Brethren had been labouring there from the time of John Huss, and in the year 1500 they had nearly two hundred houses of worship and were favoured by many of the nobility. See Regenvolscius, *ubi supra*, and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Ref.* vol. ii. p. 667, 681. The most eminent among the Reformed clergy of Poland was the famous John à Lasco, who preached some time in London, and returning to Poland in 1556 did much to advance the Reformation there. See his history and many of his letters in Gerdes, *Miscell. Groning.* tom. i.—v. The Protestants of Great Poland were chiefly Bohemian Brethren; those of Little Poland embraced the views of the Swiss. Both these became united in 1555, but their union with the Lutherans was not so easily effected.—*Mur.* [Regenvolscius, whose *Systema Historico-Chronologicum Ecclesiar. Slavon.* Utrecht, 1652, is referred to in this and the preceding note, was an assumed name. The author was Wengierski, a minister of the Reformed church. For much valuable information on the ecclesiastical history of Poland, see Krasinski's *Historical Sketch of the Reformation in Poland*, referred to at p. 586, note 2, above; an excellent work, which has been translated into German, Leip. 1841.—*R.*

[5] See Jablonski's *Historia Consensus Sendomiriensis*, Berlin, 1731, 4to; and his *Epistola Apologetica*, printed in the same year, and directed against the exceptions of a certain Polish antagonist. [The English reader will find a translation of this *Consensus* with the original in Krasinski, *ubi supra*, vol. i. p. 383, &c.—*R.*

[6] Löscher's *Historia Motuum*, par. iii. lib. vi. cap. i. p. 216.

afterwards from time to time, they proffered the hand of friendship to the Saxons and to other members of our community.[1] Nor did Luther and his friends find anything very censurable either in their doctrines or their discipline; nay, the confession which they submitted to his judgment he did not indeed approve in all respects, yet he thought it might be tolerated.[2] After the death of Luther, most of the Brethren being expelled their country in the year 1547, many of them, and especially among those who settled in Poland, inclined towards the side of the Reformed. There seemed indeed to be a renewal of the harmony between the Bohemians and the Lutherans at the time of the Agreement of Sendomir already mentioned; but the influence of this agreement was soon afterwards greatly weakened, and gradually all the Bohemians united themselves with the Swiss.[3] This union at first contained the stipulation that each community should enjoy its own regulations, and that they should keep up their separate meetings for worship; but in the following century, at the councils of Ostrorog, A.D. 1620 and 1627, all difference was done away; and the two communities of Bohemians and Swiss became consolidated into one, which took the name of the Church of the United Brethren, and retained the form and regulations of the Bohemians, but embraced the doctrines of the Reformed.[4]

25. The descendants of the Waldenses, who lived shut up in the valleys of Piedmont, were led by their proximity to the French and Genevans to embrace their doctrines and worship. Yet they retained not a few of their ancient rules of discipline so late as the year 1630. But in this year the greatest part of the Waldenses were swept off by pestilence; and their new teachers whom they obtained from France, regulated all their affairs according to the pattern of the French Reformed Church.[5] The Hungarians and Transylvanians were excited to burst the bonds of superstition by the writings and the disciples of Luther. Afterwards Matthew Devay and others in a more private way, and then about the year 1550 Stephen Szegedin and others more openly, spread among them successfully the sentiments of the Swiss respecting the Lord's Supper and the government of the church. This produced here as in other countries, first, contests among the friends of a purer religion, and at length a manifest schism, which time has strengthened rather than diminished.[6]

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[1] On the doctrinal views of the Bohemian Brethren and their church, see the following papers by Elsner, in Gerdes' *Miscell. Groning.: Brevis Conspectus Doctrinæ Fratrum Bohemorum*, in vol. iii. p. 381, &c.; *De Institutione Catechetica Polonico-Reformata*, in vol. iv. p. 31, &c.; *Series Episcoporum sive Seniorum Unitatis Fratrum Bohemorum*, ibid. p. 45, &c. with *Addenda*, p. 172, &c.—*R.*

[2] See Carpzov's *Nachricht von den Böhmischen Brüdern*, p. 46, &c.; Köcher's *Bibliotheca Theologiæ Symbolicæ*, p. 76, &c. [In the year 1522, the Brethren sent two delegates to Luther, namely, John Horn and Mich. Weis, to congratulate him on his attaining to a knowledge of the truth. They also sent him soon afterwards a book entitled *Instruction for Children*, which they had composed for the benefit of their church. But as they here expressed clearly their opinion of the Lord's Supper (namely, that Christ himself was not actually present in it) and he freely censured this opinion, their intercourse with Luther was for a time interrupted. They were also displeased that he was more solicitous about purity of doctrine than the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline. But as they perceived that it would be for their advantage to be reckoned among the adherents to the Augsburg Confession, they at times sought his communion and exhibited to him their Confession, which he afterwards caused to be published. See Comenius, *Historia Fratrum Bohemorum*, Halle, 1702, 4to, p. 22, &c.; and Köcher, *Von den Glaubensbekenntnissen der Böhmischen Brüder*, Frankf. 1741, 8vo.—*Schl.*

[3] Besides those who treat professedly of the Bohemian Brethren, as Comenius, Camerarius, and Lasitius, the reader may consult Löscher's *Historia Motuum*, par. iii. lib. v. cap. vi. p. 99, &c.; Salig's *Historie der Augsburg. Confession*, vol. ii. b. vi chap. iii. p. 520, &c.; Regenvolscius, *Historia Ecclesiar. Slavonicarum*, lib. i. cap. xiii. xiv. xv. &c. [On the Bohemian Reformation see Gieseler's *Lehrbuch d. Neueren Kirchengesch.* vol i. p. 437, &c. The English reader has now access to a detailed account of the religious changes in that country, in a recent publication entitled *The Reformation and Anti-Reformation in Bohemia*, Lond. 1845, 2 vols. translated from the German. The author's name however is not given, which, with its scanty references to authorities, detracts greatly from its value.—*R.*

[4] Regenvolscius, *ubi supra*, lib. i. cap. xiv. p. 120. [On the doctrinal views of the Bohemian Brethren, which coincided generally with those of Calvin, Jo. Theoph. Elsner (one of that sect) wrote an elaborate treatise entitled *Brevis Conspectus Doctrinæ Fratrum Bohemorum*, in which he shows what was their belief in the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries; and which is printed in Gerdes' *Scrinium Antiquar. sive Miscellanea Groningana*, tom. iii. p. 381—457.—*Mur.*

[5] Leger's *Histoire Générale des Eglises Vaudoises*, livr. 4. chap. xxxiii. p. 205, 206; Scultet's *Annales Renovati Evangelii*, p. 294; Gerdes, *Historia Evangelii Renovati*, tom. ii. p. 401. [In the year 1530, the Waldenses, having heard of the Reformation in Switzerland and Germany, sent two of their barbs or ministers, Geo. Morel and Peter Masson or Latome, to Berne, Basil, and Strasburg, to confer with the Reformers there. Their written communication to Œcolampadius at Basil describes their faith and practice with great simplicity and candour; and the written answer of Œcolampadius was such as might be expected—kind, affectionate, and fraternal. See them in Gerdes, *ubi supra*, tom. ii. p. 401—417. In their council in Angrogne, A.D. 1532, they adopted a short confession of faith, professedly embracing the doctrines they had firmly believed for four hundred years, yet manifestly a departure in some particulars from the principles stated by their deputies to Œcolampadius, and conformed to the new views he had communicated to them, especially in regard to free-will, grace, predestination, and several points of practical religion. See this confession in Perrin's *History of the Waldenses* (English translation), part i. b. ii. chap. iv. p. 59, &c. In the same council they took measures to procure an impression of the whole Bible in their native language, and also a supply of other religious books. See Perrin, *ubi supra*, p. 61.—*Mur.* [The history of this interesting people at a later period is referred to in the subsequent century.—*R.*

[6] Debrezen's *Historia Ecclesiæ Reformatæ in Hungaria et Transylvania*, lib. ii. p. 64, 72, 98, &c. Compare the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A.D. 1738. p. 1076,

26. After the promulgation of the *Formula of Concord*, many of the German churches which before belonged to the Lutheran communion united themselves to the Reformed. Among these were the churches of Nassau, Hanau, Isenburg, and others. In the year 1595, the princes of Anhalt, at the instigation especially of Wolfgang Amling, embraced the Reformed worship in place of the Lutheran, which produced a long contest between the inhabitants of that principality and the Lutherans.[1] In Denmark also, near the close of the century, the Reformed doctrines especially in regard to the Lord's Supper gained some footing; for that kingdom abounded in disciples and admirers of Melancthon, who were disposed to promote peace among the Protestants, at the head of whom was Nicholas Hemming, a pious and learned divine of Copenhagen. But the designs of Hemming and his friends becoming known prematurely, the other divines who were unwilling to have Lutheranism set aside opposed so many obstructions by means of the king, that those designs miscarried.[2]

27. Moreover, the nations which held communion with the Swiss did not embrace all the Helvetic tenets and institutions. The Swiss indeed ardently wished them to do so, but untoward circumstances frustrated their hopes. The English, as is well known, perseveringly rejected the ecclesiastical constitution and the form of worship adopted by the other Reformed churches; nor could they be persuaded to receive the common opinions of the Swiss respecting the Lord's Supper and the divine decrees, as the public sentiments of the whole nation.[3] The churches of the Palatinate, Bremen, Poland, Hungary, and Holland, agreed indeed with the Swiss or French respecting the Lord's Supper, the simplicity of their worship, and the form of church government; but not likewise in respect to predestination, which difficult subject they left to the discretion of individuals.[4] And down to the time of the Synod of Dort, no portion of the reformed community required, by any positive injunction, a belief in the opinion of the Genevans respecting the causes of everlasting salvation and damnation. Yet the greatest part of the teachers in most of these countries gradually came spontaneously into the Genevan views, in consequence especially of the reputation and influence of the school of Geneva, to which most of the candidates for the ministry of that age were accustomed to resort for instruction.

28. The inspired books of the Old and New Testaments are held by the Reformed

&c.; Haner's *Historia Ecclesiar. Transylvanicarum*, Frankf. 1694, 12mo. [See above, p. 585, notes 2 and 3. —*Mur.* [Add to these authorities on the Lutheran side, Ribini's *Memorabilia Augustanæ Confessionis in Regno Hungariæ*, Posen, 1787–89, 2 vols. It brings down the history to the year 1740. And on the side of the Reformed, see the valuable work, containing many important public papers, edited by Lampe and entitled *Historia Ecclesiæ Reformatæ in Hungaria et Transylvania*, Utrecht, 1728, 4to, referred to by Mosheim in the beginning of this note under the name of the author, which was suppressed by Lampe. He was Paul Ember Debreczinus, a minister of the Reformed church there. See Ribini, *ubi supra*, vol. i. p. 31. See also Bod, *De Reformationis Hungaricæ Patronis*, in Gerdes, *Miscell. Groning.* vol. iv. p. 133, &c.; and another dissertation by the same writer, who was a minister in Transylvania, *De Reform. Hungar. Ministris*, in Gerdes, *ubi supra*, vol. iv. p. 346, &c.—*R.*

[1] Beehman's *Historie des Hauses Anhalt*, vol. ii. part vi. p. 133, &c.; Kraft's *Ausführliche Historie von dem Exorcismo*, p. 428, 497, &c. [Though the princes professed Calvinism, and introduced Calvinist ministers in all the churches where they had the right of patronage, yet the people were left free in their choice; and the noblemen and their vassals who were attached to Lutheranism had secured to them the unrestrained exercise of their religion. By virtue of a convention made in 1679, the Lutherans were permitted to erect new churches. The Zerbst line, with the greatest part of its subjects, profess Lutheranism, but the three other lines with their respective territories are Calvinists.—*Macl.*

[2] Pontoppidan's *Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ Diplomatici*, tom. iii. p. 57, &c.

[3] It is true indeed that the doctrine of Zwingli, who represented the bread and wine as nothing more than the external signs of the death of Christ, was not adopted by the church of England; but the doctrine of Calvin was embraced by that church, and is plainly taught in the thirty-eighth article of its faith. As to what relates to the doctrine of the divine decrees, Mosheim is equally mistaken. The seventeenth article of the church of England is, as bishop Burnet candidly acknowledges, framed according to St. Augustine's doctrine, which scarcely differs at all from that of Calvin; and though it be expressed with a certain latitude which renders it susceptible of a mitigated interpretation, yet it is very probable that those who penned it were patrons of the doctrine of absolute decrees. The very cautious which are subjoined to this article intimate that Calvinism was what it was meant to establish. It is certain that the Calvinistical doctrine of predestination prevailed among the first English Reformers, the greatest part of whom were at least Sublapsarians; in the reign of queen Elizabeth this doctrine was predominant, but after that period it lost ground imperceptibly, and was renounced by the church of England in the reign of king Charles I. [not by the church, only by some of its ministers]. Some members of that church still adhered nevertheless to the tenets of Calvin, and maintained not only that the thirty-nine articles were Calvinistical, but also affirmed that they were not susceptible of being interpreted in that latitude for which the Arminians contended. These episcopal votaries of Calvinism were called Doctrinal Puritans. See Burnet's *Exposition of the XXXIX. Articles*, art. 7, and Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 579.—*Macl.* [See also Toplady's *History of Calvinism*, 2 vols. 8vo; bishop Tomline's *Refutation of Calvinism*, 8vo; Scott's *Remarks on Tomline on Calvinism*, 8vo; and *The Fathers, the Reformers, and the Public Formularies of the Church of England, in Harmony with Calvin*, &c. Philadelphia, 1817, 12mo, p. 108—119.—*Mur.* [On the other side however of this controversy, see the able Bampton Lectures of the late archbishop Lawrence, entitled *An Attempt to Illustrate those Articles of the Church of England which the Calvinists improperly consider as Calvinistical*, Oxf. 1804, 3d edit. 1838, which though ingenious is not convincing.—*R.*

[4] See Grotius, *Apologeticus eorum qui Hollandiæ ante Mutationem*, A.D. 1618, *præfuerunt*, cap. iii. p. 54, &c ed. Paris, 1640, 12mo.

to be the only source of divine truth, except that the English forbid contempt to be shown to the authority of the church in the five first centuries.[1] And they maintain equally with the Lutherans that these books are clear, full, and complete, so far as regards things necessary to salvation; and that they are to be interpreted from themselves [or independently and by comparing one part with another], and not after the dictates of human reason or of Christian antiquity. Several of their theologians indeed have been thought to extend too far the powers of human reason in comprehending and explaining the nature of the divine mysteries; and this has led many to represent the Reformed as upholding two sources of religious knowledge, the holy Scriptures and reason or rather the capacity of the human mind. But in this matter, if we do not mistake the fact, both parties err through eagerness to vanquish and subdue their adversaries. For if we except the improper phraseology of certain individuals, it will appear that the Reformed in general believe, as we do, that absurdities can never be believed, and consequently that doctrines which contain absolute absurdities must be false and cannot be believed; yet they sometimes contentiously apply this principle to overthrow those Lutheran tenets which they reject.[2]

29. The Reformed, if we restrict this appellation to those who approve the sentiments of Calvin, differ from the Lutherans in regard to three subjects.—I. The doctrine of the Holy Supper, in which the Lutherans say that the body and blood of Christ are truly, though in an inexplicable manner, presented to both the pious and the ungodly; while the Reformed suppose that the human nature of Christ is present only by the symbols of it. Yet they do not all explain their doctrine in the same manner. II. The doctrine of the eternal decrees of God in regard to the salvation of men, the ground of which the Lutherans suppose to be, the faith or unbelief of men in Christ foreseen by God from eternity; but the Reformed suppose it to be the free and sovereign good pleasure of God. III. Certain rites and institutions, which the Reformed think have a tendency to superstition, but which the Lutherans think are partly tolerable and partly useful to Christians. Such are images in churches, sacred garments for the clergy, the private confession of sins, the use of small circular pieces of bread [wafers] such as were anciently distributed in the Holy Supper, the formula of exorcism as it is called in the sacrament of baptism, and some others. These the Reformed would have to be abrogated, because they think religious worship should be restored to its primitive simplicity, and the additions made to it be wholly struck off.[3]

[1] There is nothing in the thirty-nine articles of the church of England which implies its considering the writings of the fathers of the first five centuries as an authoritative criterion of religious truth. There is indeed a clause in the Act of Uniformity [Act of Supremacy] passed in the reign of queen Elizabeth, declaring that her delegates in ecclesiastical matters, should not determine anything to be heresy but what was adjudged so by the authority of Scripture or by the first four general councils; and this has perhaps misled Mosheim in the passage to which this note refers. Much respect indeed, and perhaps too much, has been paid to the fathers, but that has been always a matter of choice and not of obligation.—*Macl.* [It was in regard to the constitution and government of the church rather than in articles of faith, that the church of England paid more deference to the fathers than the rest of the Reformed did; and on this subject they have actually copied after the practice of the first five centuries, as being obligatory upon the conscience. See sec. 20. p. 671, above, and Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. chap. iv. p. 183, 184.—*Mur.*

[2] Our author has here undoubtedly in view the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation, which supposes the same extended body to be totally present in different places at one and the same time. To call this a gross and glaring contradiction, seems rather the dictate of common sense than the suggestion of a contentious spirit.—*Macl.*

[3] This was the proper place for giving an account of the symbolical books of the Reformed church; but Mosheim has entirely omitted that topic. No doubt the Reformed church, as one general community distinct from Romanism and Lutheranism, has not any books universally recognised as symbolical throughout its several churches. But each church of the Reformed body has its own Confession, and these are ordinarily published together in one collection, and are usually spoken of as the Symbolical books of the Reformed church. The first collection of these Confessions was published at Geneva in 1581, under the title of *Harmonia Confessionum fidei Orthodoxarum et Reformatarum Ecclesiarum*. It comprised eleven confessions, the articles of which are classed together and printed in nineteen different sections. Another collection appeared in 1612, containing some additional matter entitled *Corpus et Syntagma Confessionum Fidei*, &c. reprinted in Geneva in 1654, in which the several confessions are given separately. The first-named collection was translated into English and published in the same form as the Latin copy, in London in 1643, 4to, and recently re-edited by the Rev. Peter Hall, 8vo, under the title of *The Harmony of Protestant Confessions*, &c. London, 1842. In this edition, the editor has subjoined three additional confessions which were not given in the edition of 1643, namely, the English thirty-nine articles, the Irish articles, and the judgment of the Synod of Dort. The latest edition of the Reformed Symbolical books is by the celebrated Augusti of Bonn, entitled, *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum qui in Ecclesia Reformatorum Auctoritatem Publicam obtinuerunt*, Elberf. 1827, 8vo. The confessions are arranged chronologically, and comprise the following:—The three Swiss confessions, the French confession of 1561, the English thirty-nine articles, the Scots confession of 1560, the Dutch or Belgic confession, the articles of the Synod of Dort, the Hungarian confession of 1570, the two Polish confessions of Sendomir in 1570 and Thorn in 1595, the early Bohemian confession, the Tetrapolitan, the Brandenburg confession in German, and the Leipsic Agreement of 1631 also in German, the Declaration at Thorn in 1645, the Helvetic Agreement or Formula consensus on the doctrine of Grace in 1675, together with the Genevan and Heidelberg Catechisms. With the exception of the two documents in German, all the rest are in Latin. The compiler purposely omitted the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, on the ground

30. This short list of topics will be seen to be in fact a long one, by those who are aware what a multitude of abstruse questions extending through the whole system of theology these few differences produced. For the controversy respecting the mode of the presence of Christ's body and blood in the Holy Supper afforded to the polemics ample room to expatiate on the mysteries of religion, or the nature and use of the sacraments; and to institute subtle discussions respecting the majesty and glory of Christ's human nature, the communication of divine attributes to it, and the proper attitude of the mind in the worship of Christ. The dispute respecting the divine decrees afforded abundant matter for debate on the nature of the divine attributes and particularly God's justice and goodness, on the certainty and necessity of all events, on the connexion between human liberty and divine providence, on the extent of the love which God has for men, and of the blessings procured for us by the merits of Christ; on the nature of that divine influence which renews the minds of men, on the perseverance of the persons who are appointed to eternal life in the covenant of God, and on various other subjects of no small moment. Nor was the last dissension, respecting rites and institutions, unprolific. For besides discussions respecting the origin and antiquity of certain rites, it produced the following controversies by no means contemptible:—What kind of things are they which may be justly denominated indifferent, or neither good nor bad? How far is it proper to yield to an adversary who contends about things in their nature indifferent? How far does Christian liberty extend? Is it lawful, for the sake of gratifying the people, to retain various ancient customs and institutions, which have a superstitious aspect yet are capable of a good interpretation? and others of a similar nature.

31. It has been debated, and sometimes with great warmth of feeling, particularly among the English and the Dutch, to whom rightfully belong the government of the church and the power of establishing rules and regulations in matters of religion. In these contests, those have come off victorious who maintain that the authority to regulate sacred affairs is, by the appointment of Christ himself, vested in the church, and therefore ought by no means to be committed into the hands of civil magistrates; yet they admit the right of temporal sovereigns to advise and to succour the church when in trouble, to assemble and preside in the conventions of the church, to see that her officers decree nothing prejudicial to the commonwealth, and to strengthen and confirm with their authority the decrees of the ministers of religion. The kings of England indeed, from the time of Henry VIII. have declared themselves to be supreme heads of the church as well in spiritual as in temporal things; and it is manifest that Henry VIII. and his son Edward VI. attached very ample powers to this title, and considered themselves authorized to do whatever the Roman pontiffs might do.[1] But queen Elizabeth greatly limited this prerogative, and declared that the authority of the kings of England did not extend to religion itself and to things sacred, but only to the persons who teach religion and minister in sacred things.[2] In England

that they did not possess the full authority of symbolical books among Presbyterians; and the authority he quotes for this singular piece of information is a statement by Whiston, that in a meeting of Presbyterian ministers in London in 1719, a majority had decided against subscription to the Confession! as if this Arian vote affected its authority in Scotland, Ireland, or in other Presbyterian churches. I may add that the Westminster Confession and the two Catechisms were translated into Latin by G. Dillingham, and printed at Cambridge in 1656, and at Edinb. in 1694, under the title of *Confessio Fidei in Conventu Theologorum authoritate Parliamenti Anglicani indicto elaborata*, &c. The Shorter Catechism was also translated into Greek by John Harmer, Regius Professor of Greek in Oxford, and printed, with a Latin version *au regard*, as Ἡ Κατήχησις τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Θρησκείας συντομωτέρα, Lond. 1659, 18mo.—*R.*

[1] Neal's *History*, &c. vol. i. ch. i. p. 11, and others.

[2] Le Courayer's *Supplément aux Deux Ouvrages pour la Défense de la Validité des Ordinations Anglicanes*, chap. xv. p. 416, &c. [Courayer's book I have not seen; but in what respects queen Elizabeth limited the powers of the kings of England as supreme heads of the church, or when and where she declared that the regal power did not extend to religion itself and to things sacred, I am unable to determine. Burnet indeed (*Hist. of the Reform.* vol. iii. p. 492, ed. London, 1825) says of the power conferred on Elizabeth at the commencement of her reign by the Act of Supremacy: "It was in many things short of the authority that king Henry had claimed." But he specifies no particulars; and it is well known that Henry far transgressed the limits which he pretended to set to his own power as head of the church. Neal says of the power given to Elizabeth by the above act of her parliament: "Nor is it the whole that the queen claimed, who sometimes stretched her prerogative beyond it." (*Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. i. ch. iv. p. 168.) Hume says of this act, (*Hist. of England*, vol. iv. ch. xxxviii. p. 151, edit. Philad. 1810): "Though the queen was there denominated governess, not head, of the church, it conveyed the same extensive power which, under the latter title, had been exercised by her father and brother." And he adds (ibid. p. 274): "Scarcely any sovereign before Elizabeth, and none after her, carried higher, both in speculation and practice, the authority of the crown." He likewise says (p. 290): "Religion was a point of which Elizabeth was, if possible, still more jealous than of matters of state. She pretended that, in quality of supreme head or governor of the church, she was fully empowered, by her prerogative alone, to decide all questions which might arise with regard to doctrine, discipline, or worship; and she never would allow her parliaments so much as to take these points into consideration." And the whole history of her reign appears to confirm these statements, which are so contrary to the assertions of Mosheim. See Hume, *ubi supra*, vol. iv. p. 150, &c. 272, 290, &c. 292, 336, 364, &c. 462. The powers of the English monarchs, as heads of the church, from Henry VIII. to Charles I. are thus defined by Neal, in his *History of the Puritans*, vol. i

therefore the constitution of the church is very nearly the same as that of the state. The clergy, distributed into two houses called the upper and lower houses of Convocation, are assembled by the order of the king and a summons from the archbishop of Canterbury; and they decree by common consent whatever the interests of the church are thought to demand; and the king and Parliament give to their decrees the sanctions and authority of laws.[1] Yet this subject has been much controverted, the king and the Parliament putting one construction upon the ecclesiastical constitution, and the rulers of the church, particularly those who think the church is an independent body, giving a different construction of it. And in fact, the ecclesiastical constitution of England has not a fixed and uniform character, but it depends on custom and usage and the fluctuations of time rather than on established laws.

32. The question, what is the best form and organization of a Christian church? produced likewise warm contests, which hitherto no means have been found able to decide. The Genevans guided by Calvin judged it proper that the private affairs of single churches should be directed by a body of elders or presbyters, all equals; that matters of a more public and important character should be decided in conventions of delegated elders in the provinces; and that the interests of the whole church and matters of special difficulty should be discussed, as anciently, in a council of the whole church.[2] Nor did the Genevans omit any exertions to persuade all their confederates to embrace this system. But the English judged the old system of church government to be very sacred, and therefore not to be changed. This system commits the inspection and care of certain minor provinces exclusively to the bishop; under the bishops are the presbyters of single churches; under the presbyters are the ministers or deacons; and the common in-

ch. iv. p. 169—172:—"They never pretended to be spiritual persons, or to exercise any part of the ecclesiastical function in their own person; they neither preached nor administered the sacraments," &c. "But, abating this point, it appears very probable, that all the jurisdiction and authority claimed by the pope, as the head of the church, was transferred to the king by the Act of Supremacy, as far as was consistent with the laws of the land then in being, though since it has undergone some abatements." He then proceeds to the following specifications:—"I. The kings and queens of England claimed authority in matters of faith, and to be the ultimate judges of what is agreeable or repugnant to the word of God." "II. With regard to discipline,—the king is the supreme and ultimate judge in the spiritual courts by his delegates, as he is in the courts of common law by his judges." "III. As to rites and ceremonies, the Act of Uniformity (1 Eliz. cap. 1.) says expressly, that the queen's majesty, by advice of her ecclesiastical commissioners, or of her metropolitan, may ordain and publish such ceremonies or rites as may be most for the advancement of God's glory and the edifying of the church. Accordingly, her majesty published her injunctions without sending them into convocation or parliament, and erected a court of High Commission for ecclesiastical causes, consisting of commissioners of her own nomination, to see them put in execution. Nay, so jealous was queen Elizabeth of this branch of her prerogative, that she would not suffer her high court of parliament to pass any bill for the amendment or alteration of the ceremonies of the church, it being (as she said) an invasion of her prerogative." "IV. The kings of England claimed the sole power of the nomination of bishops; and the deans and chapters were obliged to choose those whom their majesties named, under penalty of a *præmunire*; and after they were chosen and consecrated, they might not act but by commission from the crown." "V. No convocation or synods of the clergy can assemble but by a writ or precept from the crown; and when assembled, they can do no business without the king's letters patent, appointing them the particular subjects they are to debate upon; and after all, their canons are of no force without the royal sanction." "Upon the whole it is evident, by the express words of several statutes (31 Hen. VIII. chap. xvii. 1 Eliz. c. i.), that all jurisdiction, ecclesiastical as well as civil, was vested in the king, and taken away from the bishops, except by delegation from him. The king was chief in the determination of all causes in the church; he had authority to make laws, ceremonies, and constitutions, and without him no such laws, ceremonies, or constitutions, are or ought to be of force. And lastly, all appeals, which before had been made to Rome, are for ever hereafter to be made to his majesty's chancery, to be ended and determined, as the manner now is, by delegates."—*Mur.*

[1] Cosin, *De Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Religione et Disciplina*, cap. viii. p. 53, in Smith's *Vitæ Eruditiss. Virorum*, London, 1700, 4to; Wilkins, *De Vet. et Mod. Synodi Anglic. Constitutione*, in his *Concil. Mag. Brit.* tom. i. p. vii. &c.

[2] Maclaine thinks Mosheim has here made a great mistake, in specifying three judicatories as provided by the Genevan plan, while in fact the Genevan republic had but two ecclesiastical bodies, the Venerable Company of the pastors and professors, and the Consistory. But there is no need of severe criticism. The Presbyterian system is simply this: that single churches should each have a judicatory composed of all the elders belonging to it; that this judicatory be responsible to one or more higher judicatories, composed of delegated elders; and that the highest judicatory be that of a national synod, constituted in the same manner. Where the state is very small, as that of Geneva, there would be but one delegated body in which each individual church would be represented. But in larger states, as France, Holland, and Scotland, there would be a gradation of three or four distinct judicatories, each higher composed of delegates from the next lower. In France, there were (1), Consistories or church sessions (2), the Elderships or Presbyteries (3), the provincial councils, and (4) the national Synods, all formed on this plan. In Scotland originally the lowest judicatory was that of three or four contiguous churches united, then the provincial synods, and last the General Assembly. But at an early period each church came to have its distinct session; and this produced a gradation of four judicatories in Scotland. But while the Reformed admitted of no higher judicatory than a national council, or considered the church of each country as an independent body, they allowed of a connexion between national churches. Thus the national synods of the French church in this century held a continued correspondence by letters and envoys with the church of Geneva, and also regularly sent representatives to the Reformed church of the Low Countries, and received delegates from them. And in the next century, the Reformed Dutch church invited the Reformed churches of France, Germany, England, &c. to assist them, by their representatives, in the national synod of Dort. So at the present day, in the United States of America, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church annually exchanges delegates with the General Associations of the New-England States, and also holds correspondence with some transatlantic bodies.—*Mur.*

terests of the whole body are discussed in assemblies of the bishops and those next in rank to them. And this system, with some exceptions, is adopted by the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren who belong to the Reformed church.[1] This single disagreement, as each party traced the origin of its own system to Jesus Christ and his apostles, was sufficient to divide the whole Reformed church into sects, and in fact it rent the English church into two factions, to the great injury of the community. But in contravention of the wishes of many, the prudence of certain excellent individuals prevented the evil from spreading abroad, and destroying the fellowship of foreigners with the English. These men disseminated the principle that Jesus Christ prescribed no definite form of government for his church, and therefore that every nation may frame such a system for itself as the circumstances of the country require, provided it be not prejudicial to the truth nor tend to the restoration of superstition.[2]

33. Calvin believed that those who led vicious and ungodly lives ought to be deprived of communion in divine ordinances, and that profligates and the slaves of lust were also to be restrained by the laws of the state. In this matter he differed from Zwingli, who ascribed all power to the magistrates alone, and would not allow to the ministers of religion the right to exclude transgressors from the church, or to deprive them of the communion.[3] And so great was the influence of Calvin at Geneva, that he was able, though with great perils and amid perpetual conflicts with the patrons of licentiousness, to establish there a rigorous system of moral discipline, supported and exercised with the countenance of the laws, whereby abandoned characters were first excluded from the church by the ecclesiastical court or the Consistory, and then were either banished the city or restrained by other punishments.[4] The clergy in the cantons of Switzerland wished to copy after this discipline of Calvin, and to obtain the same power over transgressors; but their desires and efforts were in vain. For the people in the cantons of Berne, Zurich, Basil, &c. would by no means allow a removal of the boundaries set by Zwingli to the jurisdiction of the church, or permit the enlargement of its powers and prerogatives.[5]

34. That all branches of learning both sacred and profane were everywhere successfully cultivated among the Reformed in this century, is well known; and the numerous monuments of their splendid talents which are still preserved forbid any one to be ignorant of the fact. Zwingli was disposed to exclude philosophy from the church;[6] but the succeeding Swiss doctors soon discovered that in such a world as this, and especially in the disputes on religious subjects, a knowledge of it cannot be dispensed with. Hence when Calvin erected the academy of Geneva in 1558, he at once provided for it a professor of philosophy. But this professor was required to explain in his lectures none but the Aristotelian philosophy, which then reigned in all the schools.[7] Nor did the other universities of the Reformed suffer a

[1] See the *Epistola de Ordinatione et Successione Episcopali in Unitate Fratrum Bohemorum conservata*, in Pfaff's *Institut. Juris Eccles.* p. 410.

[2] Here may be consulted with advantage the discussions on the subject between Fred. Spanheim and John Van der Waeyen, in the works of Spanheim, tom. ii. lib. viii. ix. p. 1062, &c. The same opinion is said to have been embraced by the British divines who lived near the time of the Reformation, and to have been first repudiated by Archbishop Whitgift. Neal, *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 140. [This statement is incorrect as respects Archbishop Whitgift. Neal says (vol. iii. p. 117, ed. London, 1822), "Most of our first Reformers were so far in these sentiments" (those of the Erastians) "as to maintain, that no one form of church government is prescribed in Scripture as an invariable rule for future ages; as Cranmer, Redmayn, Cox, &c.; and Archbishop Whitgift, in his controversy with Cartwright, delivers the same opinion: 'I deny (says he) that the Scripture has set down any one certain form of church government to be perpetual.'" "The chief patrons of this scheme in the (Westminster) Assembly were Dr. Lightfoot, Mr. Colman, Mr. Selden, Mr. Whitlock; and in the House of Commons, besides Selden and Whitlock, Oliver St. John, Esq. Sir Thomas Widdrington, John Crew, Esq. Sir John Hipsley, and others of the greatest names."—*Mur.*

[3] See the excellent letter of Rud. Gualther, in Fueslin's *Centuria* i. *Epistolar. Reformat.* p. 471, where he says: "Excommunicationem neque Zwinglius—neque Bullingerus unquam probarunt, et—obstiterunt iis qui eam aliquando voluerunt introducere.—Basiliæ quidem Œcolampadius, multum dissuadente Zwinglio, instituerat—sed adeo non durabilis fuit illa constitutio, ut Œcolampadius illam abrogarit," &c. Compare p. 90.

[4] Nothing caused Calvin more troubles, cabals, and perils at Geneva, than his determined resolution to purge the church of transgressors, and to restrain and punish those who violated the rules established by the church, or by the Consistory which represented the church. See his Life written by Beza and prefixed to his letters; the Notes to the second volume of Spon's *Histoire de Genève*; and Calvin himself in his Letters, especially in those which he wrote to James de Falais or De Bourgogne, published at Amsterdam, 1744, 8vo, p. 126, 127, 132, 153, 157. The party at Geneva which defended the former licentiousness of morals, not only with their tongues but by their actions and with force of arms, and which Calvin called the sect of the Libertines, was very powerful. But Calvin's resolution was also invincible, and his rigorous discipline triumphed.

[5] See for example the commotions at Lausanne, in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. ii. p. 119, &c. The disputes on this subject among the people of the Palatinate, who wished to adopt the Genevan discipline, are described by Alting, in his *Hist. Eccles. Palatina*, and by Struve, in his *Pfälzische Kirchenhist.* p. 212, &c.

[6] Zwingli, in the dedication of his book on true and false religion to Francis I. king of France, says expressly, on p. 12, "Philosophiæ interdictum est a Christi scholis, at isti (the Sorbonists) fecerunt eam cœlestis verbi magistram."

[7] Beza's *Epist. Theolog.* Ep. xxxvi. pag. 156; "Certum nobis ac constitutum est et in ipsis tradendis Logicis

different philosophy to be taught in them. Yet at Basil, the system of Peter Ramus was for a time preferred by some to that of Aristotle.[1]

35. The Reformed church from its very commencement had many expositors of the Scriptures, several of whom were ingenious and excellent. Zwingli's labours in explanation of most of the books of the New Testament are not to be despised. He was followed by Henry Bullinger, John Œcolampadius, Wolfgang Musculus, and many others, not his equals indeed in genius and learning, yet all of them meriting some praise. But the first rank among the interpreters of this age is deservedly assigned to John Calvin, who endeavoured to expound nearly the whole of the sacred volume; and to Theodore Beza, whose New Testament illustrated with learned remarks of various kinds, especially critical ones, has been often published, and has not to this day lost all the renown and estimation in which it was formerly held. It is an honour to most of these expositors, that disregarding allegories and mystical interpretations, they endeavour to ascertain the literal import of the language used by the inspired men; but on the other hand some of them, and in particular Calvin, have been reproached, because they venture to refer to Jewish affairs some predictions of the ancient prophets which relate to Jesus Christ and represent him as present to their view, and thus have deprived Christianity of important corroboration.[2]

36. The state of dogmatic theology among the Swiss and the other Reformed was much the same as it was among the Lutherans. Zwingli early collected and digested the principal doctrines of Christianity in his little book on *True and False Religion*. Afterwards, John Calvin produced a much larger and more perfect work of this sort, entitled *Institutes of the Christian Religion*,[3] which long held the same rank and authority in nearly all countries of the Reformed church which Melancthon's Common-place Book (*Loci Communes*) did among the Lutherans. Calvin was succeeded by many writers on dogmatic theology, some more prolix and others more concise, as Musculus, Peter Martyr, Piscator, and others. The earlier the writer in this department, the less he has of subtlety and philosophical discrimination; and in this they resemble Calvin, whose *Institutes* are written in a perspicuous and elegant style, and have nothing abstruse and difficult to be comprehended in the arguments or mode of reasoning. But after a while, the Aristotelico-Scholastic philosophy which was everywhere inculcated invaded also the fields of theology; and it was everywhere barren, thorny, and frightful, by means of its barbarous terms, its captious interrogatories, its subtle distinctions, and its rubbish of useless matter.[4]

37. Their instructions for regulating the

et in ceteris explicandis disciplinis, ab Aristotelis sententia ne tantillum quidem deflectere."

[1] See Brandt's *Vita Jacobi Arminii*, and the notes we formerly annexed to it, p. 8, 12, 13.

[2] See Hunnius, *Calvinus Judaizans*, Wittemberg, 1595, 8vo; to which Pareus opposed his *Calvinus Orthodoxus*, Neustadt, 1595, 8vo. [Even the Catholics have done Calvin the justice to rank him among the good commentators. Simon, in his *Histoire Crit. du Vieux Test.* p. 434, places him above Luther as to discrimination and soundness of judgment, though he ascribes to Luther more knowledge of the Hebrew. He adds: "Au reste, Calvin aiant l'esprit fort elevé on trouve dans tous ses Commentaires sur l'Ecriture un je ne-scai-quoi qui plait d'abord, et comme il s'étoit principalement appliqué à connoitre l'homme, il a rempli ses Livres d'une Morale qui touche."—*Schl.*

[3] Gerdes has given the literary history of this most celebrated work in his *Miscell. Groning.* vol. i. p. 451; &c. The English reader will see a full account of it in Scott's *Continuation of Milner's Church Hist.* vol. iii. p. 497, &c. It was translated into English by Norton so early as 1561, an edition which was frequently reprinted during the remainder of that century. More recently it has been translated by John Allen, Lond. 1813, 3 vols. 8vo.—*R.*

[4] Yet what is called the scholastic mode of treating theology appears to have pervaded the Reformed church somewhat later than it did our church. At least it was quite recent in Holland at the time of the council of Dort [A.D. 1619]. In this council, John Maccovius, a professor at Francker who was initiated in all the mysteries of the philosophic schools, was accused by Sibr. Lubbert of corrupting the truths of revelation. The case being investigated, the judges decided that Maccovius had not indeed perverted Christian doctrines but that he employed a mode of teaching of less simplicity than was proper; for he followed rather the example of the Scholastic doctors than that of the Holy Spirit. We will give the decision of the council in the language of Walter Balcanquall, in his epistle to Sir Dudley Carleton (which is the 350th of the *Epistolæ Ecclesiasticæ*, published by Limborch, p. 574):—"Maccovium—nullius hæreseos reum teneri—peccasse eum, quod quibusdam ambiguis et obscuris Scholasticis phrasibus usus sit; quod Scholasticum docendi modum conetur in Belgicis Academiis introducere. Monendum esse eum, ut cum Spiritu Sancto loquatur, non cum Bellarmino et Suarezio." Maccovius did not obey these admonitions, as is manifest from his writings, which are full of scholastic wit and knotty discussions. He therefore seems to have first taught the Dutch to philosophise on revealed religion. Yet he had associates, as William Ames and others. And it must be true that this philosophic or scholastic form of theology was extensively prevalent among the Reformed, anterior to the Synod of Dort, if that be true which Simon Episcopius states in his last oration to his disciples at Leyden; namely, that he had studiously avoided it, and had thereby incurred the violent hatred of the other doctors. He says (in Limborch's *Vita Episcopii*, p. 123): "Videbam veritatem multarum et maximarum rerum in ipsa Scriptura sacra, elaboratis humana industria phrasibus, ingeniosis vocabularum fictionibus, locorum communium artificiosis texturis, exquisitis terminorum ac formularum inventionibus adeo involutam, perplexam et intricatam redditam esse, ut Œdipo sæpe opus esset ad Sphingem illam Theologicam enodandam. Ita est, et hinc primæ lacrymæ." And, a little after, p. 124, he adds: "Reducendam itaque terminorum Apostolicorum et cuivis obviorum simplicitatem semper sequendam putavi, et sequestrandas, quas Academiæ et Scholæ tanquam proprias sibi vindicant, Logicas, philosophicasque speculationes ac dictiones."

life and conduct are annexed for the most part by the Reformed theologians of this age to their doctrines of faith, which was according to the example of Calvin, whom they nearly all follow as their guide. For in the last chapter but one of his *Institutes*, he treats of the civil power or the government of the state, and in the last chapter, of the life and conduct of a Christian; but he is less full than the importance and copiousness of the subject demand. Those otherwise excellent men were prevented from labouring to elucidate and systematize this branch of sacred knowledge, by the same causes which diverted our theologians from it, and especially by the tumult of perpetual controversy. It is conceded by eminent divines among the Reformed, that William Perkins, an Englishman,[1] first undertook to explain in a more accurate manner the science of practical theology, which Calvin and his contemporaries had left in a rude and imperfect state. With him was associated, among the Hollanders, William Teling,[2] who wrote however in the Dutch language. In emulation of them, William Ames, an Englishman,[3] but a theologian of Franeker in Holland, undertook to compose a complete system of practical theology.[4] Afterwards others prosecuted the subject.

38. There did not arise in this century so many sects and religious contests among the Reformed as there were among us; a fact which, while they may esteem it much to their credit, may be easily traced to adequate causes by one acquainted with the history of the Reformed church.[5] Yet John Calvin mentions and confutes one very pernicious faction, which was far worse than any of ours; namely, the sect of the Libertines or the Spirituals, which originated from Anthony Pockes, Gerhard Ruff, Quintin, and others, its leaders and founders, in Flanders; and thence passed into France, where it obtained countenance from Margaret, the queen of Navarre and sister of Francis I. and found patrons likewise in other sections of the Reformed church.[6] These Spirituals, if we carefully consider all that Calvin and others have written against them, maintained, though not always with sufficient perspicuity (for I do not know that any of their own writings are extant), that God himself works all things in all men, or is the cause and author of all human actions; that therefore the common notions of a difference

[1] William Perkins was born in 1558, educated at Cambridge, where he became fellow of his college and also the minister of a parish. He died in 1602, aged 44. In early life he was profane, prodigal, and given to intemperance; but when reformed, he became eminent for piety and an exemplary life. He was a Puritan, and as such repeatedly persecuted, was strictly Calvinistic, a very popular and faithful preacher, and a voluminous writer. His works, which were printed in Latin at Geneva, 1603, in 3 vols. fol. have been much read and admired on the Continent. See Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 129, &c.—*Mur.* [His works in English also fill three vols. fol. Cambr. 1603; they were several times reprinted in the early part of that century. He was rather a practical than a philosophical or scientific writer on moral theology; and it is probable that he owes the position which he here occupies in the pages of Mosheim to the circumstance of the Genevan translation having rendered his works more accessible to continental scholars than those of others of his countrymen.—*R.*

[2] Teling died in 1629 at Haerlem, where he was a preacher. His practical writings bear the marks of that age, and generally have allegorical titles; *e.g. The Pole-Star of Genuine Piety.* At this day, they are useful only in the history of practical theology.—*Schl.*

[3] In the original text, Dr. Ames is called a Scotchman. So palpable an error is corrected without scruple in the translation. He was born in the county of Norfolk, England, in the year 1576, educated at Cambridge under Mr. Perkins, became fellow of his college, was a zealous Puritan, and persecuted in 1610. He fled into Holland, preached a while in the English church at the Hague, was made professor of divinity at Franeker, resigned the office at the end of 12 years on account of his health, and retired to Rotterdam, where he died in 1633, aged 57. His widow and children removed to New-England, to which he had intended to emigrate. He was learned, acute, soundly Calvinistic, and a strict Independent. His writings are numerous, chiefly polemic and doctrinal, and written in a clear, concise, nervous Latin style. See Middleton's *Biographia Evangelica*, vol. iii. p. 45, &c. and Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 405, &c.—*Mur.*

[4] See the Dedication and Preface to Ames' formerly very famous work, *De Conscientia et ejus Jure.* In page 3 of the Preface, among other things, he says: "Quod hæc pars prophetiæ (*i.e.* practical theology), hactenus minus fuerit exculta, hoc inde fuit, quod primipilares nostri perpetuo in acie adversus hostes pugnare, fidem propugnare et aream ecclesiæ purgare, necessitate quadam cogebantur, ita ut agros et vineas plantare et rigare non potuerint ex voto, sicut bello fervente usu venire solet." His *Exhortation*, addressed to the theological students at Franeker, and subjoined to the above work, is worthy of perusal. From this address we may learn among other things, that in the universities of the Reformed, the chief attention was then bestowed on dogmatic and polemic theology, and that practical theology lay neglected: "Theologi præclare se instructos putant ad omnes officii sui partes, si dogmata tantum intelligant. Neque tamen omnia dogmata scrutantur, sed illa sola, quæ precipue solent agitari et in controversiam vocari."

[5] Maclaine says here: "Mosheim ought to have given us a hint of his manner of accounting for this, to avoid the suspicion of having been somewhat at a loss for a favourable solution." Schlegel therefore subjoins the following: "The Reformed church was at first small and more closely knit together than the Lutheran; and of course there could not arise in it such wide-spreading contentions. The leading persons also were able so to temper their disagreements, that they could not break out into a great flame. Zwingli and Calvin were men of great influence, who could arrest all contentions with as much power as Luther could. But Melancthon, who succeeded Luther, had not such influence; and when he was dead, there was no one to be found in our church competent to extinguish the fire which during his lifetime had been smoking in the ashes." A better solution may be found, I think, in the spirit and the religious principles of the two communities. For in the English church, which most resembled the Lutheran in these respects, there was as violent and as pernicious contention as among the Lutherans.—*Mur.*

[6] See Calvin's *Instructio adversus fanaticam et furiosam Sectam Libertinorum, qui se Spirituales vocant* in his *Tractatus Theologici*, p. 599, &c.

between good actions and bad are false and vain; that men cannot, properly speaking, commit sin; that religion consists in the union of the rational soul or the spirit with God; that if a person attains to this, by contemplation and directing his mind upward, he may freely obey the instincts of his nature; for whatever he may do, he will be innocent and after death will be united to God. These doctrines are so similar to the views of the ancient Beghards or Brethren of the Free Spirit, that I have very little doubt these Spirituals were their descendants; and the fact that this sect originated in Flanders, which in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was full of this sort of people, corroborates the supposition.

39. Totally different in character from these Spiritual Libertines, though not unfrequently confounded with them, were those Libertines of Geneva with whom Calvin had to contend fiercely all his life. The latter were no other than citizens of Geneva who could not endure Calvin's rigorous discipline, and who in opposition to his regulations defended with craft and violence, with factions, insults, and abuse, the dissolute morals of their progenitors, their brothels and carousals, their sports and frolics; all of which, as well as other indications of an irreligious spirit, Calvin most severely condemned and chastised.[1] There were moreover in this turbulent faction, persons not only dissolute in their lives, but also scoffers and despisers of all religion. Such a character was James Gruet, who not only assailed Calvin with all his power and called him bishop of Ascoli[2] and the new pope, but also discarded and opposed the divinity of the Christian religion, the immortality of the soul, the distinction between right and wrong, and whatever else was most sacred in the view of Christians; and for this he was punished capitally in the year 1550.[3]

40. Calvin had also at Geneva controversies with some who could not digest his doctrines, and especially his gloomy doctrine of absolute decrees. Being a man of excessive ardour and too jealous of his own reputation, he would not suffer them to reside at Geneva; nay, yielding to his passions in the heat of controversy, he frequently accused them of crimes and enormities from which they have been acquitted by the judgment of posterity.[4] Among these was Sebastian Castalio, master of the public school at Geneva; a man not indeed free from all faults, yet honest and distinguished for erudition and the elegance of his genius. As he would not praise all that Calvin and his colleagues did and taught, and especially as he rejected Calvin's and Beza's doctrine of pure and absolute predestination, he was required in 1544 to resign his office and go into exile. But the authorities of Basil received the exile, and gave him the Greek professorship in their university.[5]

41. Similar was the fate of Jerome Bolsec, a French Carmelite monk but greatly inferior to Castalio in learning and genius. He came to Geneva, allured by the Reformation to which he was inclined, and there established himself a physician. But in the year 1551 he most imprudently declaimed with vehemence in a public assembly against the doctrines of God's absolute decrees. For this he was cast into prison, and at last was compelled to leave the city. He returned to his native country, and to the Romish religion which he had before renounced; and now he assailed the reputation and the life and conduct of Calvin, and likewise of his colleague Beza, in the most slanderous publications.[6] From Bolsec's calamity originated the enmity between Calvin and James of Burgundy, an illustrious descendant from the dukes of Burgundy, and a great patron and intimate friend of Calvin, who had been led by his attachment to him to fix his residence at Geneva. James employed Bolsec as his

[1] See Spon's *Histoire de Genève*, tome ii. p. 44, in the notes of the editor.

[2] The import of this title of reproach, or the ground of its pertinence in the view of Gruet, is not explained by the historians who mention it, nor was Schlegel able satisfactorily to account for it. See his long note. —*Mur.*

[3] See Spon, *ubi supra*, tome ii. p. 47, the note.

[4] We may venture to say this at the present day, since the Genevans themselves and other doctors of the Reformed church ingenuously confess that the great talents of Calvin were attended by no small defects of character, which however they think should be overlooked on account of his extraordinary merits. See the notes to Spon's *Histoire de Genève*, tome ii. p. 110, &c. and elsewhere; also the Preface to the *Lettres de Calvin à Jacques de Bourgogne*, p. xix, &c.

[5] See Uytenbogaerd's *Ecclesiastical History*, written in Dutch, part ii. p. 70-73, where he endeavours to evince the innocence of Castalio; Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, tome i. p. 792, &c. [article, *Castalion*, which is elaborate, and appears to be candid.—*Mur.*] Colomesius, *Italia Orientalis*, p. 99, and others. [See Fueslin's *Lebensgeschichte Seb. Castellio*, Frankfort and Leipsic, 1774, 8vo.—*Schl.* [Castalio was born in Dauphiny or Savoy, 1515, and spent his days at Strasburg, Geneva, and Basil, where he died in 1563. He was an elegant Latin and Greek scholar, and wrote much, particularly translations into Latin and French. His Latin translation of the Bible is his most important work. He denied unconditional election, considered the Canticles as an uninspired book, and rejected Calvin's opinion respecting Christ's descent into hell. These were his chief errors.—*Mur.*

[6] See Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, article *Bolsec*, tome i. p. 592; Spon's *Histoire de Genève*, the note, tome ii. p. 55; *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, tome xxxii. p. 446, and tome xxxvi. p. 409.

personal physician, and therefore supported him all he could, when borne down by the influence of Calvin, to prevent his being entirely prostrated. This so exasperated Calvin, that to avoid his resentments James thought proper to retire from Geneva into the country.[1]

42. Bernardino Ochino, an Italian of Sienna and formerly vicar-general of the order of Capuchins, a man of a well informed and discriminating mind, who preached to an Italian congregation at Zurich, was in the year 1563 condemned and ordered into exile, by the decision of the whole Reformed church of Switzerland. For, in his books which were numerous, among other opinions differing from the common views, he taught in particular that the law respecting the marriage of a single wife was not in all cases without some exceptions. His works show that he speculated on many subjects more boldly than that age would permit, and in a manner different from the Swiss theologians. Yet there are those who maintain that his errors, when being old and indigent he was compelled to forsake Switzerland, were not so great as to deserve to be punished with banishment. He retired into Poland, and there united with the Antitrinitarians and Anabaptists, and died in the year 1564.[2]

43. While the Reformed punished with so great severity the audacity of those who conceived some change was requisite in the prevailing doctrines, they believed that the greatest mildness and gentleness ought to be manifested in those most violent contests between the English puritans and Episcopalians. For while they were particularly attached to the Puritans, who contended for the doctrines and discipline of the Swiss, they still regarded the Episcopalians with brotherly affection, and urged their confederates the Puritans to do the same; notwithstanding the Episcopalians injured most sensibly the greater part of the Reformed community, and by proclaiming the divine origin of their own discipline, scarcely allowed to the Reformed the name and the prerogatives of a true church. This moderation resulted from prudence, from the fear of offending a high-spirited and prosperous nation and its most powerful queen, whose influence governed even Holland also; and finally, from the danger of a destructive schism among the Reformed. For it is one thing to coerce and to cast out feeble and unarmed individuals, who are disposed to disturb the peace of a city by advancing opinions, not perhaps absolutely absurd nor of dangerous tendency, yet really novel; and quite another thing to provoke and drive to a secession a noble and most flourishing church, which may be defective in some respects. Moreover, the ground of the dissension [in England] hitherto did not seem to be religion itself, but its external forms, and the constitution of the church. Yet soon afterwards, some of the great principles of religion itself were brought under discussion.[3]

44. No one can deny or be ignorant of the fact, that the Reformed church in this age abounded in very eminent men, who were distinguished for their acquisitions of knowledge both human and divine. Besides Ulric Zwingli, John Calvin, and Theodore Beza, men of inexhaustible genius, the following have acquired by their writings immortal praise; namely, John Œcolampadius, Henry Bullinger, William Farell, Peter Viret, Peter Martyr, Theodore Bibliander, Wolfgang Musculus, Conrad Pellican, Lewis Lavater, Rudolph Hospinian, Zacharias Ursinus, Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Szegedinus, and many others; whose names and merits may be learned from the common writers of literary history, especially from Melchior Adami, Anthony Wood, Gerhard Brandt, Daniel Neal, an Englishman, the very learned and industrious author of the *History of the Puritans*, and from other writers.[1]

[1] See the *Lettres de Calvin à Jacques de Bourgogne*, Preface, p. viii. &c.; *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, tome xxxii. p. 444, and tome xxxiv. p. 406.

[2] Boverius, *Annales Capuccinorum*; and from these Annals, the author of the book entitled, *La Guerre Seraphique, ou Histoire des Perils qu'a couru la Barbe des Capucins*, livr. ii. p. 147, livr. iii. p. 192, 230, &c.; *Observationes Halenses Latinæ*, tom. iv. observ. xx. p. 406, tom. v. observ. i. p. 3, &c.; Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, tome iii. p. 2165; Sand's *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitar.* p. 4, &c.; Niceron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Hommes Illustres*, tome xix. p. 160, &c. [See the sketch of his life, p. 673, above, near the end of note 1. —*Mur.* [For a full account of Ochino's history and writings, see Trechsel's *Lelio Sozini u. d. Anti-trinitarier seiner Zeit*, p. 202—276. The English reader may consult M'Cric's *Reformation in Italy*, p. 431, &c.—*R.*

[3] The sarcasms of Mosheim in this section against the Reformed, do him no honour. The note of Maclaine however is worth inserting. It is this: "All the Protestant divines of the Reformed church, whether Puritans or others, seemed indeed hitherto of one mind about the doctrines of faith. But towards the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, there arose a party who were first for softening, and then for overthrowing the received opinions concerning predestination, perseverance, free-will, effectual grace, and the extent of Christ's redemption. These are the doctrines to which Mosheim alludes in this passage. The clergy of the episcopal church began to lean towards the notions concerning these intricate points which Arminius propagated some time after this; while, on the other hand, the Puritans adhered rigorously to the system of Calvin. Several episcopal doctors remained attached to the same system, and all these supporters of Calvinism, whether Episcopal or Presbyterian, were called doctrinal Puritans."—*Mur.*

[1] All the larger biographical dictionaries may be

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE SECT OF ANABAPTISTS OR MENNONITES.

1. THE origin of the sect who, from their repetition of the baptism received in other communities, are called Anabaptists,[2] but who are also denominated Mennonites, from the celebrated man to whom they owe a large share of their present prosperity, is involved in much obscurity.[3] For they

consulted, and also the Encyclopædias, particularly that of Dr. Rees. To these may be added Middleton's *Biographia Evangelica*, and Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, besides the numerous biographies of individual men. The means of becoming acquainted with the lives, characters, and writings of distinguished modern theologians are so abundant, and the extent of the subject so great, that full lists of all the authors of each century will not be given in the notes to the centuries in this volume as in those prior to the Reformation.—*Mur.* [The above reference to Brook's *Lives of the Puritans* must have been an oversight; for that work, as its very name imports, contains no account of any of these foreigners. Within the last few years separate biographies of several of these leading reformers have appeared in Germany which have supplanted previous works. In addition to Schuler's life of Zwingli, Herzog's life of Oecolampadius, and Kirchhofer's life of Farell mentioned in the note at page 572, and Henry's life of Calvin, in note 3, page 663, above, I may add here Baum's *Theodore Beza nach handschriftlichen Quellen dargestellt*, Leip. 1843, vol. 1st. I believe the second volume of this valuable work, which was much wanted, has not yet appeared. Hess, the author of a meagre life of Zwingli, has also published *Lebensgeschichte H. Bullingers*. Zur. 1828, two parts, though never completed. A full biography of this influential Reformer, so well known and so highly respected in Britain, is very desirable; and for such a work much new and valuable materials have been recently rendered accessible in the *Zurich Letters* published by the Parker Society. There are no separate lives, of any great value, of the other foreign reformers mentioned in the text. Of Archbishop Cranmer we have had two recent lives; the one by the Rev. H. J. Todd, Lond. 1831, 2 vols. 8vo, which is the preferable one; and the other by the Rev. C. W. Le Bas, Lond. 1833, 2 vols. 12mo.—*R.*

[2] The modern Mennonites are offended with this term, and profess to be entirely free from the practice of repeating baptism, on which this name is founded. They admit that the old Anabaptists had the custom of re-baptizing such as joined them from other denominations of Christians; but they say, the custom at this day is laid aside by much the greater part of their community. See Schyn's *Historiæ Mennonitarum plenior Deductio*, cap. ii. p. 32. But, unless I am altogether deceived, these good men here lose sight of that simplicity and ingenuousness, which they at times so highly recommend; and artfully conceal the true ground of this appellation. They pretend that their predecessors were called Anabaptists, for this reason, that they thought those who had been baptized in other communities after they became adults and attained to the full use of reason, were to be baptized again. But it is certain that the name was given to them not only for that reason, but more especially because they considered the persons who were initiated into the Christian church by baptism in their infancy, as not belonging to the church at all; and therefore when such persons would join the Anabaptists, they baptized them a second time. And in this sentiment all the sects of Anabaptists continue down to the present time, however much they may differ in other opinions and customs. Among the ancient Anabaptists, those in particular who are called Flemings or Flandrians most fully merit this appellation. For they rebaptize not only those who received baptism in other denominations in their childhood or infancy, but likewise those who received it in adult years. Nay, each particular sect of Anabaptists rebaptize those who come to them from the other sects of their denomination, for each sect considers its own baptism to be the only true and valid baptism. The more moderate Anabaptists, or the Waterlandians as they are called, are a little wiser, because they do not rebaptize such as were baptized at adult years in other denominations, nor those who were baptized in other sects of Anabaptists. And yet they are justly denominated Anabaptists, because they rebaptize those who received baptism in their infancy. Still however the patrons of the sect most carefully keep this custom out of sight; because they are afraid lest the almost extinguished odium should revive, and the modern Mennonites be regarded as descended from the flagitious Anabaptists, if they should frankly state the facts as they are. Hear a very recent writer, Schyn (*ubi supra*, p. 32), where he endeavours to show that his brethren are unjustly stigmatized with the odious name of Anabaptists. He says, "that Anabaptism has become wholly obsolete; and for many years past, no person of any sect whatever who holds the Christian faith, if baptized ACCORDING TO THE COMMAND OF CHRIST, when he wishes to join our churches, is rebaptized." On reading this, who would not readily suppose that the repetition of baptism no longer exists among the Mennonites of our times? But the fallacy is in some measure betrayed by the words which we have printed in capital letters, "according to the command of Christ." For the Anabaptists contend that it is without any command of Christ, that infants are admitted to baptism. And the whole design is more clearly indicated by the words which follow; sed illum etiam ADULTORUM baptismum, ut sufficientem agnoscunt. And yet, as if he had fully established his point, Schyn thus concludes his argument:—Quare verissimum est, illud odiosum nomen Anabaptistarum illis non convenire. But it does certainly belong to them; because the very best of the Mennonites, equally with those from whom they are descended, think that the baptism of infants has no validity; and therefore they cause those who have already been baptized among other Christians, to be again baptized with their baptism. There are many things which induce me to believe that reliance cannot always be placed on the Confessions and the expositions of the modern Mennonites. Being instructed by the miseries and sufferings of their fathers, they conceal entirely those principles of their sect from which their character and state would most clearly appear; and the others which they cannot conceal, they most studiously disguise that they may not appear too bad. [This long and invidious note of Mosheim the translator would gladly have omitted, if he had felt himself at liberty to suppress anything contained in the book. For to what purpose are such discussions? The point at issue is, whether the Mennonites or Baptists are properly denominated Anabaptists. And the fact is that according to their own principles they are not, in the literal and proper sense of the word, Anabaptists or Rebaptizers. But according to the principles of all believers in infant baptism they are, literally and truly, Anabaptists. For they hold infant baptism to be no valid Christian baptism; and therefore, to be consistent, when they receive to their church one who had been baptized in infancy, they must give him baptism; for he is on their principles an unbaptized person. But according to the believers in infant baptism, such a person had previously received a real Christian baptism; and therefore to baptize him now is to rebaptize him. Such being the true state of the case, is not Mosheim's eagerness to fasten on the Mennonites the odious name of Anabaptists, as good proof—to say the least—of disingenuousness, as is their eagerness to get rid of it? He if successful gains nothing, except to render them odious. They are striving to have a fair trial of their case solely upon its merits, without being exposed to the prejudice of words and names.—*Mur.*

[3] The writers who treat of the Anabaptists and who confute them, are enumerated at large by Sagittarius, *Introductio ad Hist. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 826, &c.; and by Pfaff, *Introduct. in Histor. Literariam Theol.* par. ii. p. 349, &c. To their lists must be added the very recent writer and doctor among the Mennonites, Herman Schyn, who first published his *Historia Mennonitarum*, Amsterd. 1723, 8vo, and afterwards his *Historiæ Mennonitarum Plenior Deductio*, Amsterd. 1729, 8vo. Both the works will aid in acquiring a knowledge of the affairs of this sect; but neither of them deserves the title of a History of the Mennonites. For the writer

suddenly started up in various countries of Europe, under the influence of leaders of dissimilar characters and views; and at a time when the first contests with the Catholics so distracted the attention of all, that they scarcely noticed any other passing occurrences. The modern Mennonites affirm that their predecessors were the descendants of those Waldenses who were oppressed by the tyranny of the papists; and that they were a most pure offspring, and most averse from any inclinations towards sedition as well as from all fanatical views.[1] On the contrary, their adversaries contend that they are descended from those turbulent and furious Anabaptists, who in the sixteenth century involved Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and especially Westphalia, in so many calamities and civil wars; but that being terrified by the dreadful fate of their associates, through the influence of Menno Simonis especially, they have gradually assumed a more sober character. After duly examining the whole subject with impartiality, I conceive that neither statement is altogether true.

2. In the first place, I believe the Mennonites are not altogether in the wrong, when they boast of a descent from those Waldensians, Petrobrusians, and others, who are usually styled the Witnesses for the truth before Luther. Prior to the age of Luther, there lay concealed in almost every country of Europe, but especially in Bohemia, Moravia, Switzerland, and Germany, very many persons, in whose minds was deeply rooted that principle which the Waldensians, the Wickliffites, and the Hussites maintained, some more covertly and others more openly; namely, that the kingdom which Christ set up on the earth, or the visible church, is an assembly of holy persons, and ought therefore to be entirely free, not only from ungodly persons and sinners, but from all institutions of human device against ungodliness. This principle lay at the foundation and was the source of all that was new and singular in the religion of the Mennonites; and the greatest part of their singular opinions, as is well attested, were approved some centuries before Luther's time, by those who had such views of the nature of the church of Christ.[2] Some of this class of people, perceiving that such a church as they had formed an idea of would never be estab-

deems it more his business to defend and justify his sect, than to give a regular narrative of their origin, progress, and revolutions. Yet he does not perform the functions of a vindicator so learnedly and judiciously, that the Mennonites could not have a better patron. Of the historians and Confessions of the Mennonites, Köcher treats expressly, in his *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolicæ*, p. 461, &c. [The principal English histories of baptism and of the Baptists or Mennonites, are Wall's *Hist. of Infant Baptism*, 2 vols. 8vo, Lond. 1705; his *Defence of the History*, and Gale's *Reflections on Wall's History*; Crosby's *Hist. of the* [*English*] *Baptists*, 4 vols. 8vo, 1738—40; Robert Robinson's *Hist. of Baptism*, Lond. 1790, 4to; and Benedict's *General Hist. of the Baptists*, Boston, 1813, 2 vols. 8vo.—*Mur.* [See also Ivimey's *History of the English Baptists to the death of George III.* Lond. 1811—30, 4 vols. 8vo.—*R.*

[1] Abrahamzon's *Verdediging der Christenen, die doopsgesinde genaind worden*, p. 29; Schyn's *Plenior deductio Histor. Mennonit.* cap. i. p. 2, &c

[2] As respects the Waldensians, see Limborch's *Historia Inquisitionis*, lib. i. cap. viii. p. 37. [See also Lydius' *Waldensia*, and Allix's *Ancient Churches of Piedmont*, chap. xxii.—xxvi. p. 211—280, N.—*Macl.*] That the Wickliffites and Hussites were not far from the same sentiments can be shown by adequate testimony. [That the Mennonites, as being one of those Protestant sects which renounced the Romish religion in the 16th century, resembled very much the Waldenses, the Wickliffites, and the Hussites, those earlier revolters from the Romish worship, is undoubtedly true. And it may therefore be justly said that "the greatest part of their singular opinions," meaning those in which they differed from the Romish church, "were approved some centuries before Luther's time." And this, I think, must be all that Mosheim intended to say For, that in most of the points in which they appeared singular among Protestants, they bore a nearer resemblance to the proper Waldenses, the Wickliffites, and the Hussites, than the other Protestants or than the Lutherans and the Reformed did, is very far from being true. On the contrary, it is a well-known historic fact that in the sixteenth century the genuine descendants of the old Waldensians, Wickliffites, and Hussites, who were numerous in France, England, Bohemia, Moravia, &c. readily united with the Lutheran and the Reformed communities, and at length became absorbed in them; and that very few, if any of them, ever manifested a preference for the Mennonites or for any of the Antipædobaptist sects of that age. The history of the Reformation in all the countries where the ancient sects were found fully establishes this fact, which is so adverse to the supposition of a legitimate descent of the Mennonites from the pure Waldensians. The first Mennonites were not persons who had before borne the name of Waldensians, or who were known descendants of Waldensians; nor did they originate either in or near the countries where the Waldensians in that age resided. And if we endeavour to trace the history of that grand peculiarity of all Mennonites, their confining baptism to adult believers and rejecting infant baptism altogether, we shall find that at the time Menno first embraced it, it existed among the numerous German Anabaptists but not among the Waldenses of France or Bohemia, who were then universally believers in infant baptism and were in fraternal communion with the Lutheran and Reformed churches. These Waldensian Pædobaptists, moreover, declared that they held the same belief which their fathers had maintained for several centuries; and they appealed to their old books to make good their assertions. See Perrin's *History of the Waldenses*, part i. book i. chap. iv. p. 15, of the English translation; and part iii. book iii. ch. iv. p. 99. Nor does ecclesiastical history appear to me to disprove the truth of their assertion. There were indeed various mystical sects tinctured more or less with Manichæan views in the twelfth and following centuries, who rejected all water baptism on much the same grounds as the Quakers still do (p. 387, &c. above); and some of these assailed infant baptism especially as being peculiarly unsuitable and absurd. There is also pretty good evidence that early in the 12th century Peter Bruys and his successor Henry, with their followers the Petrobrussians and Henricians, did at first reject infant baptism without discarding all baptism. (See page 426, and the notes there.) But soon after Peter Waldo arose and gave birth to the proper Waldensians, and we hear no more of the Petrobrussians and Henricians. They probably gave up their opposition to infant-baptism. See Wall's *Hist. of Infant Baptism*, part ii. chap. vii.—*Mur.*

lished by human means, indulged the hope that God himself would in his own time erect for himself a new church, free from every blemish and impurity; and that he would raise up certain persons and fill them with heavenly light for the accomplishment of this great object. Others, more discreet, looked for neither miracles nor inspiration; but judged that the church might be purified from all the contaminations of evil men, and be brought into the state that Christ had intended, by human efforts and care, provided the practice and the regulations of the ancient Christians were restored to their pristine dignity and influence.

3. The spirits and courage of this people who had long been severely persecuted and scattered over many countries, revived as soon as they heard that Luther, aided by many good men, was successfully engaged in reforming the very corrupt state of the church. According to their different principles and views, some supposed that the time was now come when God himself would take possession of men's hearts and would set up his heavenly kingdom on the earth; others concluded that the long-expected and wished-for restitution of the church, to be effected indeed under the providence of God but yet by human agency, was now at hand. With these, as is common in such great revolutions, were joined many everywhere of similar aims but of unlike capacities; who in a short time by their discourses, their dreams, and their prophecies, roused up a large part of Europe, and drew over to the party a vast multitude of the ignorant and ill-informed people. The leaders of this great multitude, erroneously conceiving that the new kingdom which they foretold was to be free from all evils and imperfections, because they considered the reformation of the church which Luther had commenced as not corresponding with the magnitude of the case, did themselves project a more perfect reformation of it, or rather projected another and altogether a divine church.

4 Whether the origin of this discordant sect which caused such mischief in both the civil and religious community, is to be sought for in Switzerland or in Holland and Germany, or in some other country, it is not important to know and is impossible fully to determine.[1] In my opinion this only can be affirmed, that at one and the same time—that is, not long after the commencement of the Reformation by Luther—there arose men of this sort in several different countries. This may be inferred from the fact that nearly all the first leaders of any note among the Anabaptists were founders of distinct sects. For though all these reformers of the church, or rather these projectors of new churches, are called Anabaptists, because they all denied that infants are proper subjects of baptism, and solemnly baptized over again those who had been baptized in infancy, yet from the very beginning, just as at the present day, they were split into various parties which disagreed and disputed about points of no small importance. The worst part of this motley tribe, viz. that which supposed the founders of their ideal and perfect church would be endued with divine powers and would work miracles, began to raise great disturbances in Saxony and the neighbouring countries in the year 1521, under the guidance of Thomas Munzer, Mark Stubner, Nicholas Storck, and other chiefs. They first pursued their object by means of harangues, discussions, and the detail of divine visions to which the leaders of their party made pretensions. But finding these means less efficient than they could wish, and that their influence was resisted by the arguments of Luther and others, they rushed to arms. Munzer and his associates having collected a vast army from among the credulous populace, particularly in the rural parts of Suabia, Thuringia, Franconia, and Saxony, proclaimed war in the year 1525 against all law and civil governments, and declared that Christ alone would reign from that time forward. But these forces were routed without much difficulty by the elector of Saxony and other princes; Munzer, the firebrand of sedition, was put to death, and his aiders and abettors were dispersed.[2]

5. By this bloody defeat, the others who were actuated by the same turbulent and fanatical spirit were rendered indeed more timid but not more wise. It appears that from this time onward there roamed about Germany, Switzerland, and Holland, many persons infected with the same criminal principles which had proved the ruin of Munzer; that in many places they disturbed both the church and the state by their seditious discourses; that they gathered here and there larger or smaller congregations, and in the name of God announced sudden destruction as about to overtake the magistrates and the civil governments; and

[1] Whether the Anabaptists appeared first in Germany or in Switzerland is made the subject of inquiry by Fueslin, *Beyträge zur Schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte*, vol. i. p. 190, vol. ii. p. 64, 65, p. 265, 327, 328, vol. iii. p. 323. But he is not self-consistent in the discussion, nor has he accomplished anything.

[2] See Seckendorf's *Historia Lutheranismi*, lib. i. p. 192, 304, &c. lib. ii. p. 13; Sleidan, *Commentarii*, lib. v. p. 47; Camerarius, *Vita Melancthonis*, p. 41, &c.

while they pretended to be ambassadors of God, often audaciously insulted the divine majesty by their shameful conduct and crimes. Infamous with posterity beyond others of this senseless tribe, were the names of Lewis Hätzer, Balthazar Hubmeyer, Felix Mantz, Conrad Grebel, Melchior Hoffmann, George Jacobs, and others; who, had their abilities been adequate, would have involved all Switzerland, Holland, and Germany, in tumults and wars.[1] Among these people there were some strangely delirious, and who fancied they had incredible visions; but those of them who were not destitute of all power of reasoning taught for substance the following doctrines:—(I.) That the church of Christ ought to be free from all sin. (II.) That a community of goods and universal equality should be introduced. (III.) That all usury, tithes, and tributes, should be abolished. (IV.) That the baptism of infants was an invention of the devil. (V.) That all Christians had a right to act as teachers. (VI.) That of course the Christian church had no need of ministers or teachers. (VII.) Neither was there any need of magistrates under the reign of Christ. (VIII.) That God still made known his will to certain persons, by dreams and visions.[2] I omit other opinions. It would however betray ignorance or want of candour to deny, that there were others everywhere who held in general the same opinions yet lived more quietly and peaceably, and in whom no great fault can be found except their erroneous opinions and their zeal to disseminate them among the people. Nor do I fear to add, that among the followers not only of these more sober Anabaptists but even of those altogether misguided, there were many persons of honest intentions and of real piety, whom an unsuspecting simplicity and a laudable desire to reform the church had led to join the party.

6. While this tumultuous sect was spreading itself through nearly all Europe, the emperors, kings, princes, and magistrates resisted them with very severe edicts, and at last with capital punishments.[3] But

[1] See the details collected, among others by Ottius, in his *Annales Anabaptistici*, p. 21, &c. by Hornbeck, *Summa Controversiarum*, lib. v. p. 333; Mattheus, *Audecta Vet. Ævi*, tom. iv. p. 629, 677, 679, the recent ed.; Raupach's *Austria Evangelica*, tom. ii. p. 41; Schelhorn, *Acta ad Historiam Eccles. Pertinentia*, tom. i. p. 100; Arnold, *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, book xvi. chap. xxi. p. 727, &c. Fueslin, in the various documents relating to the Anabaptists which he has inserted in his *Beyträge zu der Schweitzerischen Reformationsgeschichte* [and more recently Professor Wills, *Beyträge zur Geschichte des Anabaptismus in Deutschland nebst wichtigen Urkunden und Beylagen*, Nuremb. 1773, 8vo.—Lewis Haetzer, whom some take to be a Bavarian and others a Swiss, was a man of abilities, and well versed especially in the languages. Joachim Vadianus (see Fueslin, vol. v. p. 397) calls him, "Commodissimi ingenii hominem, clarum virum, linguis etiam et admirabili ingenii dexteritate præditum." He lived in the time of the Reformation at Zurich, and aided the Reformers by his discourses and his writings; among other things he translated Œcolampadius' Book *De Sacramento Eucharistiæ* into German in the year 1526. But he afterwards separated from the Reformers and followed his own views in theology, which were often singular, as appears from his writings published between the years 1523 and 1529. Among other works he translated the prophets with the assistance of Hans Denk. He also wrote in the year 1523 a book against the divinity of Christ, which Ambrose Blaurer, by direction of Zwingli, confuted. He was among the extravagant Anabaptists and was beheaded at Constance in 1529, because he cohabited with many women and perverted the Scriptures to justify his unchastity.—Balthazar Hubmeyer, who sometimes called himself Friedberger, from his native place in Bavaria, is in the above-cited epistle of Vadianus pronounced, eloquentissimus, and humanissimus vir. Before the Reformation he was for a time preacher in the principal church at Regensburg, where he became suspected on account of some erroneous doctrines, and was obliged to quit the place. Afterwards he preached at Waldshut. But as he allowed himself to be led astray by Thomas Münzer, he was driven from that place also; and fleeing to Zurich he was thrown into prison, but after a three days' discussion with Zwingli he recanted. Yet continuing afterwards enthusiastic, he was expelled the city and retired to Moravia, where he fell into the hands of the Austrian government and was burned alive at Vienna in 1528. His writings are enumerated by Fueslin, *Beyträge*, vol. v. p. 399, &c.—Felix Mantz of Zurich, was there apprehended with others on account of his Anabaptistic doctrines, and was drowned. See Fueslin, *Beyträge*, vol. v. p. 259, &c. —Grebel was also of Zurich, of a good family and of great talents, but of so great obstinacy that nothing could induce him to change his opinions. Yet he fortunately escaped from prison and afterwards died a natural death.—Melchior Hoffmann was a furrier of Suabia who laboured to disseminate the doctrines of the Anabaptists in the Netherlands, and in Lower Saxony and Livonia, and died in prison at Strasburg in 1533. To enumerate his writings here would be tedious. —Jacobs is called in the documents (see Fueslin's *Beyträge*, vol. v. p. 265) Georg von Hause Jacobs, genant Blaurock von Chur. He was twice apprehended at Zurich, was beaten with rods, and after twice swearing to keep the peace was banished the country.—To the preceding may be added Hans Denk, who once taught in the school of St. Sebald at Nuremberg; but after his connexion with the Anabaptists he resided chiefly at Basil and at Worms. He taught also the restoration of all things, and aided Hetzer, as already stated, in his translation of the prophets, which was published at Worms, 1527, folio. His smaller pieces were printed a second time, Amsterdam, 1680, 12mo. Several extracts are given by Arnold, *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, part iv. sec. ii. No. 31, p. 530, &c. See also Büttinghausen's *Beyträge zur Pfälzischen Geschichte*, part iii. p. 299, whence we learn that Denk recanted before he died, and that his recantation was published, probably by Œcolampadius.—*Schl.* [See some additional particulars relative to Haetzer, Hoffmann, Denk, and others, and illustrative of this party generally and their fanatical tenets, in Ranke's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 559, &c. The whole chapter indeed (book vi. chap. ix.) is a very important contribution to the early history of Anabaptism.—*R.*

[2] These are chiefly collected from the documents published by Fueslin. [Whether they also denied the divinity of Christ and justified polygamy, Fueslin examines in the third volume of his *Beyträge*, p. 119, and evinces by documents that they did not.—*Schl.*

[3] If I do not mistake, it was first in Saxony and in the year 1525, that laws were enacted against this sort of people. And these laws were frequently renewed in the years 1527, 1528, and 1534. See Kapp's *Nachlese von Reformations-Urkunden*, par. i. p. 176. As the impudence of many of this sect became more bold, Charles V. published severe decrees against them in 1527 and 1529. Ottius, *Annales Anabaptist.* p. 45. The Swiss at first proceeded very gently against their Anabaptists; but when many of them became more

here also the maxim was fully verified which long experience has proved true, that the human mind, when either agitated by fanatical fury or strongly bound by the cords of religion, is not easily cured by terrors and dangers. Vast numbers of these people in nearly all the countries of Europe would rather perish miserably by drowning, hanging, burning, or decapitation, than renounce the opinions they had embraced. And therefore the Mennonites at this day show us ponderous volumes filled with the accounts of the lives and sufferings of those of their party who expiated by their death, the crimes they were supposed to have committed against either the church or the state.[1] I could wish there had been some distinction made, and that all who believed that adults only are to be baptized and that the ungodly are to be expelled the church, had not been indiscriminately put to death. For they did not all suffer on account of their crimes, but many of them merely for the erroneous opinions which they maintained honestly and without fraud or crime. Yet most of them divulged among the people their dreams of a new church of Christ about to be set up, and of the impending abolition of all magistracies, laws, and punishments; and hence the very name of Anabaptist presented at once before the mind the idea of a seditious person, that is, one who was a public pest. It is indeed true that many Anabaptists were put to death, not as being bad citizens or injurious members of civil society, but as being incurable heretics who were condemned by the old canon laws; for the error concerning adult baptism or Catabaptism and Anabaptism, was in that age looked upon as a horrible offence. But it is also true that very many were put to death for holding opinions dangerous to the republic and to the civil authorities; and numbers likewise suffered for their temerity, their imprudences, and their criminal deeds.

7. A shocking example of this is visible in the case of those Anabaptists from Holland who came to Munster, a city of Westphalia, in the year 1533, and there committed deeds which would be scarcely credible were they not so well attested as to compel belief. These infatuated men, whose brains were turned by that dream of a new kingdom of Christ about to be erected on the earth, which bewildered the great body of Anabaptists, having for leaders certain illiterate and plebeian men, *e.g.* John Matthæi, John Bockold a tailor of Leyden, one Gerhard, and some others, persuaded not only the common people but likewise some of the religious teachers, that their blessed heavenly Jerusalem was about to be established at Munster, and would thence be extended to other places. Under this pretext they deposed the magistrates, took command of the city, and ventured upon all the criminal and ridiculous measures which their perverse ingenuity could devise.[2] John Bockold was created king and lawgiver to this celestial republic. But the issue of the scene was tragical and distressing. For after a long siege, the city being captured in 1536 by its bishop, Francis count Waldec who was also its temporal lord, this New Jerusalem of the Anabaptists was destroyed, and its king punished with the utmost severity.[3] From these and other events of a similar character which occurred about this time in various places,[4] it was but too manifest

bold in consequence of this lenity, the canton of Zurich in the year 1525 suspended over them capital punishment.

[1] See Jehring's Preface to his *Historie der Mennoniten*, p. 3, &c.

[2] Bockholdt, or Bockelson, alias John of Leyden, who headed them at Munster, ran stark naked in the streets, married eleven wives at the same time to show his approbation of polygamy, and entitled himself King of Sion, all which was but a very small part of the pernicious follies of this mock monarch.—*Mael.*

[3] Corvinus, *Narratio de miserabili Monaster. Anabapt. obsidione*, first published, Wittemb. 1536, and then elsewhere; and the other writers mentioned by Sagittarius, *Introd. in Hist. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 537 and 835; add Hamelmann's *Historia Renati Evangelii in Urbe Monasterii*, in his *Opera Genealogico-Historica*, p. 1203, &c. The elegant and accurately written Latin elegiac poem of Boland, entitled, *Motus Monasteriensis* Cologne, 1546, 8vo.; Kersenbroik's *Historia Belli Monasteriensis*, published by Gerdes, *Miscellan. Groning.* tom. ii. p. 377. Gerdes also treats (ibid. tom. ii. p. 403) of Bernhard Rotmann, a minister of the gospel at Munster, a man in other respects neither of a bad character nor unlearned, who joined with these Anabaptists and aided them in their mad projects. [For the details of this Anabaptist occupation of Munster and of the shocking scenes enacted there, the English reader may consult Robertson's *History of Charles V.* book v. vol. iii. p. 67, &c. or still better, Ranke's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 573, &c. —*R.*

[4] The scenes of violence, tumult, and sedition which were exhibited in Holland by this odious tribe, were also terrible. They formed the design of reducing the city of Leyden to ashes, but were happily prevented and severely punished. John of Leyden, the Anabaptist king of Munster, had taken it into his head that God had made him a present of the cities of Amsterdam, Deventer, and Wesel, in consequence thereof he sent bishops to these three places to preach his gospel of sedition and carnage. About the beginning of the year 1535, twelve Anabaptists, of whom five were women, assembled at midnight in a private house at Amsterdam. One of them who was a tailor by profession fell into a trance, and after having preached and prayed for the space of four hours, stripped himself naked, threw his clothes into the fire, and commanded all the assembly to do the same, in which he was obeyed without the least reluctance. He then ordered them to follow him through the streets in this state of nature, which they accordingly did, howling and bawling out, "Woe! woe! the wrath of God! the wrath of God! woe to Babylon!" When, after being seized and brought before the magistrates, clothes were offered them to cover their indecency, they refused them obstinately and cried aloud, "We are the naked truth!" When they were brought

whither the principles of this school would lead unstable and incautious men; and hence it is not strange that the magistrates were eager to extirpate the roots of such mischief with fire and sword.[1]

8. When this miserable sect was in the utmost consternation, partly from the extinction of all their hopes from the men of Munster, and partly from anxiety about their personal safety, while they saw the best as well as the worst among them daily hurried away to certain execution, great consolation and relief were afforded them by Menno Simonis of Friesland, who was once a popish priest and, as he himself confesses, a debauched character. He first covertly and secretly united with the Anabaptists; but afterwards in the year 1536, quitting the sacred office he had hitherto held among the papists, he openly espoused their cause. And now in the year 1537, he listened to the entreaties of several of these people—whom he describes as sober, pious persons who had taken no part in the criminal transactions at Munster, though others believe they had been associates of the Westphalian rabble, but had become wiser by the calamities of their brethren—and consented to assume the functions of a religious teacher among them. From this period to the end of his days, or for about five-and-twenty years, he travelled with his wife and children amid perpetual sufferings and daily perils of his life, over many districts of country—first in West Friesland, the territory of Groningen, and East Friesland, and then in Gelderland, Holland, Brabant, Westphalia, and the German provinces along the shores of the Baltic as far as Livonia; and in this way he gathered an immense number of followers, so that he may justly be considered as almost the common father and bishop of all the Anabaptists, and as the founder of the flourishing sect which has continued down to our times. The causes of this great success may readily be conceived, if we consider the manners and the spirit of the man and the condition of the party at the time he joined them. Menno possessed genius though not much cultivated, as his writings evince, and a natural eloquence. Of learning he had just enough to be esteemed very learned, and almost an oracle, by the raw and undiscerning multitude. Moreover, if we may judge from his words and actions, he was a man of integrity, mild, accommodating, laborious, patient of injuries, and so ardent in his piety as to exemplify in his own life the precepts which he gave to others. A man of such a character would readily obtain followers among any people; but among none more readily than among such as the Anabaptists then were, a people simple, ignorant of all learning, accustomed to teachers who raved and howled rather than instructed them, very often deluded by impostors, worn out with perpetual suffering, and now in constant peril of their lives.[2]

to the scaffold, they sang and danced and discovered all the marks of enthusiastic frenzy. These tumults were followed by a regular and deep-laid conspiracy, formed by Van Geelen (an envoy of the mock-king of Munster who had made a very considerable number of proselytes) against the magistrates of Amsterdam, with a design to wrest the government of that city out of their hands. This incendiary marched his fanatical troop to the town-house on the day appointed, drums beating, and colours flying, and fixed there his headquarters. He was attacked by the burghers, assisted by some regular troops, and headed by several of the burgomasters of the city. After an obstinate resistance he was surrounded, with his whole troop, who were put to death in the severest and most dreadful manner, to serve as examples to the other branches of the sect, who were exciting commotions of a like nature in Friesland, Groningen, and other provinces and cities in the Netherlands.—*Mael.*

[1] Brandt's *Historie de Reformatie in de Nederlande*, vol. i. book ii. p. 119. &c.

[2] Menno was born, not as many say in 1496, but in 1505 and at Witmarsum, a village near Bolswert in Friesland. After being variously tossed about during his whole life, he died in 1561 in the duchy of Holstein, on an estate situated not far from Oldesloe, and belonging to a nobleman who was touched with compassion for the man exposed now to continual plots, and who received both him and his associates under his protection and afforded him an asylum. An account of Menno has been carefully drawn up by Möller, in his *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 835, &c. See also Schyn's *Historiæ Mennonit. plenior Deductio* cap. vi. p. 116. His writings, which are nearly all in the Dutch language, were published; the most complete edition is, Amsterdam, 1651, folio. One who is disgusted with a style immoderately diffuse and rambling, with frequent and needless repetitions, with great confusion in the thoughts and matter, with pious but extremely languid exhortations, will rise from the perusal of them with but little satisfaction. [A concise history of his life, or rather a development of his religious views drawn up by himself, is found both prefixed to the complete edition of his works (Amsterdam, 1651, fol.), and in the 2d vol. of Schyn's *Historiæ Mennonitar. plenior Deductio*, p. 118, &c.—It contains, I. A short and lucid account how and why he forsook popery. II. A short and plain Confession of Faith of the Mennonites. III. Concise instructions in questions and answers derived from Scripture, for those who would join their community. Menno was born in 1505 at Witmarsum in Friesland. In his 24th year he became a priest of the Romish church in the village of Pinningen. His rector had some learning, and both he and another clergyman under him had some acquaintance with the Scriptures, while Menno had never read them, being afraid they would mislead him. But the thought at length occurred to him as he read mass, whether the bread and the wine could be the real body and blood of Christ. At first, he supposed this thought was a suggestion of the devil, and he often confessed it and sighed and prayed over it, but could not get rid of it. With his fellow-clergymen he daily spent his time in playing, drinking, and other indulgences. At length he took up reading the New Testament, and from that he soon learned that he had hitherto been deceived in regard to the mass; Luther also helped him to the idea, that to disregard human prescriptions did not draw after it eternal death. His examination of the Scriptures carried him farther and farther, and he began to be called an evangelical preacher, and everybody loved him. But when he heard that an honest man was put to death at Lewarden, because he had been rebaptized

9. Menno had struck out a system of doctrine which was much milder and more tolerable than that of the furious and fanatical portion of the Anabaptists; yet perhaps one which was somewhat harsher, though better digested, than that of the wiser and more moderate Anabaptists, who merely wished to see the church restored to its long-lost purity, but had undefined conceptions about it. He therefore condemned the expectation of a new kingdom of Jesus Christ, to be set up in the world by violence and the expulsion of magistrates, which had been the prolific cause of so many seditions and crimes; he condemned the marvellous restitution of the church by a new and extraordinary effusion of the Holy Spirit; he condemned the licentiousness of polygamy and divorce; and he would not endure those who believed that the Holy Spirit descended into the minds of many just as he did at the first establishment of Christianity, and manifested his presence by miracles, prophecies, divine dreams, and visions. The common Anabaptist doctrines in regard to infant baptism, a coming thousand years' reign of Christ before the end of the world, the inadmissibility of magistrates in the Christian church, the prohibition of wars and oaths by Christ, the inutility and the mischief of human learning,—these doctrines he retained indeed, but he so corrected and improved them that they appeared to come nearer to accordance with the common tenets of Protestants. This system of religion was so highly recommended by the nature of the precepts themselves, by the eloquence of the preacher, and by the circumstances of the times, that it very easily gained the assent of most of the Anabaptists. And thus the influence of Menno caused the Anabaptists of both sorts, after excluding fanatical persons and rejecting opinions pernicious to the state, to become consolidated as it were into one family or community.[1]

he was at first surprised to hear of a repetition of baptism; he went to the Scriptures and he could find nothing said there about infant baptism. He held a discussion on the subject with his rector, who was obliged to concede the same fact. Some ancient writers taught him that children by such baptism were cleansed from original sin; but this seemed to him, according to the Scriptures, to militate against the efficacy of Christ's blood. After this (we give, all along, his own account) he turned to Luther; but his assertion that children must be baptized on account of their own faith appeared contrary to the Scriptures. Equally unsatisfactory to him was the opinion of Bucer, that the baptism of infants is necessary in order that they may be more carefully watched, and be trained up in the ways of the Lord; and also Bullinger's referring it to a covenant and appealing to circumcision. Not long after that, he was made rector of his native village, Witmarsum, where he preached much indeed from the Scriptures, but without being himself made better. In the mean time, he glories in having attained to correct views of baptism and of the Lord's Supper, by the illumination of the Holy Ghost and by frequent perusal of the Scriptures. With the disturbances of Munster he was greatly troubled; he ascribed them to erring zeal, and he opposed them in his sermons and exhortations. Yet he was so much affected by the example of the multitudes who sacrificed themselves for the interests of the party, that he felt more and more distress and shame on account of his own state of mind; he prayed God to aid him, his whole state of mind became changed, and he now taught Christian piety much more purely and effectually. And the discovery which he had made of the corrupt state of the Romish church induced him in the year 1536 utterly to renounce it as well as his priestly office, which he calls his departure from Babylon. The next year, there came to him several godly Anabaptists who most importunately entreated him, in their own name and in that of other devout men of the same faith, to become the teacher of this dispersed and persecuted company. He at length consented, and he remarks on this occasion that he was called to the office of teacher neither by the insurgents of Munster nor by any other turbulent party, but by true professors of Christ and his word, who sought the salvation of all around them and took up their cross. Thenceforth, during eighteen years, amid many perils and discouragements, poverty and want, and often concealed in lurking-places with his wife and children, he discharged the duties of his office; and thereby (says he) hath God in many cities and countries brought his church to such a glorious state, that not only have a multitude of vicious persons been reclaimed, but also the most renowned doctors and the most cruel tyrants have been made to stand confounded and ashamed before those who have suffered with him. To this, which is Menno's own account, other writers add that with unwearied activity in Friesland, Gelderland, Holland, and Brabant, in Westphalia, and generally in northern Germany, as far as Livonia, he either planted and strengthened Anabaptist churches, or reduced them to order and to unanimity, until at last in 1561 he died at Oldesloe in the duchy of Holstein. Translated from Schroeckh's *Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation*, vol. v. p. 444, 447.—*Mur.*

[1] These facts show how the famous question concerning the origin of the Mennonites may be readily solved. The Mennonites use every argument they can devise to prevent credence being given to what is taught in innumerable books, that the modern are the descendants of the ancient Anabaptists. See Schyn's *Historia Mennonitar.* cap. viii. ix. xxi. p. 223, &c. Nor is the reason of their zeal in this matter difficult to ascertain. This timid people, living dispersed among their enemies, are afraid lest the malevolent should take occasion from that relationship to renew those laws against their existence and their safety by which those ancient disturbers of the public peace were put down. At least they hope the severe odium which has long rankled against them will be much diminished, provided they can fully eradicate from the public mind the belief that the Mennonites are the successors of the Anabaptists, or rather are themselves Anabaptists, though reformed and made wiser than their predecessors. But I must candidly own that after carefully comparing what the Mennonites and their antagonists have advanced on this subject, I am unable to determine what the precise point in dispute between them is. In the first place, if the Mennonites wish to maintain that Menno, the founder of the present existing sect, was not infected with those opinions by which the men of Munster and others like them drew upon themselves deserved punishments, and consequently that he did not propose to establish a new church of Christ entirely free from all evil, nor command the abolition of all civil laws and magistrates, nor impose upon himself and others by fanatical dreams, then they will find us all ready to agree with them. All this is readily conceded by those who at the same time contend that there most certainly was an intimate connexion between the ancient and the modern Anabaptists. Again, if the Mennonites would maintain that the churches which have adopted the discipline of Menno down to the present time have been studious of peace and tranquillity, have plotted no insurrections or revo-

10. Menno must have possessed more than human power to be able to diffuse peace and good order throughout so discordant a body, and bind together in harmonious bonds men actuated by very different spirits. About the middle of the century therefore a violent dispute arose among the Anabaptists [or Mennonites] respecting excommunication, occasioned chiefly by Leonard Bouwenson and Theodore Philip, and its effects have continued down to the present time. The men just named not only maintained that all transgressors, even those who seriously lamented and deplored their fall, ought to be at once cast out of the church without previous admonition, but also that the excommunicated were to be debarred all social intercourse with their wives, husbands, brothers, sisters, children, and other relatives. They likewise required obedience to a very austere and difficult system of morals. But many of the Anabaptists looked upon this as going too far. And hence very soon the Anabaptists became split into two sects—the one more lenient towards transgressors, the other more severe; the one requiring a sordid style of living and very austere morals, the other conceding something to human nature and to the elegances of life. Menno laboured indeed to restore harmony to his community, but discovering no possible way to effect it, he fluctuated as it were during his whole life between those two sects. For at one time he seemed to favour the severer party, and at another the more lax brethren. And this inconstancy in one of so high authority tended to increase not a little the disquietude and commotion among them.[1]

11. These two large sects of Anabaptists [or Mennonites] are distinguished by the appellations of the Fine and the Coarse (*die Feinen und die Groben—Subtiles et Crassi*) *i.e.* the More Rigid and the More Lax.[2] Those called the Fine hold and observe more strictly than the others both the ancient doctrines and the morals and discipline of the Anabaptists; the Coarse depart farther from the original opinions, morals, and discipline of the sect, and approach nearer to those of the Protestants. The greater part of the Coarse or lax Mennonites at first were inhabitants of a region in the North of Holland called Waterland, and hence this whole sect obtained the name of Waterlanders.[3*] A

lutions among the people who were their fellow-citizens, have always been averse from slaughter and blood, and have shunned all familiarity with persons professing to have visions and to hold converse with God; and likewise have excluded from their public discourses, and from their confessions of faith, those [principles and tenets] which led the ancient Anabaptists to pursue a different course of conduct; here also we present them the hand of friendship and agreement. And finally, if they contend that not all who bore the name of Anabaptists prior to the times of Menno were as delirious and as furious as Munzer or the faction at Munster and others were, that many persons of this name abstained from all criminal and flagitious deeds and only trod in the steps of the ancient Waldenses, Henricians, Petrobrussians, Hussites, and Wickliffites, and that these upright and peaceable persons subjected themselves to the precepts and opinions of Menno, we shall still make no objections.

But (I.) If they would have us believe that none of the Mennonites are by birth and blood descendants of those people who once overwhelmed Germany and other countries with so many calamities, or that none of the furious and fanatical Anabaptists became members of the community which derives its name from Menno, then they may be confuted both by the testimony of Menno himself, who proclaims that he had convinced some of this pestiferous faction, and also by many other proofs. The first Mennonite churches were certainly composed of Anabaptists of both the better sort and the worse. Nor if the Mennonites should admit this (which is true beyond contradiction), would they expose themselves to more infamy than we do, when we admit that our ancestors were blind idolaters?

And (II.) We must be equally at variance with them, if they deny that the Mennonites hold any portion at all of those opinions which once betrayed the turbulent and seditious Anabaptists into so many and so enormous crimes. For, not to mention what has long since been remarked by others, that Menno himself styled those Anabaptists of Munster whom his children at this day execrate as pests, his brethren, though with the qualification of erring; I say, not to mention this, it is the fact that the very doctrine concerning the nature of Christ's kingdom or the church of the New Testament, which led the ancient Anabaptists step by step to become furious and open rebels, is not yet wholly eradicated from the minds of the modern Mennonites, although it has gradually become weakened, and in the more moderate has ceased to vegetate or at least has lost its power to do harm. I will not here inquire whether even the more peaceful community of Menno has not at any time been agitated with violent commotions, nor am I disposed to pry into what may be now taking place among its minor sects and parties; for that the larger sects, especially those of North Holland, shun the men who are actuated by a fanatical spirit, is sufficiently evinced by the fact that they most carefully exclude all Quakers from their communion.

[1] See the history of the contests and controversies among the Mennonites previous to the year 1615, composed by some Mennonite writer and translated from Dutch into German by Jehring, and published, Jena, 1720, 4to; also Rues, *Nachrichten von dem Zustande der Mennoniten*, Jena, 1743, 8vo.

[2] The terms Coarse and Fine are a literal translation of *groben* and *feinen*, which are the German denominations used to distinguish these two sects.—The same terms have been introduced among the Protestants in Holland; the Fine denoting a set of people whose extraordinary and sometimes fanatical devotion resembles that of the English Methodists; while the Coarse is applied to the generality of Christians who make no extraordinary pretensions to uncommon degrees of sanctity and devotion.—*Mael.*

[3] See Spanheim, *Elenchus Controvers. Theolog. Opp.* tom. iii. p. 772. This sect are also called Johannites from John de Ries [Hans de Rys], who in various ways was serviceable to them, and in particular with the aid of Lubbert Gerard in 1580, composed a confession of faith. This confession, which exceeds all the others of the Mennonites in simplicity and soundness, has been often published, and recently by Schyn, in his *Historia Mennonitarum*, cap. vii. p. 172. It was explained in a copious commentary in 1686, by Peter Joannis, a Netherlander and minister among the Waterlanders. Yet this celebrated confession is said to be only the private confession of that church over which its author presided, and not the general one of the Waterlander church. See Rues, *Nachrichten*, p. 93, 94. [For Rues asserts that he had seen a document according to which an old minister of the church at Gouda affirmed before

majority of the severer sect were inhabitants of Flanders, and hence their whole sect received the name of Flemings or Flandrians. Among these Flandrians there soon after arose new broils and contentions, not indeed respecting doctrines, but respecting the offences for which men should be excommunicated, and other minor matters. And hence again arose the two sects of Flandrians and Frieslanders, disagreeing in morals and discipline, and receiving their appellations from the majority of their respective partisans. To these were added a third sect of Germans, for many [followers of Menno] had removed from Germany and settled in Holland and the Netherlands. But the greatest part of the Flandrians, the Frieslanders, and the Germans, gradually came over to the moderate sect of Waterlanders and became reconciled to them. Such of the more rigid as would not follow this example are at this day denominated the old Flemings or Flandrians; but they are far inferior in numbers to the more moderate [or the Waterlanders].

12. As soon as fanatical delirium subsided among the Mennonites, all their sects however diverse in many respects agreed in this, that the principles of religion are to be derived solely from the Holy Scriptures. And to make this the more manifest, they caused their confessions of faith, or papers containing a summary of their views of God and the right mode of worshipping him, to be drawn up almost the very words of the divine books. The first of these Confessions, both in the order of time and in rank, is that which the Waterlanders exhibit. This was followed by others, some of them common ones presented to the magistrates, and others peculiar to certain parties.[1] But there is ground for inquiry whether these formulas contain all that the Mennonites believe true, or whether they omit some things which are important for understanding the internal state of the sect. It will be seen indeed by every reader who bestows on them but a moderate degree of attention, that the doctrines which seem prejudicial to society, particularly those respecting magistrates and oaths, are most cautiously guarded and embellished, lest they should appear alarming. Moreover, the discerning reader will easily perceive that these points are not placed in their proper attitude, but appear artificially expressed. All this will be made clear from what follows.

13. The old Anabaptists, because they believed they had the Holy Spirit for their guide and teacher, did not so much as think of drawing up a system of religious doctrines, and of imbuing the minds of their people with a sound knowledge of religion. And hence they disagreed exceedingly on points of the greatest importance; for instance, respecting the divinity of the Saviour, which some professed and others denied, and respecting polygamy and divorce. A little more attention was given to this matter by Menno and his disciples. Yet there was, even subsequently to his time, vast license of opinion on religious subjects among the Mennonites, and especially among those called the Fine or the More Rigid. And this single fact would be sufficient proof, if other arguments were not at hand, that the leaders of the sect esteemed it the smallest part of their duty to guard their people against embracing corrupt doctrines; and that they considered the very soul of religion to consist in holiness of life and conduct. At length necessity induced first the Waterlanders and afterwards the others to set forth publicly a summary of their faith, digested under certain heads; for that rashness of questioning and disputing on sacred subjects, which had long been tolerated had drawn upon the community very great odium, and seemed to threaten to bring on it banishment if not something worse. Yet the Mennonite Confessions appear to be rather shields provided for blunting the points of their enemies' arguments, than established rules of faith from which no one may deviate. For if we except a portion of the modern Waterlanders, it was never decreed among them, as it is among other sects of Christians, that no one must venture to believe or to teach otherwise than is laid down in the public formulas. It was an established principle with them all from the beginning (as is evinced by the general character and spirit

notaries and witnesses, that the Waterland churches had never bound themselves by any particular confession of their faith, but that Rys drew up this confession for some English Baptists who retired to Holland, and who would not unite themselves with the Waterlanders until they had ascertained what their doctrinal views were. Rys however solemnly declared that this confession should not afterwards be binding on any one, but should be regarded as a mere private writing which had reference only to the time then present.— *Schl.*

[1] Schyn treats expressly of these confessions in his *Historiæ Mennonitar. plenior Deductio* cap. iv. p. 78. And he concludes by saying (p. 115): "It hence appears that the Mennonites, from the time of Menno, have been as well agreed in regard to the principal and fundamental articles of faith as any other sect of Christians." But if perchance the good man should bring us to believe so, he would still find it very difficult to persuade many of his brethren of it, who have not yet ceased to contend warmly, and who think that the points which he regards as unimportant to religion and piety are of vast moment. And indeed how could any of the Mennonites before this century believe what he asserts, while the parties among them contended about matters which he treats with contempt, as if their eternal salvation hung suspended on them?

of the sect), that religion is comprised in piety, and that the holiness of its members is the surest index of a true church.

14. If we are to form our judgment of the Mennonite religion from their confessions of faith which are in everybody's hands, in most things it differs but little from that of the Reformed, but it departs more widely from that of the Lutherans. For they attribute to what are called the sacraments no other virtue than that of being signs and emblems, and they have a system of discipline not much different from that of the Presbyterians. The doctrines by which they are distinguished from all other Christian sects are reducible to three heads. Some of these doctrines are common to all the sects of Mennonites; others are received only in certain of the larger associations (and these are the doctrines which rendered Menno himself not perfectly acceptable to all); and lastly, others exist only in the minor and more obscure associations. These last rise and sink by turns with the sects which embrace them, and therefore deserve not a more particular notice.

15. All the opinions which are common to the whole body are founded on this one principle as their basis, namely, that the kingdom which Christ has established on the earth, or the church, is a visible society or company in which is no place for any but holy and pious persons, and which therefore has none of those institutions and provisions which human sagacity has devised on account of the ungodly. This principle was frankly avowed by the ancestors of the Mennonites; but the moderns in their confessions either cover it up under words of dubious import, or appear to reject it; yet they cannot actually reject it, unless they would be inconsistent and would deprive their doctrines of their natural basis.[1] But in regard to the most modern Mennonites, as they have departed in very many things from the views and the institutions of their fathers, so they have nearly altogether abandoned this principle respecting the nature of the Christian church. And in this matter sad experience rather than either reason or the holy Scriptures has taught them wisdom. They therefore admit, first, that there is an invisible church of Christ or one not open to human view, which extends through all Christian sects. And in the next place, they do not place the mark of a true church, as they once did, in the holiness of all its members; for they admit that the visible church of Christ consists of both good and bad men. On the contrary, they declare that the marks of a true church are a knowledge of the truth as taught by Jesus Christ, and the agreement of all the members in professing and maintaining that truth.

16. Nevertheless, from that doctrine of the old Anabaptists respecting the church flow the principal opinions by which they are distinguished from other Christians. This doctrine requires, I. That they should receive none into their church by the sacrament of baptism, unless they are adults and have the full use of their reason; because it is uncertain with regard to infants whether they will become pious or irreligious, neither can they pledge their faith to the church to lead a holy life. It requires, II. that they should not admit of magistrates, nor suffer any of their members to perform the functions of a magistrate; because, where there are no bad men, there can be no need of magistrates. It requires, III. that they should deny the justice of repelling force by force, or of waging war; because, as those who are perfectly holy cannot be provoked by injuries nor commit them, so they have no need of the support of arms in order to their safety. It requires, IV. that they should have strong aversion to all penalties and punishments, and especially to capital punishments; because punishments are aimed against the wickedness and the crimes of men, but the church of Christ is free from all crimes and wickedness. It forbids, V. the calling of God to witness any transactions, or the confirming anything by an oath; because minds that are actuated solely by the love of what is good and right, never violate their faith nor dissemble the truth. From this doctrine follows likewise, VI. the severe and rigid discipline of the old Anabaptists which produced so many commotions among them.[2]

[1] This appears from their confessions, and even from those in which there is the greatest care to prevent the idea from entering the reader's mind. For instance, they first speak in lofty terms of the dignity, the excellence, the utility, and the divine origin of civil magistracy, and I am entirely willing they should be supposed to speak here according to their real sentiments. But afterwards, when they come to the reasons why they would have no magistrates in their community, they incautiously express what is in their hearts. In the 37th article of the Waterland Confession they say:—"This political power the Lord Jesus hath not established in his spiritual kingdom, the church of the New Testament, nor hath he added it to the offices in his church." The Mennonites believe, therefore, that the New Testament church is a republic, which is free from all evils and from restraints upon the wicked. But why, I ask, did they not frankly avow this fact while explaining their views of the church, and not affect ambiguity and concealment?

[2] This derivation of the Anabaptist tenets from one single principle, although it appears forced, especially in regard to the second and third points, yet must be admitted to be ingenious. But whether it is histori-

17. The Mennonites have a system of morals (or at least once had—whether they still retain it is uncertain) coinciding with that fundamental doctrine which was the source of their other peculiarities, that is, one which is austere and rigid. For those who believe that sanctity of life is the only indication of a true church, must be especially careful lest any appearance of sinful conduct should stain the lives of their people. Hence they all once taught that Jesus Christ has established a new law for human conduct, far more perfect than the old law of Moses and the ancient prophets; and they would not tolerate any in their churches whom they perceived swerving from the extreme of gravity and simplicity in their attitudes, looks, clothing, and style of living, or whose desires extended beyond the bare necessaries of life, or who imitated the customs of the world, or showed any regard for the elegances of fashionable life. But this ancient austerity became in a great measure extinct in the larger associations, particularly among the Waterlanders and the Germans, after they had acquired wealth by their merchandise and other occupations; so that at this day the Mennonite congregations furnish their pastors with as much matter for censure and admonition as the other Christian communities do theirs.[1] Some of the smaller associations however and likewise the people who live remote from cities, copy more closely and successfully the manners, the abstinence, and the simplicity of their fathers.

18. The opinions and practices which divide the principal associations of Mennonites, if we admit those of less importance, are chiefly the following:—I. Menno denied that Christ received from the Virgin Mary that human body which he assumed; on the contrary, he supposed it was produced out of nothing in the womb of the immaculate Virgin, by the power of the Holy Ghost.[2] This opinion the Fine Anabaptists or the old Flemings still hold tenaciously, but all the other associations have long since given it up.[3] II. The

cally true is another question. Neither Menno nor the first Anabaptists had such disciplined intellects as to be able thus systematically to link together their thoughts. Their tenets had been advanced long before the Reformation, by the Cathari, the Albigenses, and the Waldenses, as also by the Hussites. This can be shown by unquestionable documents, from the records of the Inquisition and from Confessions; and Mosheim himself maintains the fact in sec. 2 of this chapter. Those sects were indeed oppressed but not exterminated. Adherents to their tenets were dispersed everywhere in Germany, Switzerland, Bohemia, and Moravia; and they were emboldened by the Reformation to stand forth openly, to form a closer union among themselves, and to make proselytes to their tenets. From them sprang the Anabaptists, whose teachers were men for the most part without learning, who understood the Scriptures according to the letter, and applied the words of the Bible without philosophical deductions, according to their perverse mode of interpretation, to their peculiar doctrines concerning the church, anabaptism, wars, capital punishments, oaths, &c. Even their doctrine concerning magistrates they derived from Luke xxii. 25, and 1 Corinth. vi. 1, and the manner in which they were treated by the magistrates may have had a considerable influence on their doctrine respecting them. —*Schl.*

[1] It is certain that the Mennonites in Holland at this day are, in their tables, their equipages, and their country seats, the most luxurious part of the Dutch nation. This is more especially true of the Mennonites of Amsterdam, who are very numerous and extremely opulent. —*Macl.* [This was written about the year 1764, and at the Hague, where Dr. Maclaine spent nearly his whole life. It is therefore the testimony of an eye-witness residing on the spot.—*Mur.*

[2] Thus the opinion of Menno is stated by Schyn, *Historiæ Mennonit. plenior Deductio* p. 164, 165, but others report it differently. After considering some passages in Menno's writings, in which he treats expressly on this subject, I think it most probable that he was strongly inclined to this opinion, and that it was solely in this sense that he ascribed to Christ a divine and celestial body. For whatever comes immediately from the Holy Spirit may be fitly called celestial and divine. Yet I must confess that Menno appears not to have been so certain of this opinion, as never to have thought of exchanging it for a better. For he expresses himself here and there ambiguously and inconsistently; from which I conclude that he gave up the common opinion respecting the origin of Christ's human body, but was in doubt which of the various opinions that occurred to his thoughts to adopt in the place of it. See Fueslin's *Centuria* i. *Epist. Reformat.* p. 383, &c. Menno is commonly represented as the author of this doctrine concerning the origin of Christ's body, which his more rigid disciples still retain. But it appears to have been older than Menno, and to have been only adopted by him together with other opinions of the Anabaptists. For Boland (*Motus Monasteriensis*, lib. x. v. 49, &c.) expressly testifies of many of the Anabaptists of Munster (who certainly received no instructions from Menno), that they held this opinion concerning the body of Christ:

> Esse (Christum) Deum statuunt alii, sed corpore carnem
> Humanam sumpto sustinuisse negant:
> At Diam mentem tenuis quasi fauce canalis
> Per Mariæ corpus virginis isse ferunt.

[It is very probable that this doctrine was propagated from the Manichæans of the middle ages to the Anabaptists. For thus Moneta at least says, in his *Summa adv. Catharos et Waldenses*, lib. iii. c. iii.: "Dicunt (Cathari) quod corpus spirituale accepit (Christus), operatione Spiritus Sancti, ex alia materia fabricatum."—*Schl.* [And is it not probable likewise that most if not all the peculiar sentiments of the old Anabaptists of Germany originated from the influence of that Manichæan leaven, which was introduced into Europe in the ninth century by the Paulicians, and which spread far, and produced from that time onward various fanatical and enthusiastic sects, down even to the time of the Reformation? See the history of the Paulicians, in cent. ix. part ii. chap. v. and the chapters on Heresies in the subsequent centuries.—*Mur.*

[3] I perceive that many represent the Waterlanders in particular as acceding to this doctrine of Menno respecting Christ's body. See *Histoire des Anabaptistes*. p. 223; *Cérémonies et Coutumes de tous les Peuples du Monde*, tome iv. p. 200. But the Confession of the Waterlanders or that of John de Ries will itself confute this error. Add Schyn's *Historiæ Mennonitar. plenior Deductio*, p. 165. [Rues (p. 16) attributes this doctrine solely to the old Flemings; yet he states as their opinion that the human nature of Christ, which God first created out of nothing, received its support and growth from the blood of the holy Virgin Mary. At the same time, they explicitly guarded themselves against the charge of partaking in the error of the Valentinians,

more rigid Mennonites after the example of their ancestors regard as disciplinable offences, not only those wicked actions which are manifest violations of the law of God, but likewise the slightest indications either of a latent inclination to sensuality, or of a mind disposed to levity and inclined to follow the customs of the world; as, for example, ornaments for the head, elegant clothing, rich and unnecessary furniture, and the like; and they think that all transgressors should be excommunicated forthwith and without a previous admonition, and that no allowance should be made for the weakness of human nature. But the other Menhonites hold that none but contemners of the divine law deserve excommunication, and they only when they pertinaciously disregard the admonitions of the church. III. The more rigid Mennonites hold that excommunicated persons are to be shunned as if they were pests, and are to be deprived of all social intercourse. Hence the ties of kindred must be severed, and the voice of nature must be unheeded. Between parents and their children, husbands and their wives, there must be no kind looks, no conversation, no manifestation of affection, and no kind offices, when the church has once pronounced them unworthy of her communion. But the more moderate think that the sanctity and the honour of the church are sufficiently consulted, if all particular intimacy with the excommunicated is avoided. IV. The old Flemings maintain that the example of Christ, which has in this instance the force of a law, requires his disciples to wash the feet of their guests in token of their love; and for this reason, they have been called Podoniptæ [Feet-washers]. But others deny that this rite was enjoined by Christ.

19. Literature and whatever comes under the name of learning, but especially philosophy, were formerly believed by this whole sect to be exceedingly prejudicial to the church of Christ and to the progress of religion and piety. Hence, although the sect could boast of a number of writers in this century, yet not one of them affords pleasure to the reader either by his ingenuity or his learning. The more rigid Mennonites retain this sentiment of their ancestors even to our times; and therefore, despising the cultivation of their minds, they devote themselves to hand labour, the mechanic arts, and traffic. But the Waterlanders are honourably distinguished from the others in this as well as in many other respects. For they permit several of their members to prosecute at the universities the study of languages, history, antiquities, and especially the medical art, the utility of which they are unable to deny. And hence it is that so many of their ministers at the present day bear the title of Doctors of Physic. In our age, these milder and more discreet Anabaptists pursue also the study of philosophy, and they regard it as very useful to mankind. Hence, among their teachers, there are not a few who have the title of Masters of Arts. Indeed it is only a few years since they established a college at Amsterdam, in which a man of erudition sustains the office of Professor of Philosophy. Yet they still persevere in the opinion that theology must be kept pure and uncontaminated with philosophy, and must never be modified by its precepts. Even the more rigid Flemings also in our times are gradually laying aside their ancient hatred of literature and science, and permitting their members to study languages, history, and other branches of learning.

20. That ignorance which the ancient Anabaptists reckoned among the means of their felicity, contributed much, indeed very much, to generate sects among them; in which they abounded from the first, much more than any other religious community. This will be readily conceded by any one who looks into the causes and grounds of their dissensions. For their vehement contests were for the most part not so much respecting the doctrines and mysteries of religion, as respecting what is to be esteemed lawful, proper, pious, right, and commendable; and what, on the contrary, is to be accounted criminal and faulty. Because they maintained that sanctity of life and purity of manners were the only sign of a true church; yet what was holy and religious and what not so, they did not determine by reason and judgment nor by a correct interpretation of the divine laws, (because they had no men who possessed solid knowledge on moral subjects), but rather by their feelings and imaginations. Now, as this mode of discriminating good from evil is ever fluctuating and various, according to the different capacities and temperaments of men, it was unavoidable that different opinions should arise among them; and diversity of sentiment nowhere more certainly produces permanent schisms, than among a people who are ignorant and therefore pertinacious.

21. The Mennonites first obtained a

by this doctrine. Menno embraced this doctrine, as Rues also maintains, because he could not conceive how the human nature of Christ could be without sin, if it be admitted that it descended from Mary. But his disciples appeal for proof to 1 Corinth. xv. 47, and John vi. 51.—*Schl.*

quiet and stable residence in the United Provinces of Belgium, by the favour of William prince of Orange, the immortal vindicator of Batavian liberty, whom they had aided with a large sum of money in the year 1572, when he was destitute of the resources necessary for his vast undertakings.[1] Yet the benefits of this indulgence reached by slow degrees to all who resided in Holland. For opposition was made to the will of the prince both by the magistrates and by the clergy, and especially by those of Zealand and Amsterdam, who remembered the seditions raised by the Anabaptists only a short time previously.[2] These impediments [to their peace] were in a great measure removed in this century, partly by the perseverance and authority of William and his son Maurice, and partly by the good behaviour of the Mennonites themselves; for they showed great proofs of their loyalty to the state, and became daily more cautious not to afford any ground to their adversaries for entertaining suspicions of them. Yet full and complete peace was first given to them in the following century, A.D. 1626, after they had again purged themselves from those crimes and pernicious errors which were charged upon them, by the presentation of a confession of their faith.[3]

22. Those among the English who reject the baptism of infants are not called Anabaptists, but only Baptists. It is probable that these Baptists originated from the Germans and the Dutch, and that they all once held the same sentiments with the Mennonites. But they are now divided into two general classes, the one called that of the General Baptists or Remonstrants, because they believe that God has excluded no man from salvation by any sovereign decree; the other are called Particular or Calvinistic Baptists, because they agree very nearly with the Calvinists or Presbyterians in their religious sentiments.[4] This latter sect reside chiefly at London and in the adjacent towns and villages; and they recede so far from the opinions of their progenitors, that they have almost nothing in common with the other Anabaptists, except that they baptize only adults, and immerse totally in the water whenever they administer the ordinance. Hence if the government requires it, they allow a professor of religion to take an oath, to bear arms, and to fill public civil offices. Their churches are organized after the Presbyterian [or more strictly, the Independent] plan, and are under the direction of men of learning and literature.[5] It appears from the confession of these Baptists published in 1643, that they then held the same sentiments as they do at the present day.[6]

23. The General Baptists, or as some call them the Antipœdobaptists who are dispersed in great numbers over many provinces of England, consist of illiterate persons of low condition, for like the ancient Mennonites they despise learning. Their religion is very general and indefinite, so that they tolerate persons of all sects, even Arians and Socinians, and do not reject any person, provided he professes to be a Christian and to receive the holy Scriptures as the rule of religious faith and practice.[7] They

[1] Brandt's *Historie de Reformatie in de Nedderlande*, vol. i. book x. p. 525, 526; *Cérémonies et Coutumes de tous les Peuples du Monde*, tome iv. p. 201. [General History of the United Netherlands, (in German), vol. iii. p. 317, &c. Wagenær, in the passage here referred to, relates the matter thus. At Middleburg, because the Anabaptists would not take the citizen's oath, it was resolved to exclude them from the privileges of citizenship, or at least not to admit them fully to the rank of citizens. But the prince opposed it, and maintained very rationally that an Anabaptist's affirmation ought to be held equivalent to an oath; and that in this case no farther coercion could be used with them, unless we would justify the Catholics in compelling the Reformed by force to adopt a mode of worship from which their consciences revolted. And afterwards, when the city council demanded of them to mount guard and threatened to close their shops if they refused, the prince commanded the city council peremptorily to trouble the Anabaptists no more, for declining oaths and the bearing of arms. This took place in the year 1578.—*Schl.*

[2] Brandt, *ubi supra*, book xi. p. 555, 586, 587, &c. 609, 610, b. xiv. p. 780, b. xvi. p. 811.

[3] Schyn's *Historiæ Mennonitar. plenior Deductio*, cap. iv. p. 79, &c.

[4] Whiston's *Memoirs of his Life and Writings*, vol. ii. p. 461.

[5] Böhm's *Englische Reformations-historie*, p. 151, 473, 536, book viii. p. 1152, &c. [Crosby's *History of the English Baptists*, vol. i.; Bogue and Bennet's *History of the Dissenters*, vol. i. chap. i. sec. iii. p. 141, &c. Dutch and German Anabaptists or Mennonites appeared in England, and doubtless made some proselytes there, as early as the year 1535, and thenceforward to the end of the century. But they were so rigorously persecuted, not only by Henry VIII. but by Edward VI. queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth, that they can hardly be said to have existed as a visible sect in England, during the sixteenth century. And their division into General and Particular Baptists, did not take place till the reign of James I. See Wall's *Hist. of Infant Baptism*, part ii. chap. vii. sec. vi. p. 206, &c.—*Mur.*

[6] *Bibliothèque Britannique*, tome vi. p. 2. [The Baptist Confession of 1643, was "set forth in the name of seven congregations then gathered in London." In September, 1689, elders and messengers from upward of one hundred congregations of Calvinistic Baptists in England and Wales met in London, and drew up a more full confession and substantially the same in doctrine, but expressed very much in the words of the Westminster and the Savoy Confessions, with both which it agrees in doctrine, while in discipline and worship it accords only with the latter. The Calvinistic Baptists in England have generally been on the most friendly terms with the Independents or Congregationalists there; and often both sects worshipped together, and were under the same pastors. See Bogue and Bennet's *History of Dissenters*, vol. i. p. 142, 143, vol. ii. p. 140, &c. also the *Confession of the Baptist Convention of* 1689 and its Preface.—*Mur.*

[7] This appears from their confession (drawn up in

have this in common with the Particular Baptists that they baptize only adults, and these they immerse wholly in water; but they differ from them in this, that they re-baptize those who were either baptized only in infancy and childhood, or were not immersed, which if report may be credited the Particular Baptists will not do.[1] There are likewise other peculiarities of this sect. (I.) Like the ancient Mennonites, they regard their own church as being the only true church of Christ, and most carefully avoid communion with all other religious societies. (II.) They immerse candidates for baptism only once, and not three times; and they esteem it unessential whether new converts be baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or only in the name of Jesus. (III.) With Menno they expect a millennial reign of Christ. (IV.) Many of them likewise adopt Menno's opinion respecting the origin of Christ's body. (V.) They consider the decree of the apostles, Acts xv. 25, respecting blood and things strangled, to be a law binding on the church universal. (VI.) They believe that the soul, between death and the resurrection at the last day, has neither pleasure nor pain, but is in a state of insensibility. (VII.) They use extreme unction. (VIII.) Some of them, in addition to Sunday or the Lord's day, keep also the Jewish Sabbath.[2] I omit the notice of some minor points. These Baptists have bishops whom they call messengers (for thus they interpret the word ἄγγελος in the Apocalyptical epistles), and presbyters and deacons. Their bishops are often men of learning.[3]

24. David George [or Joris], a Hollander of Delft, gave origin and name to a singular sect. Having at last forsaken the Anabaptists, he retired to Basil in 1544, assumed a new name [John Bruck von Binningen], and there died in 1556. He was well esteemed by the people of Basil so long as he lived, for being a man of wealth he united magnificence with virtue and integrity. But after his death, his son-in-law Nicholas Blesdyck accused him before the senate of most pestilent errors, and the cause being tried, his body was committed to the common hangman to be burned. Nothing can be more impious and scandalous than his opinions, if the historians of his case and his adversaries have estimated them correctly. For he is said to have declared himself to be a third David and another son of God, the fountain of all divine wisdom; to have denied the existence of heaven and hell, both good and bad angels, and a final judgment; to have treated all the laws of modesty and decorum with contempt, and to have taught other things equally bad.[4] But if I do not greatly mis-

1669 and published by Wm. Whiston, in the *Memoirs of his Life*, vol. ii. p. 561), which is so general that all Christian sects, with the exception of a few points, could embrace it. Whiston himself, though an Arian, joined this community of Baptists, whom he considered to bear the nearest resemblance to the most ancient Christians. Thomas Emlyn, a famous Socinian, also lived among them, according to the testimony of Whiston.

[1] I know not on what authority Mosheim makes this distinction between the General and the Particular Baptists; and I know of no sufficient proof of its reality. Neither does it appear, as Mosheim seemed to be informed, that the General Baptists were more numerous in England than the Particular Baptists. On the contrary, I suppose the former to have always been the smaller community, and at the present day they are only about one-sixth part as numerous as the Particular Baptists. See Bogue and Bennett, *ubi supra*, vol. iv. p. 328.—*Mur.*

[2] These statements are derived from Whiston's *Memoirs of his Life*, vol. ii. p. 461, and from Wall's *Hist. of Infant Baptism*, part ii. p. 390, &c. edit. Latin. [p. 280, &c. ed. London, 1705. Wall does not represent all these as distinguishing tenets of the General Baptists. He enumerates the various peculiarities to be found among the English Baptists of all sorts. Some of the peculiarities mentioned constitute distinct sects, as the eighth, which gives rise to the small and now almost extinct sect of Seventh-day Baptists; who however do not keep both days, Saturday and Sunday, but only the former. The second peculiarity, so far as respects a single application of water, is not peculiar to the Baptists; and so far as it respects baptizing in the name of Jesus only, was confined (as Wall supposed), to the General Baptists, who were early inclined to Anti-Trinitarianism, and of late in England have generally taken that ground.—*Mur.*

[3] Whiston, *Memoirs of his Life*, vol. ii. p. 466, &c. There is extant, Crosby's *History of the English Baptists*, London, 1728, 4 vols. 8vo, which however I have never seen. [This Crosby was himself a General Baptist and kept a private school, in which he taught young men mathematics and had also a small bookstore. He died in 1752. See Alberti's *Letters on the most Recent State of Religion and Learning in England* (in German), Preface to vol. iv. From Crosby, Alberti has translated the Confessions of both the Particular and the General Baptists into German, and subjoined them as an Appendix to his fourth volume, p. 1245, &c. and 1323, &c.—*Schl.* [The Rev. John Smyth is commonly represented as the father of the sect of General or Arminian Baptists in England. (See Bogue and Bennet, *History of Dissenters*, vol. i. p. 150.) He was fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, a popular preacher, and a great sufferer for non-conformity. Separating from the church of England he joined the Brownists, was one of their leading men in 1592, and was imprisoned during eleven months. At length he fled with other Brownists to Holland, and in 1606 joined the English Brownist church at Amsterdam. Here he fell into Arminian and Baptist opinions, on which he had disputes with Ainsworth, Robinson, and others; and he removed with his adherents to Leyden, where he died in 1610. Soon after his death, his followers returned to England; and as is generally supposed, they were the first congregation of English General Baptists. See his life in Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 195, &c.—*Mur.*

[4] See the *Historia Davidis Georgii*, by his son-in-law, Blesdyck, published by Revius; also his *Life*, written in German by Stolterfoth, and many others. Among the more modern writers, see Arnold, *Kirchen-und Ketzer-historie*, vol. i. book xvi. chap. xvi. sec. 44, &c. and his extensive collections in vindication of the reputation of David George, in vol. ii. p. 534, &c. Also p. 1185, &c. See also More's *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus* sect. xxxiii. &c. p. 23, &c. Add especially, the documents which are brought to light in my *History of Michael Servetus*, (in German), p. 425, &c. [David Joris was born at Delft in 1501. Though placed at school, he learned nothing. But his inclination led

take, the barbarous and coarse style of his compositions,—for he possessed some genius but no learning, led his opposers often to put a harsh and unjust construction upon his sentences. That he possessed more sense and more virtue than is commonly supposed, is at least evinced not only by his books, of which he published a great many, but also by his disciples, who were persons by no means base but of great simplicity of manners and character, and who were formerly numerous in Holstein, and are said to be so still in Friesland and in other countries.[1] In the manner of the more moderate Anabaptists, he laboured to revive languishing piety among his fellowmen, and in this matter his imagination, which was excessively warm, so deceived him that he falsely supposed he had divine visions; and he placed religion in the exclusion of all external objects from the thoughts and the cultivation of silence, contemplation, and a peculiar and indescribable state of the soul. The Mystics therefore of the highest order and the Quakers might claim him if they would, and they might assign him no mean rank among their sort of people.

25. An intimate friend of David George, but of a somewhat different turn of mind, Henry Nicolai of Westphalia, gave much trouble to the Dutch and the English from the year 1555, by founding and propagating the Family of Love as he denominated his sect. To this man nearly the same remarks apply, which were made of his friend. He would perhaps have in great measure avoided the foul blots which many have fastened upon him, if he had possessed the genius and learning requisite to a correct and lucid expression of his thoughts. What his aims were, appears pretty clearly from the name of the sect which he set up.[2] For he declared himself divinely appointed and sent to teach mankind that the whole of religion consists in the exercise of divine love; that all other things, which are supposed to belong either to religion or to the worship of God, are of no importance; and of course that it is of no consequence what views any one has of the divine nature, provided he burns with a flame of piety and love. To these opinions he perhaps added some other fanciful views, as is usual with men in whom the imagination predominates; but what they were in particular, I apprehend, may be better learned from his books than from the confutations of his adversaries.[3]

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him to learn the art of painting on glass, which caused him to travel in the Netherlands, France, and England. Returning in 1521, he pursued that business in his native town. The Reformation here caused considerable commotion, and in 1530 Joris for obstructing a Catholic procession was imprisoned, whipped, and had his tongue bored. He at length turned to the Anabaptists, but being more moderate than they and opposed to their tumultuous proceedings, it was not till 1534 that he actually was rebaptized. He then joined the party of Hoffmann, but he was not well pleased with any of them, and at length he united some contending parties together, and actually established a particular sect of Anabaptists. He next began to have visions and revelations. As his adherents suffered persecution in Westphalia and Holland, he often attended them and comforted and animated them in their dying hours. He saw his own mother decapitated at Delft in 1537. A monitory letter which he sent to the senate of Holland caused the bearer to lose his head. In 1539 the landgrave of Hesse, to whom he applied for protection, offered to afford it provided he would become a Lutheran. In 1542 he published his famous *Book of Wonders*, in which he exposed all the fanciful opinions that floated in his imagination. He wandered in various countries till he was safe nowhere. Therefore in 1544 he retired to Basil, where he lived twelve years under the name of John von Brügge, was owner of a house in the city and an estate in the country, was a peaceable and good citizen and held communion with the Reformed Church. His son-in-law Blesdyck was a Reformed preacher in the Palatinate, and had some variance with Joris before his death. Afterwards, provoked perhaps by the disposition Joris made of his property, he brought heavy charges against him. His family and friends and acquaintances denied the truth of the charges before the court. But what they would not admit was attempted to be proved from his writings. The university and the clergy pronounced his opinions heretical, and the dead man, who could no longer defend himself, was condemned. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformation*, vol. v. p. 442, &c. and Ven Einem's and Schlegel's notes upon this section of Mosheim.—*Mur.*

[1] See Möller's *Introductio in Histor. Chersones. Cimbricæ*, par. ii. p. 116, &c. and his *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 422, &c.

[2] See Hornbeck's *Summa Controversiarum*, lib. vi. p. 393; Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, part i. book xvi. chap. xxi. sec. xxxvi. p. 746; Böhm's *Englische Reformations-historie*, book iv. chap. v. p. 541, &c.

[3] The last and most learned of those who attacked the Familists was Henry More, the celebrated English divine and philosopher, in his *Mystery of Godliness*, book vi. chaps. xii.—xviii. George Fox, the father of the Quakers, severely chastised this Family of Love, because they would take an oath, dance, sing, and be cheerful; and he called them a company of fanatics. See Sewel's *History of the Quakers*, book iii. p. 88, 89. 344, &c. [Henry Nicolai or Nicholas was born at Munster, and commenced his career about the year 1516 in the Netherlands, thence he passed over to England in the latter years of Edward VI. and joined the Dutch congregation in London. But his sect did not become visible till some time in the reign of queen Elizabeth. In 1575 they laid a confession of their faith, with a number of their books, before the parliament and prayed for toleration. In 1580, the queen and her council undertook to suppress them. They continued in England till the middle of the following century, when they became absorbed in other sects. Nicolai published a number of tracts and letters in Dutch for the edification of his followers, and to vindicate his principles against gainsayers. In one of his pieces he mystically styles himself: "A man whom God had awaked from the dead, anointed and filled with the Holy Ghost, endowed with God in the Spirit of his love, and elevated with Christ to an inheritance in heavenly blessings, enlightened with the Spirit of heavenly truth, and with the true light of the all-perfect Being," &c. In his preface to one of his tracts he calls himself: "The chosen servant of God, by whom the heavenly revelation should again be made known to the world." His followers in 1575 affirmed that they neither denied that baptism which consists in repentance and newness of life, nor the holy sacrament of baptism which betokens the new birth in Christ, and which is to be administered to children; that they admitted also the perfect

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE SOCINIANS.

1. THE Socinians derived their name from the illustrious house of Sozini, which long flourished at Sienna, a noble city of Tuscany, and gave birth, it is said, to a number of distinguished men. For it was from this family were descended Lælius and Faustus Socinus, who are commonly regarded as the parents of the sect. Lælius Socinus was the son of Marianus, a celebrated lawyer; and to great learning and talents he added, as even his enemies acknowledge, a pure and blameless life. Leaving his native country from religious considerations in 1547, he travelled over various countries, France, England, Holland, Germany, and Poland; everywhere examining carefully the opinions of those who had abandoned the Romish church concerning God and divine things, for the sake of discovering and finding the truth. At length he settled down at Zurich in Switzerland, and there died in the year 1562, when he was not yet forty years old.[1] Being a man of a mild and gentle spirit and averse from all contention, he adopted the Helvetic Confession and wished to be thought a member of the Swiss church; yet he did not absolutely conceal his doubts on religious subjects, but proposed them in his letters to learned friends with whom he was intimate.[2] But Faustus Socinus, his nephew and heir, is said to have drawn from the writings left by Lælius his real sentiments concerning religion, and by publishing them to have gathered the sect.

2. The name Socinians is often used in two different senses—a proper and an improper, or a limited and a more general. For in common speech all are denominated Socinians who teach doctrines akin to those of the Socinians; and especially those who either wholly deny or weaken and render dubious the Christian doctrine of three persons in the Godhead, and that of the divine nature of our Saviour. But in a more limited sense those only are called Socinians who receive, either entire or in its principal parts, that system of religion which Faustus Socinus either produced himself, or set forth when produced by his uncle and recommended to the Unitarian brethren (as they choose to be called) living in Poland and Transylvania.[3]

3. While the Reformation was still immature, certain persons who looked upon everything the Romish church had hitherto professed as erroneous, began to undermine the doctrine of our Saviour's divinity and the truths connected with it, and proposed reducing the whole of religion to practical piety and virtue. But the vigilance both of the Lutherans and of the Reformed and Papists promptly resisted them, and prevented their organizing a sect. As early as the year 1526 divine honours were denied to Jesus Christ by Lewis Hätzer, a name famous among the vagrant Anabaptists, and who was beheaded at Constance in 1529.[4] Nor were there wanting other men of like sentiments among the Anabaptists, though

satisfaction made by Christ for the sins of men. They appeared always cheerful and in a happy state of mind, which offended the more gloomy Mystics and produced heavy charges against them. Yet nothing appeared in their mora. conduct to justify those criminations. Arnold, *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, part ii. book xvi. chap. xxi. sec. xxxvi. p. 873, ed. Schaffhausen; and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformation*, vol. v. p. 478, &c.—*Mur.*

[1] Cloppenburg, *Diss. de Origine et Progressu Socinianismi*; Hornbeck, *Summa Controversiarum*, p. 563, &c.; Hottinger, *Historia Ecclesiast.* tom. ix. p. 417, &c. and others.

[2] Zanchius, *Præfatio ad Librum de tribus Elohim*; Beza, *Epistolæ*, ep. lxxxi. p. 167. Several writings are ascribed to him (see Sand's *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitar.* p. 18); but it is very doubtful whether he was the author of any of them.

[3] There is still wanting a full and accurate history both of the sect which follows the Socini, and also of Lælius and Faustus Socinus, and of those next to them most active in establishing and building up this community. For the curiosity of those who wish to acquire an accurate knowledge of this whole subject is awakened but not satisfied by what they find in Hornbeck's *Socinianismus Confutatus*, vol. i.; Calovius, *Opera Anti-Sociniana*; Cloppenburg's *Diss. de Origine et Progressu Socinianismi* (*Opp.* tom. ii. Lugd. Bat. 1708, 4to); Sandius, *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitariorum*; Lubieniecius, *Historia Reformationis Poloniæ*; Lauterbach's *Polnisch-Arianischen Socinianismus*, Frankf. 1725, 8vo. And the *Histoire de Socinianisme*, by Lamy, Paris, 1723, 4to, is a compilation from the common writers, and abounds not only with errors but with various matter quite foreign from a history of the Socinian sect and religion. The very industrious and learned Maturin Viess la Croze promised the world a complete history of Socinianism down to our times—see his *Dissert. Historiques*, tome i. p. 142—but he did not fulfil his promise. [Besides the above, there are Zeltner's *Historia Crypto-Socinianismi Altorfini quondam Academiæ infesti Arcana*, Lips. 1729, 4to; Toulmin's *Memoirs of the Life, Character, Sentiments and Writings of Faustus Socinus*, Lond. 1777, 8vo; Bock's *Historia Antitrinitariorum, maxime Socinianismi et Socinianorum, quorum Auctores Promotores, Cœtus, Templa recensentur*, Königsb. 1774–84, 2 vols. 8vo. The first vol. gives account of modern Socinian authors, and the second traces the origin of Anti-Trinitarianism. The whole therefore is only a broad introduction to a proper History of the Socinian community. And Ilgen, *Vita Læli Socini*, Lips. 1814, 8vo.—*Mur.* [Another valuable work on this subject has recently appeared in Germany, which supplies much additional information respecting the lives of two of the founders of this sect, namely, Servetus and the elder Socinus. I allude to Trechsel's *Die Protestantischen Antitrinitarier vor Faustus Socin.* Heidel. 1839–44, 2 vols. The first vol. is entitled, *Michael Servet u. seine Vorgänger*; and the second, *Lelio Socini u. d. Antitrinitarier seiner Zeit.* See also a brief notice of Lelius Socinus in M'Crie's *Hist. of the Reformation in Italy*, 2d edit. p. 424, &c.—*R.*

[4] Sand's *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitarior.* p. 16; Ottius, *Annales Anabaptist.* p. 50; Breitinger's *Museum Helveticum*, tom. v. p. 391, tom. vi. p. 100, 479, &c. [See above, p. 687, note 1.—*Mur.*

that whole sect cannot be charged with this error. Besides these, John Campanus of Juliers, in what year is not ascertained, among other unsound doctrines which he spread at Wittemberg and elsewhere, made the Son of God to be inferior to the Father; and declared the appellation Holy Spirit to denote not a divine person but the nature both of the Father and the Son; that is, he revived substantially the monstrous errors of the Arians.[1] In the territory of the Grisons in Switzerland, at Strasburg, and perhaps elsewhere, one Claudius, an Allobrogian or Savoyard, excited much commotion about the year 1530 and onward, by impugning the divinity of our Saviour.[2] But none of these was able to establish a sect.

4. Those who watched over the interests of the Reformed church were much more alarmed by the conduct of Michael Servede[3] or Servetus, as his name is written in Latin, a Spanish physician, born at Villa Nueva in Aragon, a man of no ordinary genius and of extensive knowledge. He first published in 1531, *De Trinitatis Erroribus, libri Septem*, and the next year *Dialogorum de Trinitate, libri duo*, in which he most violently assailed the opinion held by the great body of Christians respecting the divine nature and the three persons in it. After retiring to France and passing through various scenes, he subsequently fixed his residence at Vienne, where he was a successful practitioner of physic; and now, by his strong power of imagination, he devised a new and singular species of religion, which he committed to a book that he secretly printed at Vienne in 1553, and which he entitled *Christianismi Restitutio* (a Restoration of Christianity).[4] Many things seemed to conspire to favour his designs; genius, learning, eloquence, courage, pertinacity, a show of piety, and lastly numerous patrons and friends in France, Germany, and Italy, whom he had conciliated by his natural and acquired endowments. But all his hopes were frustrated by Calvin, who caused Servetus to be seized in 1553 at Geneva, as he was passing through Switzerland towards Italy after his escape from prison at Vienne, and to be accused of blasphemy by one of Calvin's servants. The issue of the accusation was that Servetus, as he would not renounce the opinions he had embraced, was burned alive by a decree of the judges as being a pertinacious heretic and blasphemer. For in that age, the ancient laws against heretics enacted by the emperor Frederick II. and often renewed afterwards, were in full force at Geneva. A better fate was merited by this highly gifted and very learned man; yet he laboured under no small moral defects, for he was beyond all measure arrogant, and at the same time ill-tempered, contentious, unyielding, and a semi-fanatic.[5]

[1] See Schelhorn's very learned Dissertation *De Joh. Campano Anti-Trinitario*, in his *Amœnitates Literar.* tom. xi. p. 1—92. [He was a native of Mæseyk in the territory of Liege, and came to Wittemberg in 1528; but so concealed his opinions that they first became known after he had retired to Marpurg, where he wished to take part in the public dispute and to debate with Luther on the subject of the Lord's Supper, but was refused. He repeated the same at Torgau, where he likewise sought in vain to dispute with Luther. This filled him with resentment against Luther and his associates, and induced him to quit Wittemberg (to which he had returned) and go to Niemek, the pastor of which, Wicelius, fell under suspicion of Anti-Trinitarianism in consequence of his harbouring Campanus, and soon after went over to the Catholics. Campanus went from Saxony to the duchy of Juliers; and both orally and in writing declared himself opposed to the Reformers, and sought in an underhand manner to disseminate his Arian doctrines. But he was committed to prison by the Catholics at Cleves, and continued in confinement twenty-six years. Whether he made his escape from prison or was set at liberty is not known. All we know is that he lived to a great age. The substance of his doctrine may be learned from the very scarce book entitled, *The Divine and Holy Scripture, many years since Obscured and Darkened by Unwholesome Doctrine and Teachers (by God's permission), now Restored and Amended*, by the very learned John Campanus, 1532, 8vo (in German).—*Schl.* [Respecting Hetzer and Campanus, with their other associates, Denk, Hoffmann, Joris, &c. additional information may be obtained in Trechsel's *Michael Servet u. seine Vorgäng.* p. 18, &c. 26, &c.—*R.*

[2] See Schelhorn's Dissertation, *De Mino Celso Senensi, Claudio item Allobroge, homine Fanatico et SS. Trinitatis hoste*, Ulm, 1748, 8vo; Breitinger's *Museum Helveticum*, tom. vii. p. 667; Haller's letter in Füslin's *Centuriat. Epistolar. Reform.* &c. p. 140, &c. [He first held Christ to be a mere man; but the Swiss divines brought him to admit that he was the natural Son of God, though he would not allow his eternal existence, and he positively denied three persons in the Godhead. He also maintained that the beginning of John's Gospel had been falsified. He was imprisoned at Strasburg and then banished. Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformation*, vol. v. p. 491.—*Mur.*

[3] By rejecting the last syllable of the name, which is a common Spanish termination, there remains the name Serve; and the letters of this name, a little transposed, produce Reves, which is the name Servetus assumed in the titlepages of his books. Omitting also his family name altogether, he called himself from his birthplace, Michael Villanovanus, or simply Villanovanus.

[4] The full title of this now exceedingly rare work is, *Christianismi Restitutio. Totius ecclesiæ Apostolicæ est ad sua lumina vocatio, in integrum restituta cognitione Dei, fidei Christi, justificationis nostræ, regenerationis baptismi, et cœnæ Domini manducationis. Restituto denique nobis regno cœlesti, Babylonis impiæ captivitate soluta, et anti-Christo cum suis penitus destructo*, copied from an accurate reprint now before me, which is also scarce. It is anonymous, but on the last page (p. 734) there are the initials, M. S. V. (Michael Servetus Villanovanus) and the year, 1553. An analysis of the contents of this celebrated work may be seen in the notes to the article on Servetus, in Chauffepié, *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. et Crit.* tome iv. See also the Appendix to Henry's *Das Leben Calvins*, vol. iii. p. 81, &c.—*R.*

[5] I have composed in the German language a copious history of this man who was so unlike everybody but himself, which was published at Helmstadt, 1748, 4to, and again, with large additions, Helmst. 1749, 4to. [Maclaine recommends to those who cannot read the German to peruse a juvenile production of one of Mosheim's pupils composed twenty years earlier, entitled, *Historia Mich. Serveti, quam Præside J. Laur.*

5. Servetus had devised a strange system of religion, a great part of which was intimately connected with his notions of the nature of things, which were also strange, nor can it be stated fully in a few words. He supposed in general that the true doc-

Moscheimio, &c. exponit Henricus ab Alkwaerden, Helmstadt, 1727, 4to. But Mosheim, in his history of Servetus, pronounces this an incorrect performance and not to be relied on. Von Einem here introduces in a long note of twenty-three pages an epitome of Mosheim's history of Servetus. The account which Schroeckh gives of Servetus (*Kirchengesch. seit der Reformat.* vol. v. p. 519, &c.) accords in general with that of Mosheim as abridged by Von Einem. From both these sources the following sketch is made:—

He was born at Villa Nueva, in Aragon, A.D. 1509. His father was a lawyer, and sent him to Toulouse to study law. But he preferred literature and theology. Hebrew, Greek, the fathers, the Bible, and the writings of the Reformers, seemed to have engaged his chief attention. On his return to Spain he connected himself with Jo. Quintana, confessor to the emperor Charles V. and accompanied him to Italy, where he witnessed the emperor's coronation at Bologna, A.D. 1529. The year following he accompanied Quintana into Germany, and perhaps was at Augsburg when the Protestants presented their Confession of Faith; and he might there first become acquainted with Bucer and Capito. When and where he separated from Quintana does not appear. But in the year 1530 he went to Basil to confer with Œcolampadius. He had then struck out a new path in theology. He rejected the doctrine of three divine persons, denied the eternal generation of the Son, and admitted no eternity of the Son except in the purpose of God. Œcolampadius attempted in vain to bring him to other views; and he laid his case before Zwingli, Bucer, Capito, and Bullinger, who all considered him a gross heretic. He left Basil, determined to publish his projected work [*De Trinitatis Erroribus*]. It was printed at Hagenau in 1531, and was at once everywhere condemned. Quintana laid it before the emperor, who ordered it to be suppressed. Servetus was assailed by his best friends wherever he went, and was pressed to abandon his errors. He therefore wrote his Dialogues, which he printed in 1532. He there condemned his former book as a juvenile and ill-reasoned performance, yet brought forward substantially the same doctrines, and urged them with all his powers of logic and satire. In 1533, he went to Italy and travelled in France. He studied a while at Paris, then went to Orleans, and thence to Lyons, where he resided two years as a superintendent of the press, held a correspondence with Calvin, and began to write his great theological work. In 1537, he went again to Paris, became a master of arts, and lectured on mathematics and astronomy. He also devoted a year to the study of physic, and now commenced medical writer and physician, yet continued to labour on his *Restoration of Christianity*. But he soon got into collision with the medical fraternity and had to leave Paris. In 1538, he went to Lyons, thence to Avignon, and thence to Charlieu, where he resided as a physician till 1540. He next went again to Lyons, and soon after to Vienne, where he resided twelve years as a physician under the patronage of the archbishop and the clergy, to whom he rendered himself quite acceptable. During this time, though still labouring secretly upon his *Restoration of Christianity*, he professed to be a sound Catholic and passed currently for one. He also re-edited Ptolemy's geography with corrections and notes, and published notes on Pagnini's Latin Bible, the chief object of which was to show that all the Old Testament prophecies which were commonly applied to Christ, had a previous and literal fulfilment in events prior to his advent, and only an allegorical application to him. At length he determined to print his favourite work on theology. It was worked off in a retired house in Vienne by his friends, and he himself corrected the press. It was finished in January, 1553, and bore on its titlepage [on the last page] only the initials of his name, M. S. V. (Michael Servetus Villanovanus.) Parcels of the book were sent to Lyons, to Frankfort, and elsewhere. A few copies reached Geneva, and Calvin was one of the first who read it. Near the end of February one Trie, a young French Protestant residing at Geneva, wrote to his Catholic friend at Lyons who had laboured hard to convert him to popery, taxing the Catholics of Lyons with harbouring Servetus, the impious author of this new book which excited such universal abhorrence. This letter first awakened suspicion at Vienne that Servetus was the author of it. A process before the Inquisition was commenced against him, but the proof was deemed insufficient. The court, however, prosecuted the matter with zeal, and obtained more and more evidence against him. Servetus at length, foreseeing the probable result, took to flight. The court still proceeded till they deemed the evidence sufficient, and then condemned him in his absence. Servetus fled to Geneva and there lay concealed four weeks, waiting for an opportunity to proceed to Italy and Naples. Just as he was getting into a boat to depart he was discovered by Calvin himself, who gave notice immediately to the government and they apprehended him. Nicholas de la Fontaine, Calvin's secretary, took the part of an accuser, and Calvin himself is supposed to have framed the thirty-eight articles of charge. They were taken from his writings, especially from his last work, and related to his views of the Trinity and infant baptism, his taxing Moses with falsely representing the land of Canaan as very fertile, his perverting the prophecies concerning Christ, and several other points of less importance. In the first hearing Servetus acknowledged himself the author of the books whence the charges were drawn, but either explained away or justified the articles alleged, and La Fontaine was unable to meet his arguments. In the second hearing Calvin was present, and he exposed the evasive pleas of the criminal. In the mean time the council of Geneva wrote to the authorities of Vienne informing them of the arrest of Servetus, and inquiring respecting the proceeding against him at Vienne. The governor of the castle of Vienne came to Geneva, exhibited a copy of the sentence passed upon Servetus, and requested that the prisoner might be delivered up to him to be conveyed to Vienne. Servetus was called before the court, and with tears entreated that he might not be delivered up, but that he might be tried at Geneva. To gratify his wishes, the court of Geneva refused to give him up, and proceeded in his trial. He denied the competence of a civil court to try a case of heresy, but his objection was overruled. He also appealed to the council of 200, but the appeal was not admitted. He attempted to accuse Calvin of heresy, but the court would not listen to his accusations. He objected that Calvin reigned at Geneva, and begged to have his case tried by the other cantons. Accordingly the court ordered that Calvin should extract objectionable passages from Servetus' books, in his own words; that Servetus should subjoin such explanations and arguments as he saw fit, then Calvin to reply, and Servetus to answer, and the whole be transmitted to Berne, Basil, Zurich, and Schaffhausen, for the opinion of those cantons. This was accordingly done. The reply from all the cantons was, that the Genevans were in duty bound to restrain the madness and wickedness of Servetus, and to prevent him from propagating his errors in future. But the manner in which this object should be accomplished was left to the decretion of the court of Geneva. The authorities of Basil, however, intimated that a perpetual imprisonment might be sufficient. The court of Geneva now unanimously condemned Servetus to be burned alive the day following. Calvin and the other ministers of Geneva interceded for a milder death, but the court would not yield. Servetus was immediately informed of his sentence, and was greatly overcome. The next day, Oct. 27, 1553, he appeared more composed. Farell attended him as clergyman and urged him to retract, which he pertinaciously refused. He was conducted to the presence of the court, where his sentence was pronounced in form. He begged for a commutation of the mode of death, and Farell also urged the same; but the court would not listen. He was conducted slowly to the place of execution, permitted and even urged to address the people, which he refused. At length he was fastened by a chain to a stake, seated on a block, and surrounded by combustibles. The fire was kindled, and he expired at the end of half an hour. To the last, he maintained the correctness of the opinions for which he suffered, and cried repeatedly, "Jesus, thou Son of

trine of Jesus Christ was lost, even before the council of Nice, and indeed that it was never taught with sufficient clearness and perspicuity; and that the restitution and explanation of it were divinely committed to him. As respects God and the divine Trinity, he believed in general that the supreme Being before the foundation of the world produced in himself and formed two personal representations, economies, dispositions, dispensations, or modes of existence (for he did not always use the same terms), namely, the Word and the Holy Spirit, by which he might both make known his will to mankind and impart to them his blessings: That the Word was joined to the man Christ, who was by the efficient volition of God born of the Virgin Mary, and that on this account Christ might justly be called God: That the Holy Spirit animates the created universe, and in particular produces holy and divine emotions and purposes in men: That after the destruction of this world, both these economies will cease to be, and will be reabsorbed in God. Yet this doctrine he did not always state in the same manner, and he often uses loose and ambiguous terms, so that it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain his real meaning. His moral principles agreed in many respects with the opinions of the Anabaptists, with whom also he agreed in this, that he most severely condemned the baptism of infants.

6. This projected restoration of the church, of which Servetus hoped to be himself the author, died with him. For notwithstanding public fame ascribed to him many disciples, and not a few divines of that age professed to have great apprehensions from the sect of Servetus, yet it may be justly doubted whether he left behind him one genuine disciple. Those who are called Servetians, and followers of the doctrine of Servetus, by the writers of that age, differed widely from Servetus in many respects; and in particular, they entertained very different opinions respecting the doctrine of the divine Trinity. Valentine Gentilis of Naples, whom the government of Berne put to death in 1566, did not hold the opinions of Servetus as many writers

the eternal God, have mercy on me." At this day, all agree that Servetus ought not to have been put to death, but in that age different sentiments prevailed. The burning of heretics was then almost universally approved and practised. There were some, however, especially among the French and Italian Protestants, whose exposure to be themselves put to death by the papists on this principle, led them to question the correctness of the principle. Calvin therefore, who certainly had some hand in the death of Servetus, was censured by a few Protestants; while the great body of them, and even the mild Melancthon, fully approved of his conduct. Some of the moderns have unjustly charged Calvin with being actuated solely by personal enmity against Servetus, and by the natural severity of his disposition. On the other hand, some have attempted entirely to exculpate him, and to attribute his conduct to the purest motives. He doubtless thought he was doing right, and had the approbation of his own conscience; as he certainly had of the wisest and best men of that age, who as occasion was presented pursued the same course themselves. But had he lived in our age, he would undoubtedly have thought and acted differently. See Beza's *Life of Calvin*, by Sibson, ed. Philadelphia, 1836, note c. p. 156–204.—*Mur.* [The great notoriety of this tragical event and the polemical purposes which it has been made to serve, render it expedient to furnish the student with references to the best sources of information respecting its details. Among these, every candid inquirer will at once ask for the original record of the trial, as absolutely necessary to enable him to form an upright judgment on the several questions which have been so keenly agitated respecting the opinions of Servetus, the character of Calvin, and the conduct and jurisdiction of the Genevan magistrates. Yet, strange to say, after a protracted controversy of nearly three hundred years, this indispensable document has not yet been given to the public entire. In the beginning of the last century (1717) M. de la Roche, in his *Memoirs of Literature*, vol. i. folio, p. 349, 357, and 373, and vol. ii. 4to, p. 25, 57, 73, and 81, published a short history of Servetus, in seven letters; in compiling which, he appears to have had access to the original documents in the archives of Geneva, several valuable extracts from which he gives at length. About the middle of the century, Mosheim made use of extracts by a different hand taken from the same source, in drawing up the biography of Servetus, which he published in his *Andreweitiger Versuch einer vollständigen u. unpartheiischen Ketzergeschichte*, Helm. 1748; and completed in his *Neue Nachrichten von dem berühmten Spanischen Artze, Mich. Servet.* 1750. Subsequent inquirers however failed to discover among the Genevan archives, the original records of the trial which had supplied these two sets of extracts; and they were consequently believed to be lost. Under that impression Trechsel, when preparing the work on Servetus referred to in a preceding note, had to content himself with making use of a pretty full manuscript copy of the trial made in the last century, which he found among the records of the church of Berne, and which is now found to be a sufficiently accurate transcript. In the appendix to his work, Trechsel has printed in full this important document, omitting however the papers which had been previously published by M. de la Roche. It is entitled *Procédures contre Servet*, and extends to thirty-six closely printed octavo pages. It is the first and as yet only attempt towards placing before the public the whole transaction and the conduct of the several parties concerned in it, in an authentic form; though being only a copy and that too a comparatively modern one, it cannot be fully relied on. At length, however, in the year 1842, the original records of the whole affair were found in Geneva, and have been freely used by M. de la Valayre, in the account of Servetus published in his *Légendes Suisses*, Paris, 1842; and by M. Albert Rilliet in his *Relation du Procès criminel intenté à Genève en 1553 contre Michel Servet, redigée d'après les Documents originaux*, Gen. 1844. It is much to be regretted that M. Rilliet had not, in an Appendix to his excellent little work, given a complete copy of all the original documents preserved in the Genevan archives, for every one who wishes to judge for himself must still have recourse to Trechsel's second-hand transcript. The original documents relative to Servetus's arrest, trial, and condemnation at Vienne in 1553, were published for the first time from the archives in that city, by the Abbé D'Artigny, in the *Nouveaux Mémoires d'Histoire*, &c. Paris, 1749, vol. ii. sec. 55. I may merely add that the English reader, in addition to the ordinary lives of Calvin and the letters on Servetus in the *Memoirs of Literature* already mentioned, may consult *The Life of Servetus, translated from the French* [of Chauffepié's *Nouveau Dictionnaire*, &c.] by James Yair, minister of the Scots' Church in Campvere, Lond. 1771, 8vo, and the Rev. Mr. Tweedie's translation of Rilliet's work, entitled *Calvin and Servetus*, Edin. 1846, 12mo.—*R.*

affirm, but held Arian sentiments, and made the Son and the Holy Spirit to be inferior to the Father.[1] Not much different were the views of Matthew Gribaldus, a jurist of Pavia, who was removed by a timely death at Geneva in 1566, when about to undergo a capital trial; for he distributed the divine nature into three Eternal Spirits, differing in rank as well as numerically.[2] It is not equally certain what was the criminal error of John Paul Alciati, a Piedmontese, and of Sylvester Tellius, who were banished from Geneva in 1559, or what was the error of Paruta, Leonardi,[3] and others, who are sometimes numbered among the followers of Servetus; yet it is not at all probable that any one of these regarded Servetus as his master. Peter Gonesius, who is said to have introduced the errors of Servetus into Poland,[4] although he may have taught some things akin to them, yet explained the most sacred mystery of the divine Trinity in a very different manner from Servetus.

7. No one of those who have been named professed that form of religion which is properly called Socinian. The Socinian writers generally trace the origin of their sect to Italy, and refer it to the year 1546. In this year and in the vicinity of Venice, especially at Vicenza, they tell us that more than forty men, eminent no less for genius and erudition than for their love of truth, often assembled together in secret; and they not only consulted on a general reformation in religion, but undertook more especially to refute the doctrines which were afterwards publicly rejected by the Socinian sect. They add that Lælius Socinus, Alciati, Ochino, Paruta, Gentilis, and others, stood conspicuous among these persons. But by the imprudence of one of the associates the temerity of these men became known; two of them were seized and put to death, the others escaped and fled into Switzerland, Germany, Moravia, and other countries. Among these exiles was Socinus, who after various wanderings passed into Poland in 1551 and again in 1558, and there disseminated the seeds of that scheme of doctrine which he and his associates had devised in their own country, and which subsequently produced abundant fruits.[5] That this repre-

[1] Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, article Gentilis, tom. ii. p. 1251; Spon's *Histoire de Genève*, livr. iii. tome ii. p. 80, &c; Sand's *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitar.* p. 26; Lamy's *Histoire du Socinianisme*, par. ii. chap. vi. p. 251; Fueslin's *Beyträge zu d. Switz. Ref.* vol. v. p. 381. [Gentilis fled from his country from religious motives about the middle of the century, and settled at Geneva in connexion with the Italian church there. Here with others he uttered anti-trinitarian sentiments, for which he was arraigned in 1558, subscribed to an orthodox confession of faith, and promised under oath not to leave the city without permission. He however fled clandestinely, and travelled in France, Switzerland, Germany, and Poland, propagating Arian sentiments. He was imprisoned at Lyons and at Berne, and was expelled from Poland. In 1566 he came to Berne a second time, was apprehended and condemned to death for having obstinately and contrary to his oath assailed the doctrine of the Trinity. See Bayle, *ubi supra*. Aretius a Reformed divine, wrote *Historia Val. Gentilis justo Capitis supplicio Bernæ affecti*, 1617, fol.—*Mur.* [A full account of Gentilis has been lately given by Trechsel, in his *Lelio Sozini und die Anti-trinitarier seiner Zeit*, p. 316. The English translation of Aretius' work bears the following title: *History of Valentinus Gentilis, the Tritheist, tried, condemned, and put to death by the Protestant Reformed City and Church of Bern for Asserting the Three Divine Persons of the Trinity to be Three Distinct Eternal Spirits*, Lond. 1696, 8vo.—*R.*

[2] Sand's *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 17; Lamy, *ubi supra*, par. ii. chap vii. p. 257, &c.; Spon's *Histoire de Genève*, tome ii. p. 85, note; Haller, in the *Museum Tigurinum*, tom. ii. p. 114. [See also Trechsel, *ubi supra*, p. 277, &c.—*R.*

[3] Of these, and other persons of this class, see Sand, Lamy, and Lubieniecius, *Historia Reformat. Polonicæ*, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 96. Concerning Alciati in particular, see Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome i. p. 239; also, Spon, *ubi supra*, tom. ii. p. 85, 86. [This Alciati was a Milanese gentleman, and one of those Italians who fled from their country to join the Protestants, and who afterwards so refined upon the mystery of the Trinity as to form a new party, equally odious to Protestant and to Catholics. Alciati had been a soldier; and he commenced his innovations at Geneva, in concert with a physician named Blandrata and a lawyer named Gribaud (in Latin Gribaldus), with whom became associated Valentine Gentilis. The precautions taken against them, and the severe procedure against Gentilis, intimidated the others and induced them to seek another residence. They chose Poland, where Blandrata and Alciati disseminated their heresy with sufficient success. They allured Gentilis to come and join them. He was under obligation to Alciati, at whose entreaty the bailiff of Gex had let him out of prison. It is said that from Poland they went to Moravia. Gentilis was beheaded at Berne, Alciati retired to Dantzic, and there died in the sentiments of Socinus. He wrote two letters to Gregory Paul in 1564 and 1565, in which he maintains that Christ had no existence till he was born of Mary. See Bayle, *ubi supra*.—*Mur.* [See also respecting Alciati, Trechsel, *ubi supra*, p. 310.—*R.*

[4] This is affirmed by many who here follow Wissowatius and Lubieniecius, *Historia Reformat. Polonicæ*, cap. vi. p. 111, &c.; but how truly it is affirmed may be learned from Lubieniecius himself, who says of Gonesius: "He brought into his country the doctrine of Servetus concerning the pre-eminence of the Father, which he did not dissemble." But if Gonesius taught the pre-eminence of the Father, he differed much from Servetus, who denied all real distinctions in the divine nature. As to the opinions of Gonesius, see Sand, *ubi supra*, p. 40, from whom chiefly Lamy borrows his account, *Histoire du Socinianisme*, tome ii. chap. x. p 278. [This Gonesius was of Podlachia, and studied in Saxony and Switzerland, where he got hold of the writings of Servetus. On his return home, he became intimate with some Anabaptists in Moravia, and in the year 1556 he controverted the doctrine of the Trinity, first in a synod of the Polish Reformed, in which he pronounced it a fiction gendered in the human brain. Two years afterwards, he also rejected infant baptism. He likewise spoke contemptuously of civil authorities. See Lauterbach's *Polnisch. Arianischen Socinianismus.* — *Schl.* [See additional notices of Gonesius in Krasinski's *Historical Sketch of the Reformation in Poland*, vol. i. p. 346, &c. His Polish name was Goniondzki, or of Goniondz, a little town of Polachia, of which he was probably a native. Chapter viii. of the first volume and chap. xiv. of the second volume of this work treat of the rise and progress of the Anti-Trinitarian sect in Poland, which afterwards, down to the middle of the 17th century, became their principal seat.—*R.*

[5] See Sand's *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 18, who likewise mentions (p. 25), some writings which are said—but on altogether questionable authority—to

sentation is wholly a fiction cannot be maintained; yet it is easily shown that the system of religion which bears the name of Socinus was by no means fabricated in those meetings at Venice and Vicenza.[1]

8. We can give a more certain account of the origin and progress of Socinian principles in religion. As not only the papists but also the Lutherans and the Swiss, were everywhere watchful to prevent both Anabaptists and the opposers of the glory of Jesus Christ and the triune God, from gaining anywhere a permanent habitation, a large number of this sort of people retired to Poland, supposing that a nation so strongly attached to liberty in general would not disapprove of liberty of opinion in religious matters. Here they at first cautiously disclosed their views, being timid and doubtful what would be the issue. Hence for a number of years they lived intermixed with the Lutherans and Calvinists, who had acquired a firm establishment in Poland; nor were they excluded either from their communion in worship or from their deliberative bodies. But after acquiring the friendship of some of the noble and opulent, they ventured to act more courageously and to attack openly the common views of Christians. Hence originated, first, violent contests with the Swiss [or Reformed], with whom they were principally connected; the issue of which at last was, that in the Synod of Petrikow, A.D. 1565, they were required to secede and to form themselves into a separate community.[2] These founders of

have been published by those Venetian inventors of the Socinian system. Wissowatius, *Narratio, quomodo in Polonia Reformati ab Unitariis separati sunt*, subjoined to Sand, p. 209, 210; Lubieniecius, *Historia Reformationis Polonicæ*, lib. ii. cap. i. p. 38, who says he derived this account from the Commentaries of Budzinius, never published, and from the life of Lælius Socinus. See also Przypcovius, *Vita Socini*, and others.

[1] The late Zeltner, in his *Historia Crypto-Socinianismi Altorfini*, cap. ii. sec. xii. note, p. 321, wished to have the truth of this story more accurately examined by the learned. Till this is done, we will here offer a few remarks which will perhaps throw some light on the subject. In the thing itself, in my judgment, there is nothing incredible. It appears from many documents that after the Reformation commenced in Germany, many persons in various countries subject to the Romish see consulted together respecting the abolition of superstition; and it is the more probable that this was done by some learned men in the Venetian territory, as it is well known that in that age there were living among the Venetians a considerable number of men who wished well, if not to Luther himself, yet to his design of reforming religion and restoring it to its native simplicity. It is likewise easy to believe that these consultations were interrupted by the vigilance of the satellites of Rome, and that some of those concerned in them were arrested and put to death, and that others saved themselves by flight. But it is very doubtful, nay incredible, that all those persons were at these consultations, who are reported to have borne a part in them. Indeed I am of opinion that many of those who afterwards obtained celebrity by opposing the Christian doctrine of a Trinity in the Godhead, are rashly placed by incompetent judges in the list of members of such a Venetian association, because they have supposed that this was the parent and the cradle of the whole Unitarian sect. This at least I certainly know, that Ochino must be excluded from it. For, not to mention that it is uncertain whether he has been justly or unjustly ranked among Socinians, it is clear from Boverius, *Annales Capucinorum*, and from other unquestionable testimonies, that he left Italy and removed to Geneva as early as the year 1543. See *La Guerre Séraphique ou l'Histoire des Périls, qu' a courus la Barbe des Capucins*, livr. iii. p. 191, 216, &c. Respecting Lælius Socinus himself, who is represented as at the head of the association in question, I would confidently assert the same as of Ochino [namely, that he is unjustly placed among the members of this association.] For who can believe that a young man only twenty-one years old (for such was Lælius at that time), left his native country and repaired to Venice or Vicenza, to have a free discussion with others relative to the general interests of religion; and that this youth had such influence as to obtain the first rank in a numerous body of men distinguished for talent and learning? Besides, from the life of Lælius and from other testimonies, it can be proved that he retired from Italy, not to escape impending danger to his life, but for the sake of improvement and to acquire a knowledge of the truth among foreign nations. He certainly returned afterwards to his own country, and in 1551 resided some time at Sienna, while his father resided at Bologna. See his letter to Bullinger, in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. v. p. 489, &c. Who can suppose the man would have undertaken such a journey, if but a few years previously he had with difficulty escaped from the hands of the inquisitors and a capital punishment? But supposing all the rest to be true which the Socinians tell us respecting the members and the character of this Venetian association, which had for its object the disrobing our Saviour of his divine majesty, yet this we can never concede to them, that the Socinian system of doctrine was invented and drawn up in that association. It was unquestionably of later origin, and was long under the correcting and improving hand of many ingenious men, before it acquired its complete and permanent form. If any one wishes for proof of this, let him only look at the doctrines and reasonings of some of those who are said to have been members of the association in question, which he will find to have been exceedingly diversified. It appears from many facts reported in various documents concerning Lælius Socinus, that his mind had not yet become established in any definite system of religious doctrine at the time he left Italy; and that he spent many years subsequently to that period in inquiring, doubting, examining, and discussing. And I could almost believe that he finally died still hesitating what to believe on various points. Gribaud and Alciati, of whom notice has already been taken, were inclined to Arian views, and had not so low an opinion of our Saviour as the Socinians had. These examples fully show that those Italian reformers (if they really existed, which I here assume but do not affirm), had come to no fixed conclusions, but were dispersed and compelled to go into exile before they had come to be of one opinion on points of the highest importance in religion. This account of the origin of Socinianism which many inconsiderately adopt, has also been objected to by Fueslin, *Beytrage zu d. Sweitz. Ref.* vol. iii. p. 327, &c. [See also Trechsel's *Lelio Sozini u. d. Antitrinitarier seiner Zeit*, especially the third section; Bock, in his *Hist. Antitrin.* vol. ii. p. 395, &c. has replied at some length to this note of Mosheim, and laboured to show that there was such a society at Vicenza.—*R.*

[2] Lamy, *Histoire du Socinianisme*, par. i. chap. vi. vii. viii. &c. p. 16, &c.; Stoienisky (Stoinius), *Epitome Originis Unitariorum in Polonia*, in Sand. p. 183, &c.; Schomann's *Testamentum*, ibid. p. 194; Wissowatius, *De Separatione Unitariorum a Reformatis*, ibid. p. 211, 212; Lubieniecius, *Historia Reformat. Polonicæ*, lib. ii. cap. vi. &c. p. 111, &c.; cap. viii. p. 144; lib. iii. cap. i. p. 158, &c. [Among the Polish Antitrinitarians must also be reckoned the Frenchman Peter Statorius, who came to Poland in 1559 and was rector of the school at Pinczow. To the same party Gregory Pauli, a Pole, afterwards joined himself. He had taught with great reputation in the Reformed church at Cracow, was deposed on account of his erroneous opinions, and

the Socinian sect were commonly called Pinczovians, from the town [of Pinczow] where the leaders of the sect resided. The greatest part of these however professed Arian sentiments respecting the divine nature, representing the Son and the Holy Spirit to be persons begotten by the one God the Father, and inferior to him.[1]

9. As soon as the Unitarians became separated from the other communities of Christians in Poland, they had to contend with many difficulties, both internal and external. Without, they were oppressed both by the papists and by the Reformed and Lutherans; within, there was danger lest the feeble flock should become torn by factions. For they had not yet agreed upon any common formula of faith. Some continued still to adhere to Arian views, and were called Farnovians.[2] Others chose to go farther, and to ascribe almost nothing to Christ but the prerogatives of an ambassador of God. The worst of these were the Budneians, who maintained that Christ was born just as all other men are, and therefore was unworthy of any divine worship or adoration.[3] Nor were they free from superstitious persons who wished to introduce among them the practical notions of the Anabaptists; namely, a community of goods, a universal equality in rank and power, and other things of the like nature.[4] From these troubles however they were happily soon relieved by the perseverance and authority of certain teachers, whose plans were so successful that in a short time they reduced those factions to narrow limits, established flourishing churches at Cracow, Lublin, Pinczow, Lucklavitz, and especially at Smigla, a town which lay in the territories of the famous Andrew Dudycz,[5] and in many other places, both in Poland and in Lithuania; and moreover, they obtained license to publish books in two different towns.[6] These privileges were crowned by John Sienienius [Sieniensky], the waiwode of Podolia; who granted them a residence in his new town of Racovia [Racow] in the district of Sendomir, which he built in 1569.[7] After obtaining this residence, the sect which was dispersed far and wide among their enemies, supposing they had now obtained a fixed and permanent location for their religion, did not hesitate to

then openly associated himself with the Unitarians. The Stancarian controversy contributed most to the discovery of the error of these people in regard to the Trinity. For many synods and conferences being held on that controversy, the Unitarians exposed themselves in them, and thus awakened the zeal of believers in the Trinity to oppose them in the debates. In the years 1564 and 1566 appeared the first royal edicts against the Unitarians, by which they were banished the realm. Gentilis therefore retired to Switzerland, and Alciati to Prussia. Others found concealed retreats with some of the nobles, till they could openly appear again in public. Under the same protection and patronage, they at length obtained churches, schools, and printing establishments of their own.—*Schl.*

[1] This will readily appear to one who shall attentively peruse the writers just quoted. It is indeed true that all who then bore the name of Unitarian Brethren, did not hold precisely the same opinion respecting the divine nature. Some of the principal doctors among them were inclined towards those views of Jesus Christ which afterwards were the common views of the Socinian sect; but the greater part of them agreed with the Arians, and affirmed that our Saviour was produced by God the Father before the foundation of the world, but that he was greatly inferior to the Father.

[2] Concerning these, see below, sec. 24 of this chapter, p. 712.—*Mur.*

[3] *Epist. de Vita Andr. Wisowatii*, subjoined to Sand's *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 226, and Sand himself on Simon Budnæus, p. 51.

[4] Lubieniecius, *Historia Reformationis Polonicæ*, lib. iii. cap. xii. p. 240.

[5] See Adelt's *Historia Arianismi Smiglensis*, Dantzig, 1741, 8vo. [This [Dudycz, pronounced—*R.*] *Dudith*, who was certainly one of the most learned and eminent men of the sixteenth century, was born at Buda in the year 1533; and after having studied in the most famous universities, and travelled through almost all the countries of Europe, (visiting England in 1554 in the suite of Cardinal Pole), was named to the bishopric of Tinia by the emperor Ferdinand, and made privy counsellor to that prince. He had by the force of his genius and the study of the ancient orators, acquired such a masterly and irresistible eloquence, that in all public deliberations he carried everything before him. In the council (of Trent), where he was sent in the name of the emperor and of the Hungarian clergy, he spoke with such energy against several abuses of the church of Rome, and particularly against the celibacy of the clergy, that the pope being informed thereof by his legates, solicited the emperor to recall him. Ferdinand complied; but having heard Dudycz's report of what passed in that famous council, he approved of his conduct, and rewarded him with the bishopric of Chonat. He afterwards married a maid of honour of the queen of Hungary, and resigned his bishopric; the emperor however still continued his friend and protector. The papal excommunication was levelled at his head, but he treated it with contempt. Tired of the fopperies and superstitions of the church of Rome, he retired to Cracow, where he embraced the Protestant religion publicly, after having been for a good while its secret friend. It is said that he showed some inclination towards the Socinian system. Some of his friends deny this; others confess it, but maintain that he afterwards changed his sentiments in that respect. He was well acquainted with several branches of philosophy and the mathematics, with the sciences of physic, history, theology, and the civil law. He was such an enthusiastical admirer of Cicero, that he copied over three times with his own hand the whole works of that immortal author. He had something majestic in his figure, and in the air of his countenance. His life was regular and virtuous, his manners elegant and easy, and his benevolence warm and extensive.—*Mael.* [See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 738, &c. and Rees' *Cyclopedia*, article *Dudith.*—*Mur.* [See note 1, p. 619, above; and also Krasinski's *Historical Sketch of the Reformation in Poland*, vol. ii. p. 385, &c.—*R.*

[6] Sand's *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 201.

[7] Sand, *ubi supra*, p. 201; Lubieniecius, *ubi supra*, p. 239, &c. [Here all the most famous Unitarians were established as teachers; here in 1602 they set up a school which they called Athenæ Sarmaticæ, in which the number of students often exceeded 1000, and which was attended even by Catholics, because the mode of teaching was the same as that of the Jesuits, and no one was solicited to change his religion. Here also they had, next to that at Lublin and the one in Lithuania, their most famous printing establishment, first the Radeckish and then the Sternackish, till the year 1638, from which so many works of the Unitarians were issued.—*Schl.*

make this place [Racow] the established centre of their church and community.

10. The first care of the leaders of their church after they saw their affairs in this settled state, was to translate the Holy Scriptures into the Polish language, the publication of which took place in 1572. They previously had a Polish translation of the Bible which they had made in 1565, conjointly with the Reformed to whose church they then belonged. But this version, after they were ordered to separate themselves from the Reformed, they considered not well suited to their condition.[1] In the next place, they drew up and published a small work containing the principal articles of their religious faith. This was in the year 1574, at which time the first Catechism and Confession of the Unitarians was printed at Cracow.[2] The system of religion contained in this book is extremely simple and free from all subtleties; yet it bears

[1] See Ringeltaube, *Von den Polnischen Bibeln*, p. 90, 113, 142, who gives farther information respecting Polish translations of the Bible by Socinians.

[2] This little work, from which alone the character of the Unitarian theology anterior to the times of Faustus Socinus, can be learned with certainty, is not mentioned, so far as I know, by any Unitarian author, nor by any one who has either written their history or opposed their doctrine. I am ready to believe that the Socinians themselves afterwards, when they had acquired more dexterity and power and had shaped their theology more artificially, wisely took care to have the copies of this confession destroyed, lest they should fall under the charge of fickleness and of abandoning the tenets of their predecessors, or incur the charge of forsaking their ancient simplicity, which is apt to produce divisions and parties. It will therefore be doing service to the history of Christian doctrine, to describe here summarily the form and character of this first Socinian creed, which was set forth prior to the *Racovian Catechism*. This very rare book is a very small one, and bears the following title: *Catechesis et Confessio fidei Cœtus per Poloniam Congregati in Nomine Jesu Christi Domini nostri Crucifixi et Resuscitati. Deuter.* vi. *Audi Israel, Dominus Deus noster Deus unus est. Johannis* viii. *dicit Jesus: Quem vos dicitis vestrum esse Deum, est Pater meus. Typis Alexandri Turobini, anno nati Jesu Christi, filii Dei.* 1574, pp. 160, 12mo. That it was printed at Cracow appears from the close of the preface, which is dated in this city in the year 1574, *Post Jesum Christum natum*. The Unitarians then had a printing-office at Cracow, which was soon after removed to Racow. The Alexander Turobinus who is said to be the printer, is called Turobinczyck, by Sand, (*Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 51), and undoubtedly derived his name from his native place, Turobin, in the district of Chelm in Red Russia. That the author of the book was the noted George Schomann, has been proved from Schomann's *Testamentum* published by Sand, and from other Documents, by Müller who gives a particular account of Schomann in his Essay, *De Unitariorum Catechesi et Confessione omnium prima*, written since my remarks on the subject; and which is printed in Bartholomew's *Fortgesetzten nützlichen Anmerckungen von allerhand Materien*, vol. xxi. p. 758. The preface composed in the name of the whole association, begins with this salutation: Omnibus salutem æternam sitientibus, gratiam et pacem ab uno illo altissimo Deo patre, per unigenitum ejus filium Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum crucifixum, ex animo precatur cœtus exiguus et afflictus per Poloniam, in nomine ejusdem Jesu Christi Nazareni baptizatus. Their reasons for writing and publishing the book are thus stated; namely, the reproaches which in one place and another are cast upon the Anabaptists. Hence it appears, that the people who were afterwards called Socinians, were in that age denominated Anabaptists; nor did they reject this appellation but tacitly admitted it. The remainder of the short preface consists of entreaties to the readers to regard the whole as written in good faith, to read and judge for themselves, and forsaking the doctrine of Babylon and conduct and conversation of Sodom, to take refuge in the ark of Noah, *i.e.* among the Unitarians. In the commencement of the book, the whole of the Christian religion is reduced to six heads: I. of God and Jesus Christ; II. of justification; III. of discipline; IV. of prayer; V. of baptism; VI. of the Lord's supper. And these six topics are then explained successively, by first giving a long and full answer or exposition of each; and then dividing them into subordinate questions or members, and subjoining answers with scripture proofs annexed. It is manifest even from this performance, that the infancy of the Socinian theology was very feeble and imbecile; that its teachers were not distinguished for a deep and accurate knowledge of divine things, and that they imbued their flocks with only a few and very simple precepts. In their description of God which comes first in order, the authors at once let out their views concerning Jesus Christ, for they inculcate that he, together with all creatures, is subject to God. It is also worthy of notice, that they make no mention of God's infinity, his omniscience, his immensity, his eternity, his omnipotence, his omnipresence, his perfect simplicity, and the other attributes of the Supreme Being which are above human comprehension; but merely exalt God for his wisdom, his immortality, his goodness, and his supreme dominion over all things. It would seem therefore that the leaders of the community, even then, believed that nothing is to be admitted in theology which human reason cannot fully comprehend and understand. Their erroneous views of our Saviour are thus expressed—Our mediator with God is a man, who was anciently promised to the fathers by the prophets, and in these latter days was born of the seed of David, whom God the Father had made Lord and Christ, that is, the most perfect prophet, the most holy priest, and the most invincible king, by whom he created the new world (for those declarations of the sacred volume which represent the whole material universe as created by our Saviour, they maintain as the Socinians do, to be figurative; and understand them to refer to the restoration of mankind, so that they may not be compelled unwillingly to admit his divine power and glory), restored all things, reconciled them to himself, made peace, and bestowed eternal life upon his elect; to the end that, next to the most high God, we should believe in him, adore him, pray to him, imitate him according to our ability, and find rest to our souls in him (a) Although they here call Jesus Christ the most holy priest, which they afterwards confirm with passages of Scripture, yet they nowhere explain the nature of that priesthood which they ascribe to him. The Holy Spirit they most explicitly declare not to be a divine person, and they represent him as a divine power or energy—The Holy Spirit is the power of God, the fulness of which God the Father hath bestowed on his only begotten Son, our Lord; that we being adopted might receive of his fulness.(b) Their opinion of justification is thus expressed—Justification is the remission of all our past sins from mere grace, through our Lord Jesus Christ, without our works and merits, in a lively faith; and the unhesitating expectation of eternal life; and a real not a feigned amendment of life, by the aid of the Spirit of God, to the glory of God our Father and the edification of our neighbours.(c)

(a) Est homo, mediator noster apud Deum, patribus olim per prophetas promissus et ultimis tandem temporibus ex Davidis semine natus, quem Deus pater fecit Dominum et Christum, hoc est, perfectissimum prophetam, sanctis immo sacerdotem, invictissimum regem, per quem novum mundum creavit, omnia restauravit, secum reconciliavit, pacificavit, et vitam æternam electis suis donavit; ut in illum, post Deum altissimum, credamus, illum adoremus, invocemus, audiamus, pro modulo nostro imitemur, et in illo requiem animabus nostris inveniamus.

(b) Spiritus sanctus est virtus Dei, cujus plenitudinem dedit Deus pater filio suo unigenito, Domino nostro, ut nos adoptivi ex plenitudine ejus acciperemus.

(c) Justificatio est ex mera gratia, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, sine operibus et meritis nostris, omnium præteritorum peccatorum nostrorum in vera fide remissio, vitæque æternæ indubitata expectatio, et auxilio spiritus Dei vitæ nostræ non simulata, sed vera correctio, ad gloriam Dei patris et ædificationem proximorum nostrorum.

altogether a Socinian aspect in regard to the points most essential to that system. Nor will this surprise us, if we consider that the papers of Lælius Socinus (which he undoubtedly left in Poland), were in the hands of a great many persons; and by these, the Arians who had formerly had the ascendancy, were led to change their opinion respecting Jesus Christ.[1] The name Socinian was not yet known. Those who afterwards bore this name were then usually called by the Poles Anabaptists, because in their churches they admitted none to baptism but adults, and were accustomed to rebaptize those who came over to them from other communities.[2]

11. The affairs of the Unitarians assumed a new aspect under the dexterity and industry of Faustus Socinus, a man of superior genius, of moderate learning, of a firm and resolute spirit, less erudite than his uncle Lælius, but more bold and courageous. When after various wanderings he first arrived among the Polish Unitarians in 1579, he met with much trouble and opposition from very many who accounted some of his opinions wide of the truth. And in reality the religious system of Faustus (which he is said to have derived from the papers left by Lælius), had much less simplicity than that of the Unitarians. Nevertheless by his wealth, his eloquence, his abilities as a writer, the patronage of the great, the elegance of his manners, and other advantages which he possessed, he overcame at length all difficulties, and by seasonably yielding at one time and contesting at another, he brought the whole Unitarian people to surrender to those opinions of his which they had before contemned, and to coalesce and become one community.[3]

As they make justification to consist in a great measure in a reformation of the life, so in the explanation of this general account they introduce a part of their doctrine of morals which is contained in a very few precepts, and those expressed almost wholly in the words of the Scriptures. Their system of morality has these peculiarities, that it forbids taking an oath and the repelling of injuries. They define ecclesiastical discipline thus—It is the frequent reminding individuals of their duty, and the admonition of such as sin against God or their neighbour, first privately, and then also publicly before the whole assembly; and finally, the rejection of the pertinacious from the communion of saints, that so being ashamed they may repent, or if they will not repent may be damned eternally.(a) Their explanation of this point shows how incomplete and imperfect were their ideas on the subject. For they first treat of the government of the Christian church and of the ministers of religion, whom they divide into bishops, deacons, elders or presbyters, and widows; they next enumerate the duties of husbands and wives, the aged and the young, parents and children, servants and masters, citizens towards magistrates, the rich and the poor; and lastly, they treat of admonishing sinners first, and then depriving them of communion if they will not reform. Respecting prayer, their precepts are in general sound and good. But on the subject of baptism they differ from other Christians in this, that they make it to consist in immersion and emersion, and allow it to be administered only to adults. Baptism, say they, is the immersion in water and the emersion of a person who believes the gospel and exercises repentance, in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, or in the name of Jesus Christ; whereby he publicly professes that by the grace of God the Father he has been washed in the blood of Christ, by the aid of the Holy Spirit, from all his sins; so that being ingrafted into the body of Christ he may mortify the old Adam and be transformed into the celestial Adam, in the firm assurance of eternal life after the resurrection.(b) Lastly, concerning the Lord's Supper, they give such a representation as a Zwinglian would readily admit. At the end of the book is added *Œconomia Christiana seu Pastoratus domesticus;* that is, brief instructions how the heads of families should preserve and maintain piety and the fear of God in their houses, and containing also forms of prayers to be used morning and evening and at other times. The copy of this Catechism which I now possess was presented by Martin Chelm (whom the Socinians name among the first patrons of their church) to M. Christopher Heiligmeier in the year 1580, as appears from a long inscription at the end of the book. Chelm there promises his friend other writings of the same kind if this should be received cheerfully and kindly, and concludes with these words of St. Paul, "God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty."—1 Cor. i. 27.

[1] This we are clearly taught by Schomann in his *Testamentum*, published by Sand, p. 194, 195. Sub id fere tempus (A.D. 1566) ex rhapsodiis Lælii Socini quidam fratres didicerunt, Dei filium non esse secundam Trinitatis personam patri coëssentialem et coæqualem, sed hominem Jesum Christum, ex Spiritu Sancto conceptum, ex virgine Maria natum, crucifixum et resuscitatum; a quibus nos commoniti, sacras literas perscrutari, persuasi sumus. These words most clearly show that the Pinczovians, (as they were called), before they separated from the Reformed in 1565, professed to believe in a Trinity of some sort, and did not divest Jesus Christ of all divinity. For this Schomann was a doctor of great authority among them; and in the year 1565, (as he himself informs us), at the convention of Petricow, he contended ("pro uno Deo patri") for one God the Father, in opposition to the Reformed, who, he says, ("Deum trinum defendebant"), maintained a threefold God. Yet in the following year, with others he was induced by the papers of Lælius Socinus to so alter his opinions, that he denied Christ to be a divine person. He therefore with his Pinczovian flock, before this time, must necessarily have been not a Socinian but an Arian.

[2] This the Unitarians themselves attest in the preface to their Catechism, as we have observed above; and it is confirmed by the author of the *Epistola de vita Andr. Wissowatii*, subjoined to Sand's *Bibliotheca*. For he says, (p. 225), that his sect bore the name of Arians and of Anabaptists; but that the other Christians in Poland were all promiscuously called Chrzesclans from Chzrest, which denotes baptism.

[3] See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, article *Socinus*, tome iv. p. 2741; Sand's *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 64; Przypkowski [in Latin Przypcovius] *Vita Socini*, prefixed to his works; Lamy, *Histoire du Socinianisme*, par. i. chap. xxiv. p. 101, &c.; par. ii. chap. xxii. p. 375, &c. and many others. [The English reader may consult Toulmin's *Memoirs of the Life, Character, &c. of Faustus Socinus*, Lond. 1777; but it is a superficial work, and consists of little else than an elogium on his character and an account of his opinions and writings.—*R.*

(a) Disciplina ecclesiastica est officii singulorum frequens commemoratio, et peccantium contra Deum vel proximum primum privata, deinde etiam publica, coram toto cœtu, commonefactio, denique pertinacium a communione sanctorum alienatio, ut pudore suffusi convertantur, aut si id nolint, æternum damnentur.

(b) Baptismus est hominis Evangelio credentis, et pœnitentiam agentis, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, vel in nomine Jesu Christi, in aquam immersio et emersio, qua publice profitetur, se gratia Dei patris, in sanguine Christi, opera Spiritus Sancti, ab omnibus peccatis ablutum esse, ut in corpus Christi insertus, mortificet veterem Adamum, et transformetur in Adamum illum cœlestem, certus, se post resurrectionem consequuturum esse vitam æternam.

12. Through his influence therefore the ill-digested, dubious, and unpolished religion of the old Unitarians became greatly altered, was more ingeniously stated, and more artfully and dexterously defended.[1] Under the guidance of so spirited and respectable a leader, the community likewise which before was a little feeble flock, rose in a short time to distinction and honour, by the accession to it of great numbers of all orders and classes, among whom were many persons of illustrious birth, of opulence, influence, eloquence, and learning. Of these, some helped forward the growing church by their wealth and influence, and others by their pens and their genius; and they boldly resisted the enemies, whom the prosperity of the community everywhere called forth. The Unitarian religion, thus new modelled and made almost a new system, required a new confession of faith to set forth its principles. Therefore laying aside the old Catechism, which was but a rude and ill-digested work, Socinus himself drew up a new religious summary, which being corrected by some and enlarged by others, resulted at last in that celebrated work which is usually called the Racovian Catechism, and which is accounted the common creed of the whole sect. The ship seemed now to have reached the port, when James Sieninski, lord of Racow, in the year 1600 renounced the Reformed religion and came over to this sect, and two years afterwards caused a famous school, intended for a seminary of the church, to be established in his own city which he had rendered the metropolis of the Socinian community.[2]

13. In the year 1563, the doctrines of the Socinians were carried from Poland into the neighbouring Transylvania, by means especially of George Blandrata, whose exquisite skill in the medical art induced John Sigismund, at that time prince of Transylvania, to send for him and make him his own physician. For this Blandrata, possessing intelligence and address and especially in court affairs, with the aid of Francis Davides whom he took along with him, did not cease to urge the prince himself as well as most of the leading men, until he had infected the whole province with his sentiments, and had procured for his adherents the liberty of publicly professing and teaching his doctrines. The Bathori [or Battory] indeed, whom the suffrages of the nobles afterwards created dukes of Transylvania, were by no means favourable to Socinian principles; but they were utterly unable to suppress the numerous and powerful sect.[3] Nor were the lords of Transylvania who succeeded the Bathori able to affect it. Hence, to the present time, in this one province, the Socinians by virtue of the public laws and of certain compacts enjoy their schools and houses of worship, and keep up their public meetings, though in the midst of continual snares.[4] About the same time, this sect attempted to occupy a portion of Hungary[5] and of Austria.[6] But the united efforts of the papists and the followers of the Reformed religion, rendered those attempts abortive.

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[1] It is therefore manifest that the modern Unitarians are, with great propriety, called Socinians. For the glory of bringing their sect to establishment and order (if we may use the word glory of what has little glory attached to it), belongs exclusively to the two Socini. Lælius indeed who was naturally timid, died in the bloom of life at Zurich in 1562, a professed member of the Reformed church, for he would not by setting up a new sect subvert his own tranquillity. And there are probable grounds for supposing, that he had not brought to perfection that system of religion which he had projected, and that he died in a state of uncertainty and doubt respecting many points of no small importance. Yet it was he who collected the materials which Faustus afterwards used; he secretly injected scruples into the minds of many, and, by the arguments against the divinity of our Saviour which he committed to paper, he induced the Arians of Poland, even after he was dead, unhesitatingly to unite themselves with those who maintained Christ to be only a man on a level with Adam, that is, one whom God created. What Lælius left unfinished, Faustus beyond controversy completed and put to use. Yet what part he received from his uncle and what he added of his own (for he certainly added not a little), it is very difficult to ascertain; because only a few of the writings of Lælius are extant, and of those of which he is said to be the author, some ought undoubtedly to be attributed to others. This however we know, from the testimony of Faustus himself, that what he taught respecting the person of Jesus Christ was for the most part excogitated by Lælius.

[2] See Wissowatius, *Narratio de Separatione Unitariorum a Reformatis*, p. 214; Lubieniecius, *Historia Reformat. Polonicæ*, lib. iii. cap. xii. p. 240, &c. [The Polish names of these well-known writers are Wyszowaty and Lubieniecki.—*R.*

[3] See Sand's *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 28 and 55; Debrezenius, *Historia Ecclesiæ Reformatæ in Hungaria*, p. 147, &c.; Schmeizel, *De Statu Ecclesiæ Lutheran. in Transylvania*, p. 55; Lamy, *Histoire du Socinianisme*, par. i. chap. xiii. &c. p. 46, &c.; Salig's *Hist der Augsburg. Confession*, vol. ii. book vi. chap. vii. p 847, &c. [In the year 1568, the Unitarians held a disputation with the Trinitarians at Weissenburg (in Transylvania), which was continued to the tenth day; and of which Blandrata, there and in the same year, published his *Brevis enarratio Disputationis Albanæ*; Casper Helt did the same at Clausenburg, in the name of the Reformed. At the close of the debate, the Unitarians obtained from the nobles who had been on the spot all the privileges enjoyed by the Evangelical They also got possession of the cathedral church of Clausenburg, filled the offices of instruction in the schools with Unitarians, and controlled all things according to their pleasure. Under Stephen Bathori, Francis Davides went so far as to oppose the offering of prayer to Christ. To confute him, Blandrata called Faustus Socinus from Basil in 1578; and he so persecuted Davides, that the latter was condemned in 1579 to perpetual imprisonment, in which he ended his days. — *Schl.*

[4] Zeltner's *Historia Crypto-Socinianismi Altorfini*, cap. ii. p. 357, 359. [See also Walch's *Neueste Religionsgesch.* vol. v. No. 3.— *Schl.*

[5] Debrezenius, *Historia Ecclesiæ Reform. in Hungaria*, p. 169, &c.

[6] Spondanus, *Continuatio Annalium Baronii*, ad ann 1568, No. 24, p. 704.

14. The Socinians having obtained a stable domicil for their fortunes at Racow, and being sustained by patrons and friends of great authority and talent, began zealously to seek the enlargement of their church and the propagation of their religion through all Europe. Accordingly in the first place, they procured a large number of books to be composed by their brightest men of genius, some explaining and defending their religious principles, and others expounding or rather perverting the sacred Scriptures according to the views of their sect; and these books they printed at Racow and dispersed everywhere.[1] In the next place, near the close of the century, as appears incontrovertibly from many documents, they sent their emissaries into various countries to make proselytes and to establish new congregations. But these envoys, though some of them had the advantages of a noble birth and others possessed extensive learning and acuteness in reasoning, were almost everywhere unsuccessful. A small company of Socinians existed in obscurity at Dantzic for a time, but it seems gradually to have disappeared with this century.[2] In Holland, first Erasmus Johannes,[3] and afterwards Andrew Voidovius and Christopher Ostorodt, great pillars of the sect, laboured not without success to gain disciples and followers. But the vigilance of the theologians and the magistrates prevented their acquiring strength and establishing associations.[4] Nor did the Socinians find the Britons more accommodating. In Germany, Adam Neuser and some others, at the time when the prospects of the Unitarians were dark and dubious in Poland, entering into a confederacy with the Transylvanians, contaminated the Palatinate with the errors of this sect; but the mischievous design was seasonably detected and frustrated. Neuser then betook himself to the Turks, and enlisted among the Janizaries at Constantinople.[5]

15. Although the Socinians profess to believe that all knowledge of divine things must be derived from the sacred books of Christians, yet in reality they hold that the sense of Scripture must be estimated and explained in conformity with the dictates of right reason; and of course they subject religious truth in some measure to the empire of reason. For they intimate, sometimes tacitly and sometimes expressly, that the inspired writers frequently slipped, through defects both of memory and of capacity; that they express the conceptions of their minds in language which is not sufficiently clear and explicit; that they obscure plain subjects by Asiatic phraseology, that is, by inflated and extravagant expressions, and therefore they must be made intelligible by the aid of reason and sagacity. From such propositions, any person of tolerable understanding would readily infer that in general the history of the Jews and of our Saviour, may be learned from the books of the Old and New Testaments, and that there is no reason to question the truth of this history; but that the doctrines which are set forth in these books, must be so understood and explained as not to appear contrary to ordinary apprehension or reason. The inspired books, therefore, do not declare what views we should hold concerning God and his counsels, but human sagacity points out to us what system of religion we are to search for in the Scriptures.

16. This opinion becomes still worse, when we consider what this sect understood by the term reason. For by the splendid name of right reason, they appear to mean that measure of intelligence or that power of comprehending and understanding things which we derive from nature. And hence the fundamental maxim of the whole Socinian theology is this: Nothing must be admitted as a divine doctrine but what the human mind can fully understand; and whatever the holy Scriptures teach concerning the nature of God, his counsels and purposes, and the way of salvation, must be corrected by art and reason till it shall agree with the capacities of our minds.[1] Whoever admits

[1] A considerable part of these books was edited in the collection, entitled *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*, printed A.D. 1656, in 6 vols. fol. The collection indeed leaves out many of the productions of the first founders of the sect; yet it is quite sufficient to acquaint us with its genius and character. [It comprises the works of only four of their more celebrated writers, namely, Crellius, Slichtingius, Woltzogenus, and Przipcovius, according to their Latinized names.—*R.*

[2] Zeltner's *Hist. Crypto-Socin. Altorfini*, p. 199, note.

[3] Or Jansen, see Sand's *Biblioth.* p 87.

[4] Zeltner, *ubi supra*, p. 31 and 178. [Brandt, in his *History of the Reformation*, &c. tells us that Ostorodt and Voidovius were banished, and that their books were condemned to be burned publicly by the hands of the common hangman. Accordingly the pile was raised, the executioner approached, and the multitude was assembled, but the books did not appear. The magistrates, who were curious to peruse their contents, had quietly divided them among themselves and their friends.—*Mael.*

[5] Struve's *Pfälzische Kirchenhist.* chap. v. sec. liii. p. 214; Alting's *Hist. Eccles. Palatin.* in Meigs' *Monum. Palatina*, p. 266, &c. 337; La Croze, *Dissertations Historiques*, tome i. p. 101, 127. Compare Raupach's *Presbyterologia Austriaca*, p. 113, where he treats of John Matthæi who was implicated in these commotions.

[6] Ziegler, in his condensed view of the peculiar doctrines of Faustus Socinus (in Henke's *Neuen Magazin für Religionsphilosophie*, &c. vol. iv. st. ii. p. 204, &c.) controverts this statement of Mosheim; and maintains that Socinus aimed to base his doctrines wholly on the Scriptures, and not on reason as a higher authority. Schroeckh, in his *Kirchengesch. seit d. Reformat.* (vol. v. p. 560, &c.) replies to Ziegler; and while he admits that Socinus professed to regard the Bible as the source of all religious truth, and nowhere expressly allows

this must also admit that there may be as many religions as there are people. For as one person is more obtuse than another or more acute, so also what is plain and easy of comprehension to one, another will complain of as abstruse and hard to be understood. Neither do the Socinians appear to fear this consequence very greatly; for they allow their people to explain variously many doctrines of the greatest importance, provided they entertain no doubts respecting the general credibility of the history of Jesus Christ, and hold what the Scriptures inculcate in regard to morals and conduct.

17. Proceeding on this maxim, the Socinians either reject or bring down to their comprehension whatever presents any difficulty to the human mind in the doctrine concerning God and the Son of God, Jesus Christ, or concerning the nature of man or the entire plan of salvation as proposed by the inspired writers, or concerning the doctrine of eternal rewards and punishments. God is indeed vastly more perfect than men are, yet he is not altogether unlike them; by that power with which he controls all nature he caused Jesus Christ, an extraordinary man, to be born of the Virgin Mary; this man he caught up to heaven, imbued him with a portion of his own energy which is called the Holy Spirit, and with a full knowledge of his will; and then sent him back to this world that he might promulgate to mankind a new rule of life more perfect than the old one, and might evince the truth of his doctrine by his life and his death. Those who obey the voice of this divine teacher, and all can obey it if they are so disposed, being clad in other bodies shall for ever inhabit the blessed abode where God resides; those who do otherwise, being consumed by exquisite torments, will at length sink into annihilation. These few propositions contain the whole system of Socinian theology, when divested of the decorations and subtle argumentations of their theologians.

18. The general character of the Socinian theology requires them to limit their moral precepts entirely to external duties and conduct. For while they deny on the one hand that men's minds are purified by a divine influence, and on the other, that any man can so control himself as wholly to extinguish his evil propensities and passions, no alternative is left but to hold him to be a holy man who lives agreeably to those precepts of the divine law which regulate the words and the external actions. Yet in describing the duties of men, they were obliged to be uncommonly rigorous; because they maintained that the object for which God sent Jesus Christ into the world was to promulgate a most perfect law. And hence very many of them hold it unlawful to resist injuries, to bear arms, to take oaths, to inflict capital punishments on malefactors, to oppose the tyranny of civil rulers, to acquire wealth by honest industry, and the like. And here also we unexpectedly meet with this singularity, that while on other subjects they boldly offer the greatest violence to the language of the sacred writers, in order to obtain support for their doctrines, they require that whatever is found in the Scriptures relating to life and morals, should be understood and construed in the most simple and literal manner.

19. The Racovian Catechism, which is generally regarded as the only creed of the sect and as an accurate portrait of their religion, contains only the popular system of doctrine, not that which their leaders and doctors hold impressed on their minds.[1] A person therefore who wishes to know the grounds and the sources from which the

reason to have dominion over revelation, he yet maintains that Socinus, who was but a poor expositor, took great liberties with the Scriptures, and in reality practised upon the principle stated by Mosheim, though perhaps without much consciousness of it. And the subsequent Socinians, he says, proceeded farther and farther, till they at last discovered what was the fundamental principle of their theology; and since this discovery they do not hesitate to avow it. Hence he concludes that Mosheim is quite justifiable in making such a statement as he here gives.—*Mur.*

[1] Schmidt has treated expressly of the authors and the history of this celebrated book, in his essay *De Catechesi Racoviensi*, published in 1707. Add Köcher's *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbol.* p. 656, &c. The very learned and veracious Œder not long since published a new edition of it, with a solid confutation annexed, Frankf. and Leips. 1739, 8vo. [There are properly two Racovian Catechisms, a larger and a smaller. The writer of the smaller was Valentine Smalcius, who drew it up in German and first published it in 1605. It is entitled, *Der kleine Catechismus zur Uebung der Kinder in dem Christlichen Gottesdienste in Rakow*, 1605. The largest was likewise published in German by the same Smalcius in 1608; but Mascorovius [in Polish Moskorzewski.—*R.*] translated it into Latin in 1609, under the title, *Catechesis Ecclesiarum, quæ in Regno Poloniæ, et magno ducatu Lithuaniæ, et aliis ad istud Regnum pertinentibus Provinciis, affirmant neminem alium, præter Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, esse illum verum Deum Israelis*, &c. Afterwards Crellius and Slichtingius revised and amended it; and after their death Wissowatius and Stegmann the younger published it in 1665. In 1680, it was subjoined to Crellius' *Ethica Aristotelica* as an Appendix, in order to procure it a wider circulation. All these editions were in 4to. In the year 1684, there was an edition in 8vo still more complete, as it contained the notes of Ruarus, Wissowatius the younger, and of one not named.—*Schl.* [This catechism was first published in English in 1652, translated, it is conjectured, by the well-known English Unitarian of those days, John Biddle. A new translation appeared thirty years ago, entitled *The Racovian Catechism with Notes and Illustrations; to which is prefixed a Sketch of the History of Unitarianism in Poland and the adjacent Countries*, by Thomas Rees, F.S.A. London, 1818, 12mo. The introductory sketch is drawn up with care, and contains a more accurate account of the early editions of the work than that given by Schlegel in the preceding part of this note.—*R.*

plain statements of the Catechism originated, must read and examine the works of their theologians. Besides, the Catechism omits many doctrines and regulations of the Socinians which might contribute to increase the odium under which the sect labours, but which serve to lay open its internal character and state. It appears therefore to have been written for foreigners in order to mitigate their indignation against the sect, rather than for the use of Socinians themselves.[1] And hence it never obtained among them the authority of a public rule of faith; but their doctors have always been at full liberty either to alter it or to exchange it for another. By what rules the church is to be governed, and in what manner public religious worship is to be celebrated, their doctors have not taught us with sufficient clearness and uniformity. But in most things they appear disposed to follow the customs of the Protestants.[2]

20. Few are ignorant that the first originators of the Socinian scheme possessed fine talents and much erudition. But when these were dead or removed, the Unitarians of Poland seem to have had but little thirst for knowledge and intellectual cultivation, and not to have required their teachers to be men of acumen and well instructed in literature and the arts. They however adopted other views after they obtained liberty to open schools at Racow and Lublin, and when they had discovered that their cause could not possibly be upheld without defenders and vindicators in no respect inferior to their opponents. Their love of learning began to be ardent from about the time that Faustus Socinus undertook to sustain and to regulate their tottering and ill-arranged church; and not a few persons eminent for their learning as well as their birth, were to be found among them. For they were anxious to have the study of eloquence pursued, the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin literature taught to the young, and philosophy expounded to select individuals. The Racovians, according to the custom of the age, made Aristotle their guide in philosophy, as appears from Crellius' *Ethica*, and from other monuments of those times.

21. At the same time the leaders of the sect declare in numerous places in their books, that both in the interpretation of the Scriptures and in explaining and in demonstrating the truths of religion in general, clearness and simplicity are alone to be consulted, and that no regard should be paid to the subtilties of philosophy and logic; which rule, if the interpreters and doctors in the highest esteem among them had considered as binding on themselves, they would have given much less vexation to their opposers. For in most of their books exquisite subtilty and art are found, combined with an indescribable amount of either real or fictitious simplicity. They are most acute and seem to be all intellect when discussing those subjects which other Christians consider as lying beyond man's power of comprehension, and therefore as simply to be believed. On the contrary, all their sagacity and powers of reason forsake them just where the wisest of men have maintained that free scope should be given to reason and human ingenuity. Although this may appear contradictory, yet it all flows from that one maxim of the whole school, that whatever surpasses the comprehension of the human mind must be banished from Christian theology.

22. The Unitarians, as soon as they were separated from the society of the Reformed in Poland, became divided into parties, as has been already mentioned. The topics of dispute among them were, the dignity of Jesus Christ, Christian morals, whether infants are proper subjects of baptism, whether the Holy Spirit is a person or a divine attribute, and some other subjects. Among these parties, two continued longer than the others, and showed themselves less docile and manageable to the pacificators, namely, the Budnæan and Favorian sects. The former had for its founder and leader Simon Budny, a man of acuteness, who perceiving more clearly than others whither the principles of Lælius Socinus would lead, maintained that Jesus Christ was not to be honoured with our prayers nor with any other kind of worship; and in order more easily to support this error, he declared that Christ was conceived not by virtue of any divine power, but in the way in which all other men are. These tenets indeed harmonise very well with the first principles of the Socinian scheme, but to the majority they appeared intolerable and execrable. Budny therefore who had many disciples in Lithuania and Russian Poland, was deposed from his ministerial office in 1584, and with his

[1] This may be inferred from the fact, that they presented a Latin copy of it to king James I. but a German copy to the university of Wittemberg. [To show their gratitude, the theologians of Wittemberg allowed a feeble confutation of it to be drawn up by Balduinus, which was first published in 1619, and James I. condemned the book to the flames.—*Schl.*

[2] This appears from Peter Morscovius or Morszkowski's *Politia Ecclesiastica, quam vulgo Agenda vocant, sive forma Regiminis exterioris Ecclesiarum Christianarum in Polonia, quæ unum Deum Patrem, per Filium ejus unigenitum in Spiritu Sancto confitentur*, in three books, composed in 1642, and published by Œder a few years since at Nuremberg, 4to. This book is mentioned by Sand, *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 142, who says it was written for the use of the Belgic churches.

adherents was excommunicated. But he is said to have afterwards renounced this opinion, and to have been restored to the communion of the sect.

23. Into nearly the same error which had proved disastrous to Budny, a little while after fell Francis Davides, a Hungarian, and superintendent of the Socinian churches in Transylvania; for he resolutely denied that prayer or any other religious worship should be offered to Jesus Christ. After Blandrata and also Faustus Socinus himself (who had been sent for into Transylvania for this very object in 1573), had in vain employed all the resources of their ingenuity in efforts to reclaim Davides, the prince of Transylvania, Christopher Bathori, threw him into prison, where he died at an advanced age, A.D. 1579.[2] Yet his sad fate did not end the controversy which he had commenced. For Davides left behind him disciples who long contended strenuously for the tenets of their master, and who gave no little trouble to Socinus and his followers in Poland and Lithuania. Among them the following were most distinguished; James Palæologus of Chios who was burned at Rome in 1585, Christian Francken who held a dispute with Socinus himself, John Sommer rector of the school at Clausenburg,[3] and others. This sect was usually called by the Socinian writers the sect of Semi-Judaizers.[4]

24. Towards the Farnovians the Socinians were much more indulgent; for they were not excommunicated nor required to abandon the opinions they held, but only to conceal them and not advance them in their sermons.[5] The head of this party was Stanishus Farnowski [in Latin Farnovius or Farnesius] who was induced by Peter Gonesius to prefer the Arian hypothesis before the Socinian; and who maintained that before the foundation of the world Christ was either begotten or produced out of nothing by the supreme God. What he thought of the Holy Spirit is less clear; but it is known that he forbade his followers to pray to the Holy Spirit.[6] When Farnowski separated himself from the other Unitarians in 1568, he had many adherents who were distinguished both for influence and learning; among others, Martin Czechowicz, John Niemojovicz, Stanislaus Wisnowski [or Wisnowius], John Sokolowski [in Latin Falconius], and Geo. Schomann. But a part of these were overcome by the mildness and disputatious skill of the Socinians; and others were afterwards discouraged by the dexterity of Faustus Socinus. At last the party being bereft of its leader Farnowski, who died in the year 1615, became dispersed and extinct.[7]

[1] See Sand's *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 54, 55; *Epistola de Vita Wissowatii*, ibid. p. 226; Ringeltaube, *Von den Pohlnischen Bibeln*, p. 144, 152, &c. Moreover Crellius, the most learned Socinian of our age (in the *Thesaurus Epistolar. Crozianus*, tom. i. p. 111), is of opinion (how justly I cannot say) that Adam Neuser, a German, was the author of this degrading opinion of Christ. [For further particulars respecting Budny, in Latin Budnæus, see Krasinski's *Historical Sketch of the Reformation in Poland*, vol. ii. p. 362, &c.—*R.*

[2] Sand, *ubi supra*, p. 55, 56; Faustus Socinus, *Opp.* tom. i. p. 353, 395, tom. ii. p. 713, 771, where is given his Dispute with Davides. Lubieniccius, *Hist. Refor. Polon.* lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 228. [Additional information respecting Davides may be seen in the Sketch prefixed to Rees' *Racovian Catechism*, from p. 41, &c.—*R.*

[3] See respecting these persons, Sand's *Biblioth.* p. 57, 58, 86. The dispute of Socinus with Francken on this subject is in Socinus' *Opera*, tom. ii. p. 767. [Palæologus was actually of the race of the Greek emperors who bore this name. At Rome he fell into the hands of the Inquisition, but he escaped by flight. In Germany he held himself for a Protestant, and in Poland for a Socinian. They made him their rector at Clausenburg. But as he journeyed through Moravia he was seized by order of the emperor Maximilian and transmitted to Rome.—Francken was of Gardzlegen and a native Lutheran. But he turned Catholic and entered the order of Jesuits. Afterwards he revolted to the Jnitarians, and was made rector first of Chmielnizk in Poland, and then of Clausenburg. As the Turkish war obliged him to go to Prague, he again turned Catholic. His writings are mentioned by Sand, *ubi supra*. Sommer was a native of Pirna in Meissen, and went to Transylvania at the instigation of Blandrata.—*Schl.*

[4] Faustus Socinus wrote a book expressly *contra Semi-Judaizantes*, which is in his *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 804. Socinus and his friends did not expend so much effort in the suppression of this faction, because they supposed it very pernicious to the Christian religion. On the contrary, Socinus himself concedes that the point in debate was of no great consequence, when he declares that it is not necessary to salvation that a person should pray to Christ. In his answer to Wujeck (*Opp.* tom. ii. p. 538, &c.) he says:—"But if any one is possessed of so great faith that he dare always go directly to God himself, and does not need the consolation which arises from the invocation of Christ his brother, tempted in all things; such a one is not obliged to pray to Christ."(a) According to his judgment, therefore, those have a higher degree of faith who, neglecting Christ, pray only to God himself. Why then so severely avenge the crime of Davides, who wished to lead all Christians directly to the Father? Lubieniccius also, in his *Historia Reform. Polonicæ*, lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 228, not obscurely detracts very much from the importance of this controversy, when he writes that in Transylvania there was a storm in a cup, *fluctus in simpulo excitatos esse.* From which it appears manifest that the Socinians made war upon Davides and his adherents, perhaps solely for this reason, lest by tolerating his opinion they should inflame the enmity of other Christians against themselves, which they already felt to be sufficiently great; while they deemed the opinion, in itself considered, to be one which might be tolerated.

[5] *Epistola de Vita Wissowatii*, p. 226. According to the testimony of Sand (*Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.* p. 87), Erasmus Johannis was admitted to the office of teacher in the Socinian congregation at Clausenburg, on the condition that in his sermons he should advance nothing to show that Jesus Christ existed before Mary.

[6] Sand's *Biblioth.* p. 52, and in various passages under the names we have mentioned.

[7] We omit here the names of the more distinguished Socinian writers of this century, because a large part of them have been already noticed in the preceding history. The rest may be easily collected from Sand's *Bibliotheca.*

(a) Quod si quis tanta fide præditus, ut ad Deum ipsum perpetuo recta accedere audeat, nec consolatione, quæ ex Christi fratris sui per omnia tentati invocatione, indigeat, hic non opus habet, ut Christum invocet.

CENTURY SEVENTEENTH.

SECTION I.

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

1. THE arduous efforts commenced by the Roman pontiffs in the preceding century for extending the Christian church, and thus exalting the glory and dominion of the Romish see, were in this century placed upon a permanent and solid basis; whereas they had been previously tottering and ill-supported. In the first place, Gregory XV., at the instigation of his chaplain Narnius, established at Rome in 1622 the famous Congregation for Propagating the Faith (*Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*), and furnished it with very extensive revenues. This body which consists of thirteen cardinals, two priests, and one monk, together with a secretary,[1] has for its object the support and the propagation of the Romish religion in all parts of the world. Urban VIII. and after him many wealthy individuals enriched it with such ample revenues, that it is able to support an almost unlimited expenditure. Hence it sends out numerous missionaries to the most remote nations, publishes books of various kinds necessary for learning foreign and some of them barbarous languages; causes instructions in Christianity and other works designed to enkindle piety or confute error, to be drawn up in the languages and printed in the appropriate characters of the several nations; maintains and educates a vast number of selected youth designed for missionaries; liberally educates and supports young men who are annually sent to Rome from foreign countries, in order to become instructors of their countrymen on their return home; takes up and provides for persons, whose constancy in professing and defending the Romish religion has drawn on them banishment or other calamities: and plans and accomplishes various objects, almost beyond belief to those not acquainted with their affairs. The institution has a very splendid and extensive palace devoted to its use, the delightful situation of which gives it exquisite charms [2]

2. To this institution, Urban VIII. in the year 1627 added another, not indeed equally magnificent yet renowned and very useful, namely the College or Seminary for propagating the faith; in which young men from almost all nations were educated to become preachers of Christianity in foreign countries, and were instructed and imbued with the utmost care in all the science and learning necessary for so important an office. The commencement of this great institution was owing to the zeal of John Baptist Viles, a Spaniard residing at Rome; who for this object presented to the pontiff all his possessions and property, including his very elegant mansion. Many others afterwards imitated his liberality, and to this day imitate it. Urban at first placed this college under the care and authority of three canons of the three patriarchal churches at Rome; but since the year 1641, it has been under the control of the congregation already mentioned as established by Gregory XV.[3]

[1] This is the number of members in this body as stated by Gregory XV. in his bull for its establishment, *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. iii. p. 472, ed. Luxemb. Nor is a larger number mentioned by Cerri, *Etât Présent de l' Eglise Romaine*, p. 259. But Aymon, in his *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, par. iii. chap. iii. p. 279, makes it to consist of eighteen cardinals, one papal secretary, one apostolical prothonotary, one referent or referendary, and one of the assessors and scribes of [the Inquisition or] what is called the Sacred Office. [Cerri was Secretary to the Congregation *De Propaganda Fide*, and compiled his work about the year 1673, for the use of Innocent XI. It was written in Italian, but whether printed in that language I am not aware; Mosheim used a French translation; and I find it was also translated into English from a manuscript copy in Italian, by Sir Richard Steele, and published at London in 1715.—*R.*

[2] The authors who treat of this Congregation are enumerated by Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii toti orbi Exoriens*, cap. xxxiii. p. 566. To whom may be added, Dorotheus Asclanus, *De Montibus Pietatis Ecclesiæ Romanæ*, p. 522, &c. where there is a list of the books published by the Congregation up to the year 1667. [The annual revenue of this Congregation, near the close of the seventeenth century, was about 24,000 Romish dollars. Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 715.—*Mur.*

[3] Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques Religieux et Militaires*, tome viii. chap. xii. p. 71, &c.; Cerri, *Etât présent de l' Eglise Romaine*, p. 293, &c. where however the first founder is erroneously called Vives. [It is not certain that Viles rather than Vives was the true name of the founder. He established ten scholarships.

3. In 1663, the Congregation of Priests for Foreign Missions was instituted by the royal authority in France; and likewise the Parisian Seminary for Missions to Foreign Nations was founded by certain French bishops and theologians, in which men might be educated and instructed in order to become preachers of Christianity among the nations estranged from Christ. From this Seminary even at the present day [1750] are sent forth the apostolic vicars of Siam, Tonquin, and Cochin China, the bishops of Babylon, and the apostolic vicars of Persia, and other missionaries to the Asiatic nations; and they derive their support from the ample revenues of the Congregation and the Seminary.[1] But the Priests for foreign missions[2] and their pupils generally have much contention and controversy with the Jesuits and their missionaries. For they are displeased with the method pursued by the Jesuits for the conversion of the Chinese and others; and besides, the Jesuits will not submit to the commands of the apostolic vicars and bishops appointed by the Congregation, as required by the pope and by the Romish college for propagating the faith. Likewise the French Congregation of the Holy Sepulchre, instituted by Autherius the [titular] bishop of Bethlehem, was required by Urban VIII. in the year 1644, to have fit men always in readiness to be sent to the nations ignorant of Christianity, whenever the pontiff or the Congregation for Propagating the Faith, should demand their services.[3] The other bodies of less note established in various countries for the purpose of enlarging the church, and the pains taken by the Jesuits and the other orders to provide a supply of missionaries, I shall leave to others to enumerate and describe.

4. From these colleges and societies issued those swarms of missionaries who travelled over the whole world so far as it is yet discovered, and from among the most ferocious nations gathered congregations which were, if not in reality, yet in name and in some of their usages, Christian. Among these missionaries, the Jesuits, the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Capuchins obtained the greatest glory. Yet they mutually assail and publicly accuse each other of disregarding and dishonouring the cause of Christ, and even of corrupting his holy doctrines. The Jesuits, in particular, are the most spoken against, both by the others who labour with them in the glorious cause of enlarging the Saviour's empire, and by the great body of their own church. For it is alleged that they instil into most of their proselytes not the pure religion which Christ taught, but a lax and corrupt system of faith and practice; that they not only tolerate or wink at practices and opinions which are superstitious and profane, but even encourage them among their followers; that they amass vast riches by traffic, and by other unbecoming arts and occupations; that they are eager after worldly honours, and court the favour of the great by adulation and presents; that they involve themselves needlessly in civil affairs, and in the intrigues of courts; that they frequently excite seditions and civil wars in nations; and finally, that they will not obey the Roman pontiff and the vicars and bishops whom he sends out. If one calls for the witnesses to support these heavy charges, he finds himself overwhelmed with their multitude and their splendour. For illustrious and most respectable men are brought forward from every Catholic country; and among these are many on whom no suspicion of envy, credulity, or ignorance can fall, such as cardinals, members of the Congregation for Propagating the Faith, and—what cannot be surpassed—some of the pontiffs themselves. Nor do these witnesses come forward unarmed for the contest; for they assail the doubting with the actual proceedings of Jesuits, particularly in China, India, Abyssinia, and Japan, to the great injury of the Romish cause.[4]

5. Though the Jesuits exerted all their sagacity and cunning, (for which they are said to be pre-eminent), in order to silence these accusations, yet they could not prevent their being heard and regarded at Rome. Among many circumstances which go to prove this, may be mentioned especially the following, that the board at Rome which controls absolutely all sacred

for youth from foreign lands. Cardinal Barberini, the pope's brother, in 1637 and 1638 added thirty-one more scholarships, for Georgians, Persians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Melchites, Copts, Abyssinians, and Indians; and in defect of these, for Armenians from Poland, Russia, and Constantinople. The scholars on Barberini's foundation were to pledge themselves to become missionaries among their own countrymen, or to go wherever the Congregation de Propaganda should order them. Urban Cerri was secretary to the Congregation de Propaganda, and drew up an account of the Present State of the Romish Church in all parts of the world for the use of Innocent XI. which fell into the hands of the Protestants, and was translated and published, English and French, in the year 1716. Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. iii. p. 715, &c.—*Mur.*

[1] See particularly the *Gallia Christiana* of the Benedictines, tom. vii. p. 1024, &c.; Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tome viii. chap. xii. p. 84, &c.

[2] They are generally called by the French, Messieurs des Missions Etrangères.

[3] Helyot, *ubi supra*, chap. xiii. p. 87-100.

[4] A great amount of testimony is collected by the author of the *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Utrecht, 1741, 8vo, throughout the preface.

missions, has now for many years employed the Jesuits more sparingly and more cautiously than formerly; and that on great and trying occasions it sets a higher value on the sobriety, poverty, and patience of even the Capuchins and Carmelites, than on the abundant resources, the ingenuity, and the courage of the Jesuits. Yet neither this board nor even the pontiffs, are able to correct all that they either tacitly or openly censure in the Jesuits; but they are obliged, however much against their wishes, to tolerate a great number of things. For the disciples of St. Ignatius have acquired in various ways so great influence and so much wealth throughout the Romish world, that they dare menace even the head of the church; nor can they without hazard be compelled to obey his injunctions, whenever they are indisposed to submit. This most powerful society either itself dictates the decrees of the Romish court, or if dictated by others, it either with impunity refuses to obey them, or by its ingenuity gives them such an interpretation as the interests of the Ignatian fraternity demand. At least common fame so reports and appeals to the evidence of striking facts, while the Jesuits deny the charge.[1]

6. The cause of this great dissension between the Jesuits and the other Christian missionaries is, that the Jesuits pursue a very different method in converting nations to Christianity from that practised by their colleagues and associates. The Jesuits are of opinion that people deeply sunk in superstition should be approached with art and policy; and that they are to be led, by a cautious and careful hand, to embrace the Gospel. Hence they explain and interpret the received doctrines and opinions of the pagans,—as, for instance, the precepts of Confucius in China,—in such a manner that they may seem to differ as little as possible from the doctrines of Christianity; and if they find anything in their religion or their history analogous at all to the faith and the history of Christians, they readily adduce it in proof of the harmony between the old religion and the new. The rites and usages also which the nations received from their progenitors, unless they are totally opposite to the Christian rites, they tolerate; and either changing their form a little or referring them to a better end than before, accommodate them to Christianity. The natural biases and propensities of the people they treat with all the indulgence possible, and carefully avoid whatever is opposed to them. The priests and men of learning, by whom the populace is generally led, they labour in all possible ways and even by pious frauds to secure and bring over to their party. They court the favour and the friendship of those in power by presents, by the cultivation of various arts, mathematics, medicine, painting, &c. and by affording them counsel and aid in their difficulties. I might specify many other particulars. Now all these methods their colleagues and associates look upon as artifices and tricks, unworthy of ambassadors of Christ, who as they think should plead the cause of God openly and ingenuously, without deception and cunning. Hence they attack superstition and everything that grows out of it or tends towards it, openly and avowedly; they do not spare either the ancestors or the ancient ceremonies of the pagans, they pay no attention to their chiefs, their courts, their priests, they state the mysteries of Christianity nakedly, and do not hesitate to oppose the hereditary religions of the nations.

7. The name and the religion of Christians were proclaimed over nearly all Asia in this century, by these ministers of the Romish see. We begin with India, nearly all the parts of which, and especially those formerly subject to the Portuguese till they were driven out by the Dutch, received some sparks of the heavenly light, though involved in much obscurity, by the labours of the Jesuits and also of some Theatins and Augustinians. But of all the missions which were undertaken to these nations, none has been more talked of than that to Madura; and none is said to have produced more abundant fruits even to the present times. Robert de Nobili, or as some write it, De Nobilibus, an Italian Jesuit who commenced this mission, reflecting that the Indians abhor all Europeans, and on the other hand venerate exclusively the race of Brahmins as if descended from the gods, and that they will listen to no other teachers, feigned himself a Brahmin from a distant country, and by staining his face and adopting that very austere and painful mode of life which the Sanianes or penitents lead, he persuaded the credulous people to believe him. By this artifice he first brought over twelve Brahmins to adopt his discipline, and their example induced a great multitude to follow him as their master. After the death of Robert, this

[1] The reader however will bear in mind that the statements in this section, though perfectly correct in the middle of the last century, are quite inapplicable to the state of matters at the present day. The dissolution of the order of the Jesuits in 1773 by Clement XIV. though it has been revived by Pius VII. in 1817, so crippled its resources, that it has never been able to recover its former ascendency in Rome, or throughout the papal church.—*R.*

singular establishment lay for some time neglected.[1] But afterwards, by the counsels and exertions of the Portuguese Jesuits it was revived; and it is continued at the present time by such Jesuits both French and Portuguese as think themselves able to submit to its very severe rules. These fictitious Brahmins who deny themselves to be Europeans or Franks, (*Pranghis*, as the Indians pronounce it), and pretend to have been born in the northern regions, are said to be at the head of a community almost beyond number, and one which is annually increasing by large accessions; nor is this very incredible.[2] But what is reported of the immense hardships and sufferings which they endure for the sake of Christ, is by many thought to admit some doubt. For it is said they practise deception, and torture themselves variously in public, but in private regale themselves with wine, flesh, and other sensual pleasures.

8. The Jesuits were the first who exhibited a knowledge of the truth to the inhabitants of Siam, Tonquin, and Cochin China, Alexander of Rhodes being leader of the enterprise.[3] And vast numbers in those nations are said to have eagerly em-

[1] Cerri, *Etât Présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 173.

[2] The Jesuits can scarcely find adequate words when they would either extol the glory and the effects of this mission, or describe the sufferings and labours voluntarily endured by the missionaries. See the *Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes écrites des Missions Etrangères*, tome i. p. 9, 32, 46, 50, 55, [ed. 1819, tome vi. p. 24, &c.] Father Martin there (p. 9) [p. 24] pronounces it the most beautiful and most perfect mission that ever was; "La plus belle qui soit au monde." Each of the missionaries is said to have baptized at least a thousand persons annually, (p. 11) [p. 25]. "Le moins que chaque Missionaire en baptise par an, est mille." Yet if credit is to be given to him, (p. 12) [p. 26], access to the sacred font was not unadvisedly permitted. Persons were long under trial, and were instructed for four months in order to their being received; and those received so live that they appear more like heavenly angels than like men—"Ils vivent comme des anges." And very rarely do there occur among them any instances of such sins as merit eternal death. If the causes of this extraordinary sanctity are demanded, the Jesuits mention two. The first is, the lives of the missionaries, than which nothing could be more austere and more revolting to human nature; (p. 15) [p. 27] "La vie des Missionaires ne scauroit être plus austère ni plus affreuse selon la nature" See also tome xii p. 296; tome xv. p 211, &c They neither allow themselves the use of bread, wine, flesh, nor fish, but live upon water and pulse of the most insipid kinds, and without condiments. Their dress and other things correspond with their diet. The other reason assigned is, that these new Christians live entirely separated from Europeans, who are said (p. 16, 17) by their licentiousness and corrupt morals, to contaminate all Christian converts from among the Indians. See also what is said in various places in these *Lettres*, concerning this mission to Madura; *e.g.* tome ii. p. 1, &c.; tome iii. p. 217; tome v. p. 2; tome vi. p. 119, &c.; tome ix. p. 126, and elsewhere. Madura is a kingdom situated in the heart of the Peninsula of India on this side of the Ganges. An accurate geographical map of all the countries embraced in the mission to Madura was published by the Jesuits, in the *Lettres Edifiantes des Missions*, tome xv. p. 60, &c. [tome vii. p. 321, ed. Lyons, 1819. There is also a map of all Hindostan in tome viii. p. 239.—*Mur.*] The French Jesuits established a mission after the model of this, in the Indian kingdom of the Carnatic and its vicinity. See *Lettres Edifiantes*, tome v. p. 3, 240. Near the end of the century, other Jesuits projected a similar mission in the territories of the king of Maravia, [or Marawas]. See *Lettres Edifiantes*, tome ii. p. 1; tome x. p. 79. But the Jesuits themselves admit, (*Lettres Edifiantes*, tome vi. p. 3, 15, 66, 107, &c.) that their mission was more successful in the kingdom of Maravia than in that of the Carnatic. Perhaps the French Jesuits who founded the Carnatic mission, were unable so perfectly and patiently to follow that severe and painful mode of living which this plan required, as the Portuguese and Spanish Jesuits were. Recently, Benedict XIV. who does not approve of this crafty method of the Jesuits in converting nations, by a mandate issued A.D. 1744, has prostrated all these once most celebrated missions. This pontiff would have no wiles and tricks employed in the important work of extending the limits of the church. See Norbert's *Memoires Historiques pour les Missions Orientales*, tome i. and iv. The entire history of these missions, together with a copy of Benedict's decree, is in Mamachius, *Origines et Antiquit. Christianæ*, tom. ii. 245, &c. [Robert de Nobili, was born of high parentage at Rome, in 1577, became a Jesuit at the age of twenty, studied philosophy at Naples and theology at Rome. In the year 1606, he obtained leave to go as a missionary to the Indies, and was made an assistant to the Jesuit, Gonsalvo Fernandes, who by ten years labour among the Indians had only been able to baptise a few natives who were at the point of death. Robert, early perceiving that the Indian ideas of caste formed a great obstacle to their conversion, and prevented all success among the higher castes, determined to convert this insurmountable obstacle into a successful engine. Having obtained the approbation of his plan by the archbishop of Cranganore, he assumed the habits and the garb of a Brahmin, shut himself up in a cell, avoided society, learned well the Tamul and the Sanscrit languages, and studied the sacred books of the Hindoos; and then came forth avowing himself a foreign Brahmin, and a reformer of the corruptions of the Brahminic religion. All admired his eloquence and his learning. He first gained one Brahmin to his Christian Brahminism, and then others, till the number amounted to seventy. These suffered some opposition from the other Brahmins; but Robert's chief difficulty was from the opposition of the Catholics to his whole plan. The case was carried to Rome, and there warmly debated; and it was not without difficulty that Robert was permitted to go on in his begun course. Yet he continued his labours nearly half a century, and then died at Meliapore, in 1656. After his death, his semi-Christian community declined for a time; but it was revived again by other Jesuits, and so enlarged that in 1699 it was said to embrace more than a 150,000 members. (*Lettr. Edif.* tome vi. p. 25, ed. 1819.) After the whole plan was condemned however by Benedict XIV. in 1744, the community rapidly declined and soon became extinct. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 707, &c. and vol. vii. p. 36, &c.—*Mur.*

[3] See the various writings and especially the Journal of Alexander de Rhodes, a man not lacking in genius and discernment, published at Paris, 1666 and 1682, 4to. [See *Relazione de' felici Successi della S. Fede predicata da' PP. della Compagnia di Giesu nel Regno del Tunchino*; Rome, 1640, 4to. His *Catechismus Latino-Tunchinensis*, is one of the most rare books, as also his *Grammat. ling. Annamiticæ*, the vernacular language of Tonquin. Alexander went to that country in 1627, and in the space of three years converted more than 5000 persons; among whom he formed some to be so good converts, that in the year 1634 it was estimated there were more than 30,000 Christians in Tonquin. From Macao he entered upon a mission in Cochin-China; but after he had converted numbers, he was imprisoned and banished the country. The mission however was afterwards prosecuted by other fathers. See *Relation de tout ce qui se passa à la Cochinchine*, Paris, 1652, 8vo; Borro, *Relazione della nuova Missione de' PP. della Compagnia di Giesu nel regno de Cocincina*, Rome, 1631, 8vo; and *Delle Missioni de' Padri della Compagnia di Giesu nel regno del Tunchino*, Rome, 1663, 4to.—*Schl.*

braced it. Influenced by this good news, Alexander VII. in the year 1658 thought it advisable to place some bishops over this new church; and therefore ordered certain French priests of the Congregation of Priests for Foreign Missions, to repair thither clothed with authority from him. But the Jesuits, who can bear no superiors and scarcely any equals, treated those pious and good men with very great contumely and abuse, and would not suffer them to enter into their harvest.[1] Hence arose in the court of Rome a protracted contest, the issue of which plainly showed that the Jesuits would easily resort to the authority of the pontiffs to extend and confirm their power, but treated it with contempt when it opposed their interests and emoluments. Subsequently the French king Lewis XIV. sent a splendid embassy in the year 1684 to the king of Siam, whose prime minister at that time was a Greek Christian named Constantius, a crafty and ambitious man, soliciting that monarch to pay homage to our Saviour. The embassy was accompanied by many priests and Jesuits, among whom were several well skilled in the arts and sciences, for which the king had some taste. These induced a portion of the people to abandon the superstition of their fathers; but all their efforts to convert the king and chiefs were in vain. And all hopes of adding the Siamese to the Christian church soon became extinct, together with the king and his favourite Constantius, who had invited the French into the country and wished by their means to establish his own power. For in a sedition raised in 1688, some of the princes put them both to death;[2] whereupon the French were obliged to return home.

9. China, the largest and most opulent of all the Asiatic kingdoms, was visited by great numbers of Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, Capuchins, and others, at the commencement of this century, for the purpose of spreading the knowledge of Christianity. All these, though disagreeing in other things, unite in proclaiming the astonishing success of their labours. But the Jesuits justly claim the chief honour of surmounting the obstacles which opposed the progress of Christianity among that discerning and proud nation, so tenacious of the customs of their ancestors. For discovering that the Chinese, who are naturally perspicacious and eager after knowledge, were very fond of the arts and sciences and

[1] There were various pamphlets published at Paris in 1666, 1674, and 1681, in 4to, in which these French missionaries, whom the Jesuits refused to admit as fellow-labourers in enlightening idolaters, eloquently described their sufferings and their wrongs. The most accurate and full is the account given by Francis Pallu, whom the pope had made bishop of Heliopolis, printed in French, Paris, 1688, 8vo. The subject is also expressly taken up in the *Gallia Christiana* of the Benedictines, tom. vii. p. 1027. A concise history of the affair is given by Cerri, *Etât Présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 199, &c. who, though he was secretary of the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* inveighs with great severity against the frauds, the cruelty, and the lust of domination of the Jesuits; and laments that his Congregation had not the power requisite to restrain that arrogant sect. At the close of his narrative he remarks that he was not at liberty to state all the crimes committed by the Jesuits in this controversy, because the pontiff ordered them to be kept out of sight. *Vôtre Saintetè a ordonnè qu'elles demeurassent sous le secret.* See also Helyot's *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, tome viii chap. xii. p. 84, &c.

[2] An account of this mission and its proceedings has been given by Tachard, Chaumont, La Loubere, and others. Among these the preference is due to Loubere, who was a man of learning and genius. [His work is entitled, *Du Royaume de Siam, par M. de la Loubere, Envoyé Extraordinaire du Roy auprès du Roy de Siam. en* 1687 *et* 1688, 2 vols. 8vo, Amsterdam, 1691. It is chiefly occupied with the geography of the country and the transactions of the embassy. Father Tachard's book is entitled, *Voyages de Siam des Pères Jésuites envoyés par le Roy, avec leurs observations*, Paris, 1686, 4to, and Amsterdam, 1699, 12mo. Second *Voyage au Royaume de Siam*, Paris, 1689, 4to, and Amsterdam, 1699, 12mo. How far such Jesuitical accounts deserve credit the world already knows. Here belongs also, *Relation de l' Ambassade de M. de Chaumont à la Cour du Roy de Siam, avec ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable durant son Voyage*, Paris, 1686, 12mo, which was followed by *Journal ou Suite du Voyage de Siam, par M. l' Abbé de Choisy* (who accompanied M. Chaumont) Amsterdam, 1687, 12mo. The unhappy change which afterwards took place in Siam to the disadvantage of the French, is described by Farges, a French officer, who was an eyewitness, in his *Relation des Révolutions arrivées à Siam dans l'année* 1678, Amsterdam, 1691, 12mo; and by Father d'Orleans, in his *Histoire de M. Constance, premier Ministre du Roy de Siam, et de la dernière Révolution*, Paris, 1692, 12mo.—*Schl.* [The politic Constantius, who had himself been in France, hoped to derive some advantages from a French alliance; and the Jesuit missionaries united with him in representing the king as much inclined to embrace Christianity. But when Chaumont, the French ambassador arrived (if we may believe the Jesuit Tachard) the king of Siam told the ambassador, "that it was no light matter to change a nation's religion after it had prevailed for more than 2,200 years; and that he wondered the king of France should interest himself so much in a matter that did not concern him but God only, and one too which God himself seemed to leave very much to the free choice of men. Could not God (said he), who gave to all men similar bodies and similar souls, have given them also similar views of religion if he had seen fit? And as he has not done so, it is presumable that he takes pleasure in being worshipped in so many different ways." He however allowed Christianity to be preached in his realm. The French court, not less solicitous probably to secure the trade of the country than to change its religion, sent a second embassy in 1688 under De la Loubere, which was accompanied by a large military force. The French were now in possession of the port of Mequi and the castle of Bancop, which were keys to the country, and Constantius himself began to be alarmed. But the same year the nobles conspired against this minister and slew him, and in the tumult the king himself lost his life. This revolution changed the whole face of things, and the French were obliged to quit the country. Yet probably some priests remained behind; for the very next year, it is said, some thousands of Siamese were baptized. At least it is certain Christianity was not exterminated; for near the close of the century Cerri states that an apostolical vicar was residing in the capital, had a church there and a seminary in which he educated natives for the priesthood, and that some of the great men of the court were professed Christians. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformat on*, vol. vii. p. 54, &c. who refers to the authors above mentioned.—*Mur.*

especially of the mathematics, the Jesuits sent among them men who were not only well acquainted with human nature and discreet in managing affairs, but likewise profoundly versed in learning and the abstruse sciences. Some of these by their address, the elegance of their manners, and their skill in business, soon acquired such influence that high honours and offices were conferred on them by the emperor, and they were employed in affairs of the greatest consequence in the court itself. Supported by such patrons, other teachers of humbler rank and talents were, without much difficulty, able to collect disciples of every rank, sex, and age, in all the provinces of this vast empire.

10. This prosperity was checked in some measure when Xun-Chi, the first emperor of the Mongol race, died and left his son a minor. For the chief nobles to whose care and instruction the heir of the empire was committed, having long viewed Christianity with strong aversion, abused their power to prostrate both it and its friends and especially the Jesuits, whom they stripped of all their advantages, their fortunes, and privileges, and persecuted with great cruelty. The first man among the Jesuits, John Adam Schall, venerable not only for the high office he sustained in the court but also for his age and his extensive learning, was cast into prison and condemned to be put to death, while the others were banished from the country. This was in the year 1664. But in the year 1669, when Cham-Hi took the sceptre into his own hands, the prostrate cause of Christianity was not only restored, but in process of time so advanced and exalted that the Jesuits commonly reckon this to be the commencement of the golden age of the Christians in China. For the emperor, who possessed very great talents and genius and was eager in the pursuit of knowledge and improvements,[1] first recalled the Jesuits to court and restored them to their former rank, and then sent for others of the same family from Europe, especially those who were skilful in the different arts and sciences. Some of these he placed in the highest offices of the state, and employed in civil transactions of the greatest importance. And some of them, particularly Frenchmen, he received to personal intimacy and made them his own teachers in various things, especially in philosophy and the mathematics. It was not difficult for the Jesuits when thus exalted to obtain many friends and supporters of Christianity, and to provide protection for its preachers. And hence from nearly all the countries of Europe and Asia many labourers entered into this harvest; and an immense number of people, with but little difficulty, were brought to profess Christianity. The religion of Christ seemed quite triumphant in China, when in the year 1692 this emperor who was so extremely partial to the Jesuits published that famous law, in which he denied that the Christian religion was injurious to the state, as its opposers had contended, and gave all his subjects full liberty to embrace it; nay more, he erected a splendid temple for the Jesuits in 1700, within the limits of his own palace.[2]

11. That the Jesuits actually accomplished all that is above stated is not denied even by their worst enemies; but whether their mode of proceeding was regular and upright, or such as the nature and dignity of the Christian religion demanded, was long contested with great acrimony and still is so. The enemies of the Jesuits (and they are both numerous and very bitter, especially among the Dominicans and the Jansenists) strenuously maintain that they purchased this success at the expense of committing offences and crimes of a detestable character. In the first place, they are charged with putting a most unfaithful construction upon the old religion of the Chinese, and persuading the emperor and his nobles that there was very little if any difference between the original and ancient religion of China, or the precepts of Confucius the great philosopher and lawgiver of that nation and the religion of Christ; and to this execrable misrepresentation, it is said, they added others of less moment; in particular they led the Chinese (who overrate everything ancient and undervalue what is new) to believe that many ages ago the Chinese had been made acquainted with Christ and had paid him worship, and that to these false representations must be attri-

[1] See Bouvet's *Icon Regia Monarchæ Sinarum*, which Leibnitz translated into Latin, and published in the second part of his *Novissima Sinica*, 1699, 8vo. Add Du Halde's *Description de la Chine*, and the *Lettres* of the Jesuits respecting their missions, in which they here and there extol the virtues of this emperor, whom all admit to have been a great man.

[2] A concise but neat account of all these events is given by Du Halde, *Description de la Chine*, tome iii. p. 128, &c.; and by the Jesuit Fontaney, *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, tome viii. p. 176, &c. [ed. Lyons, 1819, tome ix. p. 434, &c.—*Mur.*] A more full account is in various books, of which the most easy to be procured is Suarez, *De Libertate Religionem Christianam apud Sinas Propagandi Narratio*, published by Leibnitz, 1698, in the first part of his *Novissima Sinica*. Most of the others are enumerated by Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, cap. xxxix. p. 663, &c. See also my *Ecclesiastical History of China* written in German, and published both in a separate work and as a preface to the German translation of Du Halde's work. [This History was translated into English, and published in the year 1750, with the title, *Authentic Memoirs of the Christian Church in China.*—*Macl.*

buted the favourable disposition of the emperor towards Christianity and the adherence of the leading men to the side of the Jesuits. In the next place, they are charged with being utterly regardless of the duties and virtues which become the ministers of Christ. For they not only accepted but eagerly sought after honours and civil offices; and elated by the munificence of the emperor, their whole life was contaminated by the magnificence of their dress, the luxury of their tables, the multitude of their servants, and the splendour of their palaces. It was alleged that they devoted themselves not so much to spreading the knowledge of Christianity as to teaching human science, especially the mathematics; and that they even took charge of military affairs and commanded in the field of battle. And lastly, Jesuits of inferior rank are represented as engaging with eagerness in usurious speculations, in merchandise, and in other arts, by which wealth and worldly distinction are acquired, to the immense disgrace of their profession. Some of these charges the Jesuits indeed admit, but at the same time labour to extenuate; but the first and the last, they contend, are sheer fabrications of their enemies. And doubtless those who have opportunity to examine the matter thoroughly will be willing to admit, that envy and ill-will have had some share in this controversy.

12. The principal charge against the Jesuits in China is, that they confound light and darkness; or that the more easily to overcome the scruples of the Chinese, they mix the superstitions of China with Christianity, and allow their disciples to follow the profane customs and the impious rites of their ancestors. The Jesuit Matthew Ricci, the father of the Chinese church, supposed that the greatest part of the rites which were enjoined by the Chinese laws, might suitably be observed by the converts to Christianity; for they originated, he said, not from religious considerations but from state policy, or were civil and not religious ceremonies; nor were they viewed in any other light, except perhaps by some of the lower class of people.[1] A contrary opinion was embraced, not only by the Dominicans and Franciscans who were associated with the Jesuits in the mission, but also by very learned men among the Jesuits themselves both in China and Japan; one of whom, Nicholas Lombard, stated the grounds of his dissent in writing.[2] This controversy having been long agitated in private was brought to Rome by the Dominicans in the year 1645, and since that period it has greatly disturbed the whole Romish church. Innocent X. in the year just named decided in favour of the Dominicans, and condemned the indulgence allowed by the Jesuits to the Chinese. But Alexander VII. in the year 1656, at the instigation of the Jesuits, nullified this decision in effect though not in express terms, and declared that certain rites to which the Chinese were attached might be observed by Christians. The Dominicans renewed their complaints in the years 1661 and 1674 under the pontificate of Clement X. but they seem to have been foiled by the power of the Jesuits. In the year 1684, this fatal controversy was renewed in China where it had been at rest for several years, and was prosecuted with greater warmth than before. Victory seemed inclining to the side of the Dominicans, when Charles Maigrot, a doctor of the Sorbonne, whom the pontiff had constituted his vicar in the province of Fohi and who was afterwards bishop of Conon, by a public decree in the year 1693 decided that the opinions and regulations of the Jesuits were contrary to the purity of the Christian religion. But the pontiff, to whose authority [and sanction] Maigrot had subjected his decree, would not decide either way on any part of it, until the whole cause should have a legal investigation. Accordingly in the year 1699 he appointed a board of special judges, or a Congregation as the Romish court terms it, to give this angry contest a thorough examination. As soon as this resolution of the pontiff was made known, all the enemies of the Jesuits in the Romish church and particularly in France took the field; and in various pamphlets they assailed the character and the proceedings of the Jesuits in the most vehement manner. Nor were the Jesuits wanting in effort on their part.[3] The termination of this conflict belongs to the history of the next century.

13. This controversy, which has called forth the talents of so many men of the finest genius, if we separate from it some

[1] See Mamachius, *Origines et Antiquit. Christianæ*, tom. ii. p. 373, &c.

[2] See Kortholt's Preface to the Second Volume of his *Epistol. Leibnit.* sec. vi. p. 18, &c. who has subjoined to this volume the tracts of Lombard and Antony de St. Maria against the Jesuits, with the remarks of Leibnitz. There is also in this work (p. 413) a long dissertation of Leibnitz addressed to Remond on the philosophy of the Chinese, in which he pleads the cause of the Jesuits.

[3] Du Halde, *Description de la Chine*, tome iii. p. 142, &c. The other writers, who are very numerous, are mentioned by Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, cap. xxxix. p. 665, &c. Add Voltaire, *Siècle du Louis XIV.* tome ii. p. 318, &c. But especially worth reading is the ingenious patron of the Jesuits and himself a Jesuit, Gabriel Daniel, *Histoire Apologétique de la Conduite des Jésuites de la Chine*, printed in the third vol. of his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, p. 1, &c.

minor questions and those which relate rather to the Jesuits themselves than to the subject in debate, may be all embraced under two heads. (I.) The Chinese call the supreme god whom they worship TIEN and SHANG-TI; that is, in their language, Heaven. And the Jesuits transferred this name to the God of the Christians, whence it seemed to follow that they thought there was no difference between the chief God of the Chinese and the infinitely perfect God of the Christians, or that the Chinese had the same ideas of their TIEN or heaven, as the Christians have of God. But this the adversaries of the Jesuits deny. The first question therefore is, whether the Chinese understand by the words specified the visible material heavens, or the Lord of heaven, that eternal and all perfect Being whose throne is in the heavens and who from that throne in infinite wisdom rules all human affairs; that is, such a God as Christianity presents to us for our worship. The Jesuits maintain the latter, for they contend that these names were used by the ancient Chinese philosophers (who they think had just ideas of natural religion) to denote very clearly such a God as the Christians worship; and therefore they would not prohibit their converts from continuing to use those terms in their prayers and discourses to designate the Supreme Being; nay, they used them constantly themselves to denote the true God. But their adversaries maintain the contrary opinion, and contend that the ancient philosophy of the Chinese was full of impiety, and made no distinction between God the divine Spirit and nature or the material world. They assert moreover that Confucius himself, whom the Chinese hold in the highest veneration, was a stranger to religion and piety, and one who supposed that all existing things arose necessarily into being in the course of nature. This disagreement gave rise to very learned discussions concerning the customs, laws, and opinions of the ancient Chinese, which discussions have indeed made us acquainted with many things that were previously not well understood, but they have not decided the point for which they were undertaken. It seems that entire assent is not to be given either to the positions of the Jesuits or to those of their adversaries; and that the TIEN of the ancient Chinese was indeed far inferior in his attributes to the God of Christians, and yet was something different from the visible heavens or the air.

14. The ancient laws of China require the people annually at stated seasons to honour their deceased ancestors, with certain ceremonies which seem to be of a religious nature; and moreover all the literati of the nation at certain times must pay a kind of worship, which also seems to have a religious aspect, to the philosopher Confucius (who is accounted the father of all wisdom), in the buildings consecrated to him. (II.) Hence a second question is, whether those honours which the Chinese are required to pay to the souls of their deceased ancestors, and all the literati to Confucius, the oracle of the nation, are civil honours or religious, whether they are sacrifices or only regulations established for state purposes. The Jesuits allege that the ancient Chinese lawgivers instituted these rites to keep the people in order, and to preserve the tranquillity of the state; that the Chinese do not offer religious worship to the souls of their ancestors nor to Confucius, but only testify by certain ceremonies their grateful sense of the merits and the benefits, both of their ancestors and Confucius, and engage to copy after their example. And hence they conclude that it is allowable for Christians to observe these sacred rites of their country, provided they understand the true nature and grounds of them, and always keep in sight the object of their institution. And whoever wishes to see the cause of Christianity flourish and advance in China can scarcely think differently from the Jesuits, whether their statements are erroneous or correct. For it has been established by public law for many ages, that no one shall be accounted a good citizen in that country or be admitted to any office in the state, who does not perform the ceremonies in question. But the Dominicans and the other opposers of the Jesuits, contend that these rites are no small part of the Chinese religion, that Confucius and the souls of their ancestors are objects of religious worship to the Chinese, and of course that those who observe these rites offer an affront to the Divine Majesty and cannot be accounted Christians. The more candid among the Jesuits themselves do not deny that this is a very difficult question to decide; and hence some of them at last resorted to the plea of necessity, and urged that minor evils, if productive of the greatest advantages, are scarcely to be accounted evils.[1]

[1] The public honours paid to Confucius twice a-year used to be performed before his statue, erected in the great hall or temple which is dedicated to his memory. At present they are performed before a kind of tablet, placed in the most conspicuous part of the edifice with the following inscription: "The throne of the soul of the most holy and the most excellent chief teacher, Confucius." The literati or learned celebrate this famous festival in the following manner:—The chief mandarin of the place exercises the office of priest, and the others discharge the functions of deacons, sub-

15. At the commencement of this century, Japan was filled with an astonishing multitude of people, whom the Jesuits especially had convinced of the excellence of the Christian religion. But this very brilliant success was somewhat disturbed, partly by the hatred of Christianity entertained by the national priests and by certain nobles of the court, which gave rise to severe persecutions in one place and another both of the newly converted Christians and their teachers, and partly by the internal broils and contentions among those who had the charge of this rising church. For here as in other countries the Augustinian, Dominican, and Franciscan missionaries waged a most pernicious war against the Jesuits. For both at the court of Rome and elsewhere, they taxed them with insatiable avarice, with too great indulgence both to the vices and the superstitions of the Japanese, with a crafty management unbecoming the ministers of Christ, with an eagerness to reign and give law, and with other crimes of no less magnitude. The Jesuits, on the other hand, complained that their accusers, by their imprudence, their ignorance of human nature, their pertinacity, the asperity of their manners, their rustic mode of life, and other faults, injured rather than promoted the progress of the Christian cause among that high-minded and discerning people. Yet all these causes were by no means adequate to arrest the progress of Christianity, or to bring very great evils upon the immense multitude who had made profession of this religion. And perhaps means might have been devised at Rome, if not for entirely removing yet for quieting and moderating these contentions.[1]

16. But in the year 1615, the emperor of Japan himself commenced against the Christians a most direful persecution, which exceeds anything to be found in the whole history of the Christian church; and this persecution continued many years, and did not cease until it had exterminated Christianity from that empire. For the Christian religion was condemned as altogether intolerable, because it was deemed ruinous to the safety of the nation and to the majesty of their supreme pontiff, whom the populace of Japan believed to be the offspring of the gods themselves, and likewise to the most sacred institutions and religion of their ancestors. The foreign Christians therefore, the Portuguese especially and the Spaniards, were required to depart from the kingdom; and the Japanese who had renounced their idols were required to abandon Christ or undergo the most cruel death. This dreadful persecution destroyed an innumerable multitude of people of every class, age, sex, and rank, who preferred to die amid the most exquisite tortures rather than violate their vows of fidelity to Christ. And if either the Jesuits or their adversaries were guilty of faults while pleading the cause of Christ, they now as it were atoned for them by their own blood. For most of them gave themselves up to death for Christ with the greatest firmness, and some of them with joy and triumph. The causes of this horrid persecution are differently stated by different parties. The Jesuits throw some of the blame on the imprudent conduct of the Dominicans and Franciscans, and these in return ascribe it to the avaricious, factious, arrogant temper of the Jesuits.[2] And both unitedly accuse the

deacons, and so on. A certain sacrifice called Ci, which consists of wine, blood, fruits, &c. is offered after the worshippers have prepared themselves for this ceremony by fasting and other acts of abstinence and mortification. They kneel before the inscription, prostrate the body nine times before it, until the head touches the ground, repeat a great variety of prayers; after which, the priest taking in one hand a cupful of wine and in the other a like cup filled with blood, makes a solemn libation to the deceased and dismisses the assembly with a blessing. The rites performed by families in honour of their deceased parents are pretty much of the same nature.

Now, in order to know with certainty whether this festival and these rites be of a civil or a religious nature, we have only to inquire whether they be the same with those ceremonies which are performed by the Chinese in the worship they pay to certain celestial and terrestrial spirits or genii, which worship is undoubtedly of a religious kind. The learned Leibnitz, in the preface to his *Novissima Sinica*, undertook to affirm that the services now mentioned were not of the same kind, and consequently that the Jesuits were accused unjustly. But that great man does not appear to have examined this matter with his usual sagacity and attention. For it is evident from a multitude of accounts every way worthy of credit, and particularly from the observations made on the Chinese missions by that learned and candid Franciscan Antonio de S. Maria (*Ep. Leibnitist.* vol. ii.), not only that Confucius was worshipped among the idols and the celestial and terrestrial spirits of the Chinese, but that the oblations and ceremonies observed in honour of him were perfectly the same with those which were performed as acts of worship to these idols and spirits. Those who desire a more ample account of this matter may consult the following authors:—Budæus, *Annal. Histor. Philos.* p. 287, where he treats *De superstitioso Demortuorum apud Sinenses cultu;* Wolfius, *Not. ad Casaubon.* p. 312; Charmos, *Annot. ad Maigrotti Historiam Cultus Sinensis.* But more especially Arnaud, *Morale Pratique des Jésuites*, tome iii. vi. vii. and a collection of historical relations published at Cologne in 8vo, in the year 1700, under the following title: *Historia Cultus Sinensium, seu Varia Scripta de Cultibus Sinarum inter Vicarios Apostolicos, et PP. S. I. controversis.—Mard.*

[1] Besides the writers mentioned by Fabricius, *Luc Evangelii tati orbi exoriens*, cap. xl. p. 678, &c. see Charlevoix, *Histoire Générale de Japon*, tome ii. livr. xi. &c. p. 57, &c.

[2] Kæmpfer has given a neat account of this protracted business in the sixth of those Dissertations which he has annexed to his *History of Japan*, sec. iv. &c. p. 64-75, of the English edition. But it will also be but fair to hear the fuller statement of Charlevoix, who has omitted nothing that would go to excuse the Jesuits, in his *Histoire Générale de Japon*, tome ii. livr. xii. p. 135, &c. The other writers are mentioned by Fabri-

Dutch and English of studiously inflaming the emperor of Japan with hatred against the Portuguese and Spaniards, as well as against the Roman pontiffs; so that they alone might have control among the Japanese and might secure their commerce to themselves. The Dutch and English reply that neither the Spaniards nor any other adherents to the Roman pontiffs were accused by them, but only that the perfidy of the Spaniards was detected. And indeed nearly all agree in this, that the emperor was persuaded by certain letters intercepted by the Dutch and by other evidence bearing a strong probability, that the Jesuits and the other teachers of the new religion designed to raise a sedition by means of their disciples, and to bring Japan under the power of the Spanish king; and hence the tyrant, equally cruel and jealous, thought he could not be quiet and secure unless he destroyed every vestige of Christianity. From that time Japan has been closed against all foreigners, and even the phantoms of the Christian name are exterminated with fire and sword. A few of the Hollanders who are allowed annually to import a small quantity of European merchandise, live in an extreme corner of the kingdom, as it were enclosed in a prison.

17. Many respectable and pious men endeavoured to rouse the Lutherans, in imitation of the Catholics, to efforts for imparting Christian truth to the nations enveloped in the darkness of degrading superstition. No one was more zealous in this cause than the Austrian nobleman, Justinian Ernest, baron of Wels, who proposed the formation of a society for this purpose which should bear the name of Jesus.[1] But there were various causes,

cius, *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, cap. xl. p. 678. Add the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. *Mensis Februarii*, p. 723, &c. where may be seen the history of the church founded in Japan, and the life and death of those who were first slain by the Japanese on account of Christianity. Mamachius, *Origines et Antiquit. Christianæ*, tom. ii. p. 376, &c. [Francis Xavier first preached the gospel in Japan in 1549. After he left that country in 1552 great numbers were converted, and some Japanese became Jesuits. Schools and churches were erected even in the capital Meaco. In 1585 a Japanese embassy was sent to Rome. Christianity at that time seemed about to become the prevailing religion; there were at least 200,000 Christians, and among them princes, courtiers, chief nobles, and generals; the Bonzes and their religion were openly ridiculed, and the emperor had excluded paganism altogether from a new city which he founded, and he was on terms of intimacy with the Jesuits. But the base conduct of the Europeans led the emperor to suspect Christianity to be all a farce, and he became jealous of the designs of these strangers. He was also offended at the refusal of some converted females to surrender to him their chastity; and at the instigation of his favourite in 1587, he commenced a persecution. All Jesuits were ordered to quit the country. Some obeyed, but others remained under the protection of the nobles. Out of about 250 churches, 70 were pulled down. In 1590, more than 20,000 Christians lost their lives. But the next year added 12,000 new converts. In 1596, a Spanish sea-captain driven upon the coast showed a chart of extensive countries subject to his master; and being asked how his master could conquer so many nations, he said, their missionaries went forward and prepared the minds of the people to favour him, and then fleets and armies made an easy conquest. This statement was transmitted to court, and produced great jealousy of the missionaries. The emperor swore that the Spaniards should never thus conquer Japan; and he immediately set himself to exterminate Christianity, which he called a devilish law. The missionaries were imprisoned, and not a few of them as well as their converts were put to death. The persecution continued several years. Yet in 1603 there were 120 Jesuits, most of them priests, in Japan. After this, an English officer of a Dutch ship cautioned the Japanese to beware of the military enterprises of the Spaniards; and represented the priests as designing men who had been excluded from most European countries, and who did not teach genuine Christianity. This produced a fresh persecution; and in the province of Nangasaki, where there had been more than 40,000 Christians, not one could be found in 1622; all had either renounced their religion or been put to death. Hitherto however the number of Christians in Japan had not diminished greatly; and some estimates make them to have been about 400,000, and others near 600,000. But now things began to take a different turn. In 1616, Ijejas, guardian to the young prince Fidejori (who was favourable to Christianity, as were many of the nobles), slew his ward and proclaimed himself emperor. The Jesuits were objects of his jealousy; and various causes induced him to forbid the farther spread of Christianity, and the ingress of monks and priests into the country. He likewise determined to bring back the Japanese Christians to the old religion. Edicts were issued for these purposes, but they were not at once rigorously executed. At length some Franciscan monks, sent as envoys from the Spanish governor of Manilla, imprudently ventured to preach openly in the streets of Meaco and to erect a church there. This exasperated the government and brought on a persecution, which is without a parallel in the annals of the church. Among the causes of it, were the intercepted letters mentioned in the text, giving account of a projected insurrection of the Christians as soon as a Spanish force should appear on the coast. As soon as these letters reached the court in 1637, decrees were passed requiring all foreigners to quit the country at once on pain of death, and subjecting every foreigner to the same penalty who should ever after set his foot in the country. The return of the Japanese Christians to paganism was now peremptorily required, on pain of death. These decrees were rigorously executed; and two years after, the Portuguese were all driven from the country, and only the Hollanders were allowed to introduce a small quantity of European goods, and to live as it were imprisoned in a corner of the empire. Thus fell the Japanese church after it had stood very nearly a century. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. iii. p. 668, &c.—*Mur.*

[1] Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, part ii. book xvii. chap. xv. sec. 23, &c. p. 1066, and part iii. chap. xv. sec. 18, p. 150; Möller, *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 75. [In 1664, this Hungarian baron published two letters addressed to the Lutheran community, on a reformation of manners and on efforts for the conversion of the heathen. In the first, he proposed these three questions—Is it right that we Evangelical Christians should keep the gospel to ourselves, and not seek to spread it abroad? Is it right that we everywhere encourage so many to study theology, yet give them no opportunity to go abroad, but rather keep them, three, six, or more years, waiting for parishes to become vacant or for the posts of schoolmasters? Is it right that we should expend so much in dress, high living, useless amusements, and expensive fashions, yet hitherto have never thought of any means for spreading the gospel? His proposal to form a missionary association was approved by some, but objected to by others, especially among the higher clergy. He himself advanced 12,000 dollars for the object, went to Holland on the subject, and at length shipped for the Dutch West Indies to engage himself in missionary labour, but he was no more heard of. Some feeble attempts were made to get up a missionary association afterwards; but to no

and especially the situation of the Lutheran princes few of whom possessed any territories or fortified posts out of Europe, which prevented this matter from ever proceeding beyond good wishes and consultations. But the Reformed, and especially the English and the Dutch, whose mercantile adventures carried them to the remotest parts of the world and who planted extensive colonies during this century in Asia, Africa, and America, enjoyed the best advantages for extending the limits of the Christian church. Nor did these nations wholly neglect this duty; although they are taxed with grasping at the wealth of the Indians but neglecting their souls, and perhaps they did not perform so much as they might have done. Among the English, by an act of parliament in the year 1647, the business of propagating Christianity was committed to the care of a society composed of men of the highest respectability and integrity. This society was revived in the reign of Charles II. A.D. 1661, and again confirmed and invested with extraordinary privileges and rights by William III. in the year 1701; and being enriched with the splendid donations of kings, nobles, and private individuals, it has continued down to our own times.[1] From this noble institution great advantages have been derived and are still daily derived, by many nations ignorant of Christ and especially by those in America. By the labours of the Dutch, an immense number of people in the island of Ceylon, on the coast of Malabar, in the island of Formosa, and in other countries of Asia, (which the Dutch either conquered from the Portuguese or otherwise brought under their power), are said to have renounced the impious rites of their fathers.[2] If perhaps some extravagance may be found in these narrations, yet it is most certain that this nation after it had obtained a firm establishment in the East Indies, adopted at great expense various measures well calculated to imbue the natives with a knowledge of Christian principles.[3]

18. As the interior parts of Africa Proper have not yet been accessible to Europeans, they still remain wholly destitute of the light of Christian truth. But in the mari-

purpose during this century. See the authors above cited.—*Mur.*

[1] Kennet, *Relation de la Société etablie pour la Propagation de l'Evangile par le Roy Guillaume III.* Rotterd. 1708, 12mo. [In 1619 an ordinance was passed by the English parliament, for the erection of a corporation, by the name of the President and Society for the propagation of the Gospel in New-England; and a general collection for its endowment was ordered to be made in all the countries, cities, towns, and parishes of England and Wales. Notwithstanding very considerable opposition to the measure, funds were raised in this manner, which enabled the society to purchase lands worth from five to six hundred pounds a year. On the restoration of Charles II. the corporation became dead in law; and Colonel Bedingfield, a Roman Catholic, who had sold to it an estate of 322 pounds per annum, seized upon that estate and refused to refund the money he had received for it. But in 1661 a new charter was granted by the king, and the honourable Robert Boyle brought a suit in chancery against Bedingfield and recovered the land. Boyle was appointed the first governor of the company, and held the office about thirty years. (See Brown's *History of the Propagation of Christianity*, vol. i. p. 62, &c. and Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, ed. of Toulmin, vol. iv. p. 360, &c. but especially the *Connecticut Evang. Magazine*, vol. iv. p. 1, &c.) It was this society which supported the various missionary operations in New-England during the seventeenth century. Their expenditure in the year 1661 amounted to £738 8*s* 1*d*.—*Mur.*

[2] See the letters addressed to John Lensden, *De Successu Evangelii apud Indos Orientales*, published at Utrecht, 1699, 8vo.

[3] See Braun's *La véritable Religion des Hollandois*, p. 71, 267, &c. Amsterd. 1675, 12mo. This work is in answer to the malignant tract of Stoup, entitled, *La Religion des Hollandois*, in which he would insinuate that the Dutch have no regard for religion whatever. [The Dutch conquered Ceylon from the Portuguese about the middle of this century, and immediately established there the Protestant religion, excluding all others from every office. The Portuguese inhabitants, and the natives, both Catholics and pagans, in large numbers embraced the established faith at least in pretence. The country was divided into 240 parishes, a church was erected and a school established in each. Every ten schools had a catechist who was their superintendent. About 15 clergymen were assigned to the island. In 1672 Baldæus, one of the Dutch ministers, gives account of 30 native churches in the province of Jaffnapatnam, in which were about 30,000 attendants on worship upon Sundays, and about 16,000 pupils in the schools during the week. Near the close of the century, Lensden wrote to Dr. Increase Mather of Boston, "that in and near the island of Ceylon, the Dutch pastors had baptised about 300,000" of the natives. (Mather's *Eccles. Hist. of New England*, book iii. p. 195, fol. edit.) The Dutch had also translated and published in the Cingalese language, considerable portions of the Bible, besides catechisms, prayers, and other Christian books. The Dutch having possessed themselves of a large part of the island of Java, opened a church in Batavia the capital, in the year 1621. Pursuing much the same plans here as at Ceylon, in the year 1721 they could reckon 100,000 Christians in Java, and two Dutch, two Portuguese, and one or two Malay churches at Batavia. The New Testament in Malay was printed at Amsterdam, 1668, at the expense of the Dutch East India Company. Soon after establishing the gospel in Java, the Dutch sent ministers from Batavia to the island of Amboyna; and in 1686, it is said, they had converted 30,000 of the natives. Here too schools were established and a number of ministers stationed, at the expense of the Dutch East India Company. In 1634, the Dutch formed a settlement on the western part of the island Formosa. Robert Junius of Delft was sent out by the Dutch government to establish Christianity there. He is said to have baptised 6000 persons, and to have set up schools in which about six hundred young men were taught to read. He composed some prayers and translated certain psalms into the Formosan language; and though his labours were chiefly in the northern parts of the island, yet he had planted churches in twenty-three towns in the south, and had set pastors over them when he returned to Holland. In 1661, the gospels of Matthew and John were translated into the Formosan language by Dan. Gravius, and printed at Amsterdam, together with a Catechism. But probably before these books reached the island, it was captured by a Chinese pirate, and it has since belonged to the Chinese. Besides the converts in these places, the Dutch made many others in Sumatra, Timor, Celebes, Banda, Ternate, and the neighbouring Molucca Islands. See Brown's *Hist. of the Propagation of Christianity*, vol. i. chap. iii. p. 15-28.—*Mur.*

time parts, especially those where the Portuguese have obtained settlements, the power of the barbarous superstitions has here and there been prostrated, and the Romish rites have succeeded in their place. Yet the candid even of the Romish communion do not deny, that the number of those in this part of the world who deserve the appellation of genuine Christians is but small; that the greater part so worship Christ, as at the same time to follow the abominable superstitions of their fathers; and that even the best of them have many defects. What little advances Christianity has made in that country are to be ascribed almost wholly to the efforts of the Capuchins, who in this century encountered incredible toils and hardships in bringing some of the ferocious nations of Africa to a knowledge of Christ. They persuaded among others the kings of Owerra and Benin to admit the truth of Christianity; and induced the very cruel and heroic queen of Matamba, Anna Zingha, in 1652 to allow herself and people to be baptized.[1] For the Roman pontiffs, or rather the society at Rome which superintends the propagation of Christianity, have judged that African missions for various reasons were attended with peculiar dangers and difficulties, and could not well be performed by any but those early accustomed to austere modes of living and to the endurance of hardships. Nor did the other Romish monks appear to envy very much the Capuchins their hard-earned glory.

19. The India of the West or what is commonly called America is inhabited by innumerable colonists professing the Romish religion, Spanish, Portuguese, and French.[2] But these colonists, especially the Spanish and Portuguese, as appears from the testimony of very respectable men belonging themselves to the Catholic church, are, even the priests not excepted, the lowest and most abandoned of all who bear the Christian name, and far surpass even the pagans in ridiculous rites and flagitious conduct.[3] Those of the aboriginal Americans who have been reduced to servitude by the Europeans, or who reside in the vicinity of Europeans, have received some slight knowledge of the Romish religion from the Jesuits, Franciscans, and others; but the little knowledge they have received is wholly obscured by the barbarity of their customs and manners. Those Catholic priests of various orders and classes, who in modern times have visited the wandering tribes of the forests remote from the settlements of Europeans, have learned by experience that the Indians, unless they become civilized and cease to roam, are absolutely incapable of receiving and retaining on their minds the principles of Christianity.[4] And hence, in some provinces both of South and North America, Indian commonwealths have been founded by the Jesuits with great efforts, and guarded with laws similar to those of the Europeans; and the access of all Europeans to them has nearly been cut off, to prevent their being corrupted by European vices, while the Jesuits sustain the rank both of teachers and of magistrates among them. But while the Jesuits highly extol the merits and zeal of their order in this thing, others deny their claims, and maintain that they are more eager after public honours, wealth, and power, than the advancement of Christianity; and allege that they have collected immense quantities of gold from Paraguay which is subject to their sole authority and from other countries, which they have transmitted to their society in Europe.[5]

[1] For illustration of these facts, besides Cerri, *Etât Présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 222, &c. see Cavazzi, *Relation Historique de l'Afrique [d'Ethiopie] Occidentale*, which Labat published in French, tome iii. p. 433, &c. tome iv. p. 28, 354, &c. and nearly the whole work, which is chiefly occupied with the history of the missions performed by the Capuchins in Africa during the last century. [Maclaine finds all these references totally wrong. Schlegel says: Mosheim meant Father Fortunatus Alamandini's *Historical Description of the kingdoms of Congo, Matamba, and Angola*, in Italian, Bologna, 1687, fol. whose statements the Italian Capuchin and missionary, Cavazzi de Montecavallo, has copied. And these last, Labat actually translated in a free manner into French, and published in five volumes, 12mo, Paris, 1732, under the title, *Relation Historique de l'Æthiopie Occidentale*. And this last is the work which Mosheim had in his eye, and not that of the same Labat, which was also published in five volumes 12mo, in 1728, entitled, *Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale*.—*Mur.*

[2] See the authors mentioned by Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, cap. xlviii. xlix. p. 769, &c. The state of the Romish religion in that part of America occupied by Christians, is briefly exhibited by Cerri, *Etât Présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 245.

[3] See in particular, Frezier, *Voyage de la Mer du Sud*, p. 167, 218, 328, 353, 402, 417, 432, 533.

[4] An immense number of facts on this subject are found in the letters which the French Jesuits wrote to their European friends respecting the success of their missions, and which have been published at Paris.

[5] Labat, when asked by Tamburini, the general of the order of the Jesuits, what progress Christianity was making among the Americans, boldly and frankly said, Either none or very little; that he had not met with one adult among those tribes who was truly a Christian, that the preachers among them were useful only by baptizing occasionally infants who were at the point of death. *Voyage du P. Labat en Espagne et en Italie*, tome viii. p. 7. "Je lui répondis qu'on n'y avoit fait jusqu' à présent d'autres progrès que de baptizer quelques enfans moribonds sans avoir pû convertir véritablement aucun adulte." He added that to make the Americans Christians, they must first be made men:—"Qu'il en falloit faire des hommes, avant que d'en faire des Chrétiens." This resolute Dominican, who had been a missionary in the American islands, wished to give the father of the Jesuits some salutary counsels respecting the immense possessions and wealth

20. In the American provinces which the British occupied in this century, the cause of Christianity was urged with more wisdom and of course with more success, upon the stupidity and amazing listlessness of the Indians. The glory of commencing this most important work is justly claimed by those Independents, as they are called, who had to forsake their country on account of their dissent from the religion established by law. Some families of this sect, that they might transmit uncontaminated to their children the religious principles they had embraced, removed in the year 1620 from Holland to New-England, and there laid the foundation of a new commonwealth.[1] As these first adventurers were not unsuccessful, they were followed in 1629 by very many of those called Puritans in England, who were impatient of the evils which they suffered from the persecution of the bishops, and of the court which favoured those bishops.[2] But these emigrants had at first to encounter so many hardships and difficulties in the dreary and uncultivated wilderness, that they could pay but little attention to the instruction of the Indians. More courage and more leisure for such enterprises were enjoyed by the new Puritan exiles from England, who went to America in 1623 [1633], and subsequently, Thomas Mayhew, Thomas Shepherd, John Eliot, and many others. All these merited high praise by their efforts for the salvation of the Americans; but none more than Eliot, who by translating the holy Scriptures and other religious books into the Indian language, and by collecting and suitably instructing no small number of Christian converts among the barbarians, obtained after his death the honourable title of the Apostle of the Indians.[3] These

of his sons in the American islands, but the cautious old man dexterously avoided the subject:—"Je voulus le mettre sur les biens que la Compagnie possède aux Isles; il éluda délicatement cet Article." With no less spirit the same Labat checked the supreme pontiff himself, Clement XI. who commended the activity of the Spaniards and Portuguese in furthering the salvation of the Americans, but taxed the French with negligence in this very important matter:—the Spaniards and the Portuguese, said Labat, have no cause to boast of the success of their labours; they only induce the Indians to feign themselves Christians, through fear of tortures and death. "Les Missionaires Espagnols et Portugais n'avoient pas sujet de se vanter des prétendues conversions des Indiens, puisqu'il étoit constant qu'ils n'avoient fait que des hypocrites, que la crainte de la mort ou des tourmens avoit forcez à recevoir de baptême, et qui étoient demeurez après l'avoir reçû, aussi idolatres qu'auparavant." *ubi supra*, p. 12. To this testimony, so very recent and of so high authority, so many more ancient might be added that it would be difficult to recount them. See also respecting the American Jesuits, the *Mémoire touchant l'Etablissement considérable des Pères Jésuites dans les Indes d'Espagne*, which is added to Frezier's *Relation du Voyage de la Mer du Sud*, p. 577, &c.; Corcal, *Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, tome ii. p. 67, 43, &c. See also Mamachius, *Origines et Antiquitates Christianæ*, tom. ii. p. 337, &c. Respecting the Jesuits occupying the province of Paraquaria or Paraguay, see Ulloa, *Voyage d'Amérique*, tome i. p. 540, &c. and Muratori's *Tract* published in 1743, in which he pleads their cause against their accusers. [A full and very favourable history of the Jesuit republic of Paraguay to A.D. 1747, with numerous documents and vouchers, may be found in the Jesuit Charlevoix's *Histoire du Paraguay*, Paris, 1757, 6 tomes, 12mo; also in English, but without the documents, London, 1769, 2 vols. 8vo. In 1752, the king of Spain having ceded a considerable part of this Jesuit republic to the king of Portugal in exchange for other territories, the Indians who dreaded the dominion of the Portuguese absolutely refused to be transferred, and resisted the commissioners of the two governments by force of arms. This revolt of the natives was ascribed to the influence of the Jesuits, their immediate rulers; and the enemies of that order seized this occasion to effect not only the subversion of this their republic, but likewise the overthrow of the order itself. The Portuguese government was the first to suppress the order; and to justify their proceeding they caused a narrative to be published which was printed at the Hague in French, in 1758, 8vo, with the title *La République des Jésuites au Paraguay renversée*, in which the character of the order is treated with no indulgence. From that time onward the order of Jesuits and their republic of Paraguay have been generally treated with execration. But of late many discerning writers, especially among the Protestants, defend the cause of the Jesuits and speak very favourably of their missionary labours in Paraguay.—*Mur.*

[1] Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 111; Böhm's *Englische Reformationshistorie*, book vi. chap. v. p. 807, &c. [Cotton Mather's *Eccles. Hist. of New-England*, book i. chap. ii. &c.; Prince's *New-England Chronology*; Holmes' *American Annals*, vol. i. and the other histories of the first planting of Colonies in New-England.—*Mur.*

[2] Increase Mather's *History of New-England*, p. 126, &c.; Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 182, &c. [Cotton Mather's *Eccles. History of New-England*, book i. chap. iv. &c. and the other writers mentioned in the preceding note.—*Mur.*

[3] Hornbeck, *De Conversione Indor. et Gentil.* lib. ii. cap. xv. p. 260; Increase Mather's *Epistola de Successu Evangelii apud Indos Occidentales ad Joh. Leusdenium*, Utrecht, 1699, 8vo, [published also in English, in Cotton Mather's *Eccles. History of New-England*, book iii. p. 194, &c.] The Rev. John Eliot was born in England A.D. 1604. After leaving the university he taught school a few years, and then removed to New-England in 1631, in order to preach the gospel without molestation. The church in Boston would have settled him as a colleague with Mr. Wilson, but he had promised several friends in England that if they removed to America he would become their pastor. Accordingly on their arrival and settlement in Dorchester, he was ordained over them in November, 1632, and served them fifty-eight years or till his death in 1690. He early turned his attention to the Indians around him, learned their language in 1644, and two years after commenced a regular weekly lecture to them at Natic. It was in this year that the general court of Massachusetts passed an act or order to encourage the propagation of the gospel among the Indians. Eliot was countenanced and aided by the ministers around him, who frequently supplied his pulpit in his absence, and were always ready to afford him counsel, and also to aid him occasionally, so far as their ignorance of the Indian tongue would permit, in imparting religious instruction to the Indians. He not only preached regular weekly lectures at Natic, but likewise occasionally to the Indian congregations at Concord, Dorchester Mills, Watertown, and some other places. In the year 1670, he visited twelve towns or villages of Christian Indians under his care, in Massachusetts and along the Merrimac; in all of which there were Indian preachers regularly stationed, to serve them on Sundays and be their constant spiritual guides. At Natic there were two such teachers, and between forty and fifty communicants. For the use of these natives he translated into the Indian language, primers, catechisms, the *Practice of Piety*, Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, several of Mr. Shepherd's works, and at length the whole Bible, which

happy beginnings induced the Parliament and people of England, after a few years, to resolve on extending the enterprise by public measures and public contributions. Hence originated that noble society which derives its name from its object, the propagation of the Gospel, and which in its progress having increased in numbers, dignity, privileges, and advantages of every kind, has gradually enlarged and extended its efforts for the salvation of the nations estranged from Christ, especially in America. Immensely more, as all must admit, remains still to be done; yet any one must be uncandid or ignorant of such things, who can deny that much has been done and with greater success than was to be anticipated. We shall hereafter have occasion to speak of Pennsylvania, in which people of all sects and religions now live intermingled and worship God in the manner they see fit. The Hollanders began to diffuse the knowledge of Christianity with great success in those provinces of Portuguese America, which they had conquered under the conduct of Maurice prince of Orange;[1] but all these prospects were intercepted by the Portuguese recovering their lost possessions after the year 1644. Nor did the Dutch, so far as I know, expend much labour and effort in improving the minds of the Indians who inhabited Surinam and the adjacent regions.

21. The opponents of all religion, and especially of Christianity, are represented by some as more numerous in this century, and by others as less so, according to the party and the views which they embraced. The English complain that from the time of Charles II. their nation was contaminated with the grossest of vices and profligacy, that this state of things gave rise to unbridled licentiousness of speculation and disputation on religious subjects, and that both united produced a multitude of persons who prostituted their talents and ingenuity to extinguish all sense of religion and piety. And that these complaints were not groundless, appears from the numerous examples of Englishmen of this period, who either declared war against all religion or who maintained that the religion of nature and reason was alone to be followed; and likewise from the many excellent treatises by which the most solid writers of the nation defended the divinity and excellence of Christianity against their hostile assaults. The strongest evidence however is the noble institution of the very learned gentleman, Robert Boyle, who by his will in 1691 bequeathed a splendid portion of his estate to religion, the income of which was to be annually paid over to acute and eloquent men, who should oppose the progress of impiety and demonstrate and confirm the truth of natural and revealed religion in eight public discourses each year.[2] Down to our own times, men of the greatest talents and genius have undertaken this service, and their discussions or discourses have been laid before the public to the great advantage of all Europe.[3]

was first published at Cambridge in 1664, and again just after his death. He set up schools in his Indian villages, introduced a regular form of civil government, and to some extent industry and the useful arts; and was the fountain from which the Indian preachers under him drew all their knowledge. See Cotton Mather's *Life of Eliot*, in his *Eccles. Hist. of New-England*, book iii. p. 170, &c.; *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 361, 411; vol. iv. p. 181, 161. Brown's *Hist. of the Propag. of Christianity*, vol. i. p. 29, &c.—The state of Christianity among the Indians of New-England in 1687, was thus described by Increase Mather in his letter to Leusden:—"There are six churches of baptized Indians in New-England, and eighteen assemblies of catechumens professing the name of Christ. Of the Indians there are four-and-twenty who are preachers of the word of God; and besides these, there are four English ministers who preach the Gospel in the Indian tongue."—*Mur.*

[1] Hottinger's *Topographia Ecclesiastica*, p. 47; Janisson's *Etât Présent des Provinces Unies*, tome i. p. 396, &c. He also treats of Surinam and the state of religion there, in chap. xiv. p. 407. [According to the testimony of Nieuhoff, who resided in Brazil from 1640 to 1649, there were in 1643 or the year before the revolt of the Portuguese, five Protestant churches along the coast south of the Recife or Pernambuco; namely, at San Antonio, at Cap San Agostinho, at Serinhem, at Porto Calvo, and at Rio San Francisco. But these churches were not always supplied with ministers, as they came out only for limited periods. North of the Recife, there was in 1643 one Dutch minister at the island Tamaraca and Fort Orange, another at Rio Grande, and two at Parayba. At Recife or Pernambuco and in its vicinity, there were about 400 Protestants, Dutch, French, and English, and three Dutch ministers, besides one who served on board the fleet and on inland expeditions, and likewise one French and one English minister. In 1646, there were but seven Dutch ministers in Brazil. The churches were regulated according to the synod of Dort. The minister and the churchwardens constituted the church session. The deacons visited the sick to provide for them. The children were catechized on Sundays, and the sacrament was administered four times a year. See Nieuhoff's *Voyages*, in Churchil's *Collection*, London, 1730, vol. ii. p. 32.—*Mur.*

[2] See Ricotier's Preface to his French translation of Clark's *Discourses on the Being and Attributes of God*, p. xiv. &c. Of Boyle himself and his merits, Edw. Budgell has treated very fully in his *Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the Illustrious Family of the Boyles*, London, 1737, 8vo. See the *Bibliotheque Britannique*, tome xii. part i. p. 144, &c. [But above all, the late learned Dr. Birch's *Life of Boyle*, published in 8vo, in the year 1744; and that very valuable collection of Lives, the *Biographia Britannica*, Article Boyle, Robert, note (z). See also Article Hobbes, in the same collection.—*Macl.*

[3] A catalogue of these discourses is given in the *Bibliothèque Angloise*, tome xv. part ii. p. 416, &c. A learned and neatly digested summary of all the discourses of this nature thus far delivered, was published not long since in English by Gilbert Burnet, which the French and the Germans have begun to translate into their languages. [This abridgment comprehends the discourses of Bentley, Kidder, Williams, Gastrell, Harris, Bradford, Blackhall, Stanhope, Clarke, Hancock, Whiston, Turner, Butler, Woodward, Derham, Ibbot, Leng, J. Clarke, Gurdon, Burnet, Berriman.—*Macl.* [All these discourses were, two years afterwards, pub-

22. By the English generally Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury is represented as the leader and standard-bearer of the impious company, who from the accession of Charles II. set themselves in opposition to God and to things sacred. He was a man daring, crafty, acute, and perspicacious, but of more genius than erudition or knowledge either sacred or human.[1] He has however found some advocates out of Great Britain, who maintain that he erred indeed, yet not so culpably as to subvert the being of a God and the worship of him.[2] Those who shall read attentively the books he has left, must admit that if he was not himself destitute of all regard for God and religion, it is manifest his principles naturally lead to an utter disregard for all things sacred; and his writings betray not obscurely a mind most unfriendly to Christ and to the Christian religion. It is said however that in his old age he became more rational, and publicly condemned the sentiments he had formerly published;[3] but whether he was sincere in this is uncertain. With more truth it may be said of John Wilmot, earl of Rochester, who attacked God and religion with even more fury than Hobbes, that he became a penitent. He was a man of great discernment and brilliancy of genius but of astonishing levity; and while his bodily powers were subservient to his will, he was libidinous and debauched.[4] Yet it was his happy lot in the last years of his short life, through the admonition especially of Gilbert Burnet, to betake himself to the mercy of God and Jesus Christ, and he met death religiously, A.D. 1680, penitently lamenting and detesting his former wickedness.[5] In this list may be placed Anthony Ashley Cooper, earl of Shaftesbury, who died of a consumption at Naples, A.D. 1703; not that he was an open enemy of Christianity, but his pungent wit, the elegance of his style, and the charms of his genius, rendered him the more dangerous foe to religion in proportion to the concealment he practised. Several of his works are extant and have been often published; all exquisitely fine, from the native charms of his diction and thoughts, yet exceedingly dangerous to young and inexperienced minds.[6] Unpolished and dull

lished, without abridgment, under the title of, *The Boyle Lectures, a Defence of Natural and Revealed Religion, being the Sermons at the Boyle Lecture from* 1691 *to* 1732, Lond. 1739, 3 vols. folio. A list of all the works which have been published in connexion with this Lecture down to the year 1822, may be seen in Lowndes' *British Librarian*, col. 838—840. The latest series which has been published is not unworthy of its predecessors; I allude to Maurice's *Religions of the World and their Relations to Christianity*, London, 1847, 8vo.—*R.*

[1] See Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, tome ii. p. 478; Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 461, of the late edition. [Add Brucker's *Historia Crit. Philos.* Appendix, Leipsic, 1767, 4to, p. 880, &c. where his life and character are described with impartiality and accuracy. In Cromwell's time he was a zealous adherent of the royalist party, and a defender of their rights with servile submission. Yet he lost the favour of the court and died in 1679, in his 91st year, a private country gentleman. Two of his works, namely, *De Cive*, Paris, 1642, 4to, and his *Leviathan*, 1651, folio, are most worthy of notice. In them he recommends monarchic despotism, represents the human soul as material and mortal, discards all natural distinction between moral actions, and makes morality depend wholly on the enactments of monarchs.—*Schl.* [The whole of the moral and political works of Hobbes, with a life of the author prefixed, were elegantly printed, probably under the eye of Warburton, London, 1750, folio. See Henke, *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. iv. p. 399, note.—*Mur.* [A fuller edition containing both the Latin and English works of Hobbes, has been just completed by Sir Wm. Molesworth, Bart. in 14 vols. 8vo, London, 1839—43. The student will see a full exposition of Hobbes' peculiar views in Hallam's *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, vol. iii. p 269, &c. where there is an entire section on *The Metaphysical Philosophy of Hobbes.* See also Tennemann's *Manual of the History of Philosophy*, Johnson's translation, Oxford, 1832, p. 305, &c.—*R.*

[2] In defence of Hobbes appeared, besides others, Gundling, *Observ. Selectæ*, tom. i. n. ii. p. 30, and in the *Gundlingiana*, par. xiv. p. 304. Add Arnold, *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, part ii. book xvii. chap. xvi. sec. xxv. p. 1082, &c. Against these appeared Buddeus, *Theses de Atheismo et Superstitione*, cap. i. p. 187, &c.

[3] This rests on the authority of Wood, who states in his *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 646, that Hobbes wrote an Apology for himself and his writings, in which he professes never to have embraced the opinions he proposed in his Leviathan, but to have brought them forward merely to try his ingenuity; that after writing the book he never defended those opinions either publicly or privately, but submitted them to the judgment of the church; that those positions of his book in particular which seemed to militate against the received notions of God and religion were published not as true and incontrovertible, but only as plausible and for the purpose of drawing forth the judgment of theologians concerning them. Wood does not tell us in what year this Apology appeared, which is evidence that he had not been able to examine the book. Neither does he state whether Hobbes was alive or dead when it was published. But its being placed in the list of Hobbes' writings posterior to 1682, leads to the conjecture that it was published after his death, for he died in 1672. It does not therefore yet appear what we are to think of this change of opinion in Hobbes. I can believe that such an Apology for Hobbes exists; but perhaps it was drawn up by one of his friends to shield his reputation after he was dead. Yet if it was written and published by himself, it can afford but little support to those who would defend his character. For the method Hobbes takes to excuse himself is that in which all try to clear themselves when they have incurred odium and indignation by advancing corrupt and pernicious opinions, and yet wish to live quietly though continuing to be just what they were before.

[4] See an account of his life and writings in Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 651. On his poetic talents, Voltaire treats, *Mélange de Littérature et de Philosophie*, chap. xxxiv. in his Works, tome iv. p. 303.

[5] This scene is described by Bishop Burnet in a special tract entitled, *Some Passages of the Life and Death of John Earl of Rochester, written at his desire on his Deathbed*, by Gilbert Burnet, D.D. It is extant also in German, French, and Latin.

[6] His works were first published collectively, London, 1711, in three vols. 8vo, and often subsequently. They are called *Characteristics* [of Men, Manners, and Opinions], from the title of the greater part of them. See Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Choisie*, tome xxiii. Some notes of Leibnitz upon them were published by Peter des Maizeaux, *Recueil des diverses Pièces sur la Philosophie*, tome ii. p. 245. There are some who maintain that this otherwise great and illustrious man has been

as compared with these, was John Toland, an Irishman, who at the close of this century was not ashamed to disgrace himself and his country by several tracts reproachful to Christianity. But as those who pamper the vicious propensities of men seldom lack admirers, so this man who was not destitute of learning, though vainglorious and of abandoned morals, was thought something of by the undiscerning.[1] The other Englishmen of less notoriety belonging to this class need not be enumerated; yet if any one is disposed, he may add to the list Edward Henry [Herbert, baron] of Cherbury, a nobleman and philosopher, who if he did not deny the divinity of the Christian religion, yet maintained that the knowledge of it was not necessary to salvation;[2] and Charles Blount, the author of the *Oracles of Reason*, who committed suicide in 1693.[3]

23. In France, adjacent to England, Julius Cæsar Vanini, an Italian, author of the *Amphitheatre of Providence* and of *Dialogues concerning Nature*, was publicly burned at Toulouse in 1629 [1619], as a perverse enemy of God and of all religion. But some respectable and learned writers think that he fell a victim to personal resentment, and that he neither wrote nor lived and acted so stupidly and impiously, as to be justly chargeable with contemning God.[4] But the character of Cosmo Ruggieri, a Florentine and a profligate, who died at Paris in 1615, no honest man will readily undertake to defend. For when about to die, he boldly declared that he regarded all that we are taught respecting a supreme Deity and evil spirits as idle tales.[5] Whether justice or injustice was done to Casimir Leszynsky, a Polish knight who was punished capitally at Warsaw in 1689 for denying a God and divine providence, cannot easily be determined without inspection of the record of his trial.[6] In Germany, a senseless and frantic man, Matthew Knutzen of Holstein, wished to establish a new sect of the Conscientiaries, that is, of persons who disregarding God followed only the dictates of conscience or right reason; but he was easily checked and compelled to abandon his mad project.[7]

24. Benedict de Spinoza, a Portuguese Jew who died at the Hague in 1677, is accounted the first and the most acute of

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rashly accused by clergymen of contemning religion. I wish they could clearly prove that it is so. But if I do not wholly mistake, whoever shall read but a moderate portion of his writings or only his noted Letter on Enthusiasm, which in French bears the title *Essai sur la Raillerie*, will readily fall in with the judgment which Bishop Berkley passes upon him in his *Alciphron or the Minute Philosopher*, vol. i. dial. iii. p. 200, &c. This very ingenious man employs ridicule when seeming to speak the most gravely on sacred subjects; and divests the arguments, derived from the sacred Scriptures in support of a devout and virtuous life, of all their power and influence; nay, by recommending an indescribable and sublime kind of virtue far above the conceptions of common people, and which rests satisfied with itself, he appears to extinguish all zeal for the pursuit of virtue in the minds of common people.

[1] In my younger years I treated largely of this man in a *Commentatio de Vita et Scriptis ejus*, prefixed to a Confutation of his insidious book entitled *Nazarenus*. The deficiencies, if any occur in that *Commentatio*, may be supplied from the *Life of Toland* prefixed to his Posthumous Works published at London, 1726, 2 vols. 8vo. The author of that Life is Peter des Maizeaux, well known for various literary labours.

[2] Lord Herbert is sufficiently known to the learned by his book *De Causis Errorum*, and other writings, but especially by his work *De Religione Gentilium*. And not less known are the confutations of the sentiments he advances in these books, written by Musæus, Kortholt, and other celebrated divines. He is commonly considered the father of the family of Naturalists [or Deists]. See Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, par. ii. book xviii. cap. xvi. p. 1083, &c. [Cherbury is properly the founder of the modern religious indifferentism. If we may believe him, the divine origin of Christianity cannot be proved but only be rendered very probable. The whole of religion, according to him, consists in five articles: I. There is a God. II. He is to be worshipped. III. And this by the practice of virtue. IV. Repentance and reformation will procure us pardon from God. V. After this life the virtuous will be rewarded and the vicious punished.—*Schl.* [See more of him in Hallam's *Introd. to the Literature of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 132, and from p. 155, &c. and in Tennemann's *Manual*, p. 309.—*R.*

[3] See Chauffepié's *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Crit.* tome i. par. ii. p. 328. He however omits his tragical death from a regard undoubtedly to the feelings of the illustrious family of Blounts, still living in England. [Concerning all the English deists mentioned in this section, their works, their opinions, and the confutation of them, see Leland's *View of the principal Deistical Writers that have appeared in England in the last and present Century, with Observations*, &c. first published in 1754, and since often, in 2 vols. 8vo.—*Mur.*]

[4] See the compilations of Buddeus concerning him in his *Theses de Atheismo et Superstitione*, cap. i. p 120, &c. The author of the *Apology for Vanini*, which was published in Holland, 1712, 8vo, was Arp, a lawyer of extensive learning, who promised a new and much enlarged edition of this little book in his *Feriæ Æstivales seu Scriptorum suorum Historia*, par. i. sec. xl. p. 28, &c. His coadjutor in vindicating the character of Vanini was Heister, *Apologia pro Medicis*, sec. xviii. p. 93, &c. [Vanini was a physician and a wild, enthusiastic naturalist. He travelled in England, the Netherlands, Germany, France, and Switzerland, professed himself a Catholic, but he advanced particularly in his last book, his *Dialogues*, such mystical and deistic opinions concerning God, whom he seemed to confound with nature, that he was burned as a heretic at Toulouse, A.D. 1619. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformat.* vol. v. p. 646, &c.; Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. v. p. 670; tom. vi. p. 922; Chauffepié's *Dictionnaire*, art. *Vanini*, and Ständlin's *Beyträge zur Philos. u. Gesch.* vol. i. p. 147.—*Mur.* [Consult also Hallam, *ubi supra*, vol. iii. p. 129, &c. who calls him Lucilio Vanini.—*R.*

[5] Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, tome iii. p. 2526. [According to Bayle, he was a great astrologer and soothsayer and openly vicious.—*Mur.*

[6] See Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, part ii. book xvii. chap. xvi. sec. xiv. p. 1074. The records of the trial of Leszynsky were formerly kept in the very rich library of Zach. Conr. Uffenbach; but where they are since removed to, I do not know. [Yet from what Arnold has brought forward, it is more probable that he was innocent than that he was guilty.—*Schl.*

[7] See Möller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 304, &c.; and his *Isagoge ad Historiam Chersonesi Cimbr.* par. ii. cap. vi. sec. viii. p. 164, &c.; La Croze, *Entretiens sur divers Sujets d' Histoire*, p. 400, &c.

all those in this century who transformed the Author of all things into a substance manacled by the eternal laws of necessity and fate. He indeed personally led a more discreet and commendable life than an immense number of Christians and others do, who have never suffered a doubt to enter their minds respecting God and the duties men owe to him; neither did he seek to seduce others into a contempt for the Supreme Being or into corrupt morals.[1] But in his books, especially those published after his death, it is manifestly his aim to prove that the whole universe and God himself are precisely one and the same thing; and that whatever takes place arises out of the eternal and immutable laws of that nature which necessarily existed and was active from all eternity. And if these things were so, it would follow that every individual is himself God and cannot possibly commit sin.[2] Beyond all controversy it was the Cartesian philosophy to which he entirely resigned himself that led Spinoza into these opinions. For having adopted the common maxim of all philosophers, that all things which truly exist (all realities), exist superlatively in God; and then assuming as indubitable that opinion of Des Cartes that there are only two realities, thought and extension, the one peculiar to minds and the other to matter, it was natural and even necessary that he should ascribe to God both these realities, extension and thought, without limitation or modification. And this done, it was unavoidable for him to confound God and the universe as being one and the same nature, and to maintain that there is only one real substance from which all others originate and to which all return. Moreover Spinoza's system of doctrine, as even his friends will admit, was by no means such as to captivate by its lucidness and the clearness of its evidence. For they tell us that it is to be comprehended by a kind of feeling rather than by the understanding, and that even the greatest geniuses are in danger of misunderstanding it.[3] Among the disciples of Spinoza (who choose to be called Pantheists,[4] from the principal doctrine they

[1] His life accurately written by Colerus, was published at the Hague in the year 1706, 8vo. Yet a more full and circumstantial life of him was composed by Lenglet du Fresnoy, and prefixed to Boulainvilliers' *Exposition of the Doctrines of Spinoza*, published at Brussels or rather at Amsterdam, 1731, 12mo. Add Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome iii. p. 2631. [He was born at Amsterdam in 1632, where his father, a Portuguese Jew, then resided as a trader. Educated among Jews, he early manifested talent and also a propensity towards infidelity. He became a great admirer of Cartesian principles, and associated with men of education and philosophers. He was by trade a glass-grinder, and much famed for all kinds of optical glasses. His most noted works were, his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, Hamburg (Amsterdam), 1670, 4to, and *Ethica ordine Geometrico Demonstrata*, published soon after his death, 1677, 4to. His style is dry, argumentative, and rather obscure. Towards the close of the 18th century some of the German theologians began to admire his writings; and at this time (1831) it is said that a large number of the most pious divines of Germany are Spinozists in philosophy.—*Mur.*

[2] A pretty long list of those who have confuted Spinoza is given by Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, lib. v. par. iii. p. 119, &c. and by Jenichen, *Historia Spinozismi Lehmhofiani*, p. 58–72. His real opinions concerning God must be learned from his *Ethics* which was published after his death, and not from his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* which he published in his lifetime. For in the latter, he argues just as if he believed in an eternal deity distinct from nature and matter, who had caused a system of religion to be promulgated for imbuing men's minds with benevolence and equity, and had confirmed it by events, marvellous indeed but not supernatural. But in his *Ethics* he more clearly explains his views, and labours to prove that nature itself is God by its inherent powers necessarily producing movements. And this aids the confutation of those who contend that Spinoza was not so bad a man as he is generally represented, and who adduce their proofs from his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*. Whether he gradually proceeded from bad to worse, or whether he cautiously concealed his real sentiments while he lived, from prudential reasons, it is difficult to say. This however is attested by the most credible witnesses, that so long as he was alive he did not publicly influence any one to think lightly of God and his worship; and he always expressed himself seriously and piously when the conversation turned upon such subjects. See Maizeaux, *Vie de M. de S. Evremond*, p. 118, &c. tome i. of the works of the latter. This may also be easily gathered from his Letters, which are extant among his Posthumous Works.

[3] Bayle, who, no one will say, was naturally obtuse and dull of apprehension, is charged by the followers of Spinoza with not having well understood the sentiments of their master, and therefore with not having solidly refuted them. See his *Dictionnaire*, tome iii. p. 1641, note. Meier bitterly complains in his *Preface to the Posthumous Works of Spinoza*, p. 21, &c. that there was a general misapprehension of the views of this extraordinary man, whose opinions all harmonised with the Christian religion. Boulainvilliers also, the expositor of Spinoza, declares in the preface to a book soon to be mentioned, p. 153, that all his opposers had either maliciously perverted his meaning or misunderstood it. "Les réfutations de Spinoza m'ont induit à juger, ou que leurs Auteurs n'avoient pas voulu mettre la doctrine, qu'ils combattent, dans une evidence suffisante, ou qu'ils l'avoient mal entendue." If this system of doctrine is so difficult, so far above common comprehension that even men of the greatest and most acute minds may easily mistake in stating it, what conclusion shall we make but that the greater part of the Spinozists (who are said to be very numerous all over Europe), have adopted it, not so much from any natural superiority of their genius as from the hope of indulging their lusts with impunity? For no rational and well-informed man will believe that in so great a multitude of persons, many of whom never once thought of improving their intellectual powers, all can see through that which puzzles the most perspicacious. [See also Hallam, *Introd. to the Literature of Europe*, vol. iv. p. 155, 243, 263; and Tennemann's *Manual*, &c. p. 322, &c. containing full references to the several works which have appeared on Spinoza and his doctrines.—*R.*

[4] To relieve his poverty and satisfy his hunger, John Toland composed and published at Cosmopolis (London), in 1720, 8vo, an infamous and corrupting book entitled *Pantheisticon*, in which he exhibits the *Formulæ celebrandæ Societatis Socraticæ seu Pantheisticæ*; that is, the mode of conducting meetings among the Pantheists whom he represents as scattered everywhere, and the morals of this faction are here graphically depicted. In this book—than which none can be more pernicious to honest but unguarded minds—the President and the members of the society of Pantheists confer with each other. He earnestly recommends to his associates and fellows attention to truth, liberty, and health, and dissuades them from

embrace rather than bear the name of their master), the first rank was held by Lewis Meier, a physician and a familiar friend of Spinoza,[1] also one Lucas,[2] the count Boulainvilliers,[3] and some others.

25. How much and how happily all branches of literature and the arts and sciences, as well those which belong to the province of reason and the intellect as those which belong to the empire of invention, memory, and the imagination, were cultivated and advanced throughout Christendom in this century, appears from innumerable proofs which need not here be detailed. The minds of men already awake were farther excited near the beginning of this century, and they were sagaciously shown the path they should pursue by that very great man, Francis Bacon Lord Verulam, the Apollo of the English; and particularly in his books *On the Dignity and the Advances of the Sciences*, and his *New Organ of the Sciences* (*De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum* and *Novum Organum Scientiarum*).[4] It would be vain indeed to expect that mankind who are beset with a thousand obstructions to their seeing things nakedly and as they really are, should do all that he requires of the cultivators of science and literature; for this extraordinary man was sometimes borne away by his vast and intuitive genius, and required of men not what they are able to do but what he could wish might be done. Yet it would be injustice to deny that a great part of the advances which the Europeans made in every species of knowledge in this century is ascribable to his counsels and admonitions; and especially that those who had treated of physical and philosophical subjects almost like blind men, by his assistance began gradually to open their eyes and to philosophise in a wiser manner. And through his influence it was, I apprehend, that while most people in the preceding age supposed all human knowledge was carried to its perfection by the study of the Greek and Latin classics, and by an acquaintance with the liberal and elegant arts, many gradually ceased to think so and saw that there were more wholesome aliments for the mind of a wise man.

26. That the mathematical, physical, and

superstition, that is religion; and sometimes he reads to the brethren select passages from Cicero and Seneca, in which there is something favourable to irreligion. They solemnly promise that they will obey his injunctions. Sometimes the whole company becomes so animated that they simultaneously raise their voices, and sing merrily some verses from the ancient Latin poets suited to their morals and principles. See Maizeaux, *Life of John Toland*, p. 77; *Bibliothèque Angloise*, tome viii. par. ii. p. 285. If the Pantheists are such as they are here represented, it is not for wise men to dispute with them, but for good magistrates to see to it that such impudent geniuses do not creep into society and seduce the minds of citizens from their duty.

[1] Spinoza employed this Meier as an interpreter to translate into Latin what he wrote in Dutch. Meier also attended his dying master and in vain attempted to heal his disease. And he moreover published the Posthumous Works of Spinoza with a Preface, in which he endeavours without success to demonstrate that Spinoza's doctrine contains nothing at variance with Christianity. He was also the author of the well-known book entitled *Philosophia Scripturæ Interpres*, Eleutheropoli, 1666, 4to, in which the dignity and authority of the sacred books are subjected entirely to the decisions of philosophy.

[2] Lucas was a physician at the Hague noted for his panaceas and for the obliquity of his morals. This flagitious man left a *Life of Spinoza* from which Du Fresnoy drew the additions that he made to the *Life of Spinoza* composed by Colerus. There is also in circulation and sold at a high price to those who can relish such writings, his Marrow of Spinoza's doctrine, *L'Esprit de Spinoza*. Compared with this, what Spinoza himself wrote will appear quite tolerable and religious, so greatly has the wretched writer overleaped the bounds of all modesty, discretion, and good sense.

[3] This man of a prolific but singular and unchastened genius, well known by his various works relating to the political history of France, by his Life or rather fable of Mohammed, by his misfortunes, and by other things, was so inconsistent with himself as to allow to both superstition and Atheism nearly an equal place in his ill-arranged mind. For while he believed that there was no God but nature or the universe, he still had no hesitation to record Mohammed as one whom God raised up to instruct mankind; and he believed that the future fortunes of individuals and of nations might be learned from the stars. This man, from his great solicitude for the public good, was much troubled that the excellent doctrines of Spinoza were misunderstood by almost everybody; and therefore he voluntarily assumed the task of expounding and stating them in a plain and lucid manner, suited to the comprehension of ordinary minds. His attempt succeeded; but it produced only this effect, that all now perceived more clearly than before that Bayle, and the others who regarded the opinions of Spinoza as irrational in themselves and subversive of all religion and virtue, did not mistake them. His work merited eternal oblivion. But Du Fresnoy brought it before the public; and that it might be bought and read with less suspicion he gave it the false title of a *Confutation of Spinoza's Doctrine*, and added some tracts really deserving that character, together with a Life of Spinoza. The whole title of this dangerous book is this: *Réfutation des Erreurs de Benêd. de Spinosa, par M. de Fénélon, Archevêque de Cambray, par le P. Lami, Bênédictin, et par M. le Comte de Boulainvilliers, avec la Vie de Spinosa, écrite par M. Jean Colerus, augmentée de beaucoup de particularitez tirées d'une Vie manuscrite de ce Philosophe, faite par un de ses Amis.* (This was Lucas of whom we spoke before.) A Bruxelles, ches François Foppens, 1731, 12mo. Thus the wolf was penned among the sheep. Boulainvilliers' exposition and defence of Spinoza's doctrine, which to deceive people is called a Refutation, constitutes the greatest part of the book; nor is it placed last, as in the titlepage, but occupies the foreground. The book also contains more than the title specifies. For the motley collection is closed by a work of Isaac Orobio, a Jewish philosopher and physician (who held not the lowest place among the friends and disciples of Spinoza), entitled *Certamen Philosophicum Propugnatæ Veritatis Divinæ ac Naturalis adversus Jo. Bredenburgii principia.* This work was printed at Amsterdam, 1703, 8vo.

[4] See his life prefixed to the late edition of his entire works, Lond. 1740, fol. and the extracts from it in the *Bibliothèque Britannique*, tome xv. par. i. p. 128, &c.; Mallet's *Vie de François Bacon*, Amsterd. 1742. 8vo, where, see especially his efforts to introduce a better mode of philosophising, p. 6, 12, 50, 102, &c.; add Voltaire's *Mêlange de Littérature et de Philosophie*, chap. xlv. p. 125, &c. [and especially Hallam's *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, vol. iii. sec. ii. *On the Philosophy of Lord Bacon*, p. 166, &c.—*R.*

astronomical sciences in particular were carried to so great perfection among most of the nations of Europe, that those who lived before this period were comparatively but children in these sciences, is most manifest. In Italy Galileo Galilei, supported by the grand dukes of Tuscany, led the way;[1] and there followed among the French René des Cartes, Peter Gassendi, and innumerable others; among the Danes Tycho Brahe; among the English, besides others of less fame, Robert Boyle and Isaac Newton; among the Germans John Kepler, John Hevelius, Godfr. Wm. Leibnitz; and among the Swiss the Bernoulli.[2] To these men of the first order so many others eagerly joined themselves that there was no nation of Europe, except those which had not yet become civilized, which could not boast itself of some excellent and renowned geometrician, natural philosopher, or astronomer. Their ardour was stimulated not only by the grand dukes of Tuscany, those hereditary patrons of all learning and especially of these branches, but also by the very powerful monarchs of France and Great Britain, Charles II. and Louis XIV. The former established in London, as the latter did in Paris, an academy or society of learned and inquisitive men, guarded against the contempt of the vulgar and the insidious influences of sloth by very ample honours and rewards; whose business it was to examine nature most critically, and to cultivate all those arts by which the human mind is rendered acute in discerning the truth, and in promoting the convenience and comfort of mankind.[3] This advance of learning has been exceedingly useful, not only to civil society but also to the Christian church. For by it the dominion of superstition, than which nothing can be more injurious to true religion or more dangerous to the safety of the state, has been greatly narrowed; the strongest bulwarks have been erected against fictitious prodigies, by which people were formerly greatly affrighted, and the boundless perfections of the Supreme Being, especially his wisdom and power, have been most solidly demonstrated from the character and structure both of the universe at large and of its individual parts.

27. Much darkness was removed from the minds of Christians by the knowledge of history and especially of early church history, which men of deep research in many places acquired and disseminated. For the origin and causes of a great number of opinions which antiquity and custom had rendered as it were sacred, being now historically exposed, numerous errors which before had occupied and enslaved men's minds of course lost their authority, light and peace arose upon many minds, and the lives of many were rendered more blameless and happy. This better knowledge of history likewise restored very many persons to a fair reputation whom the ignorance or the malice of former ages had branded with the name of heretics; and this served to protect many pious and good men from being misled by the malignant and the ill-informed. History also showed that various religious disputes, which formerly embroiled nations and involved them in bloodshed, rebellion, and crimes, arose from very trivial causes, from the ambiguity of terms, from ignorance, superstition, envy and emulation, or from the love of preeminence. It traced back many rites and ceremonies which were once regarded as of divine origin to polluted sources, to the customs of barbarous nations, to a disposition to practice imposition, to the irrational fancies of half-educated men, and to a foolish desire of imitating others. It taught that the rulers of the church by base arts had possessed themselves of no small share of the civil power; and by binding kings with religious terrors, had divested them of their wealth. It evinced that the ecclesiastical councils, whose decrees were once regarded as divine oracles, were often conventions of very ignorant men, nay sometimes of arrant knaves. Several other things of the like nature might be mentioned. How salutary all this must have been to the cause of Christianity, how much gentleness towards those of different sentiments, how much caution and prudence in deciding upon the opinions of others, how much relief to the innocent and the good against the ill-disposed grew out of it, and how many pernicious artifices, frauds, and errors it has banished from human society, we may learn from our own daily experience of our happy condition.

[1] See Heumann's *Acta Philosophorum*, written in German, part xiv. p. 261; part xv. p. 467; part xvii. p. 803.

[2] See most of these eminent men noticed in chapter viii. vol. iv. of Hallam, *ubi supra*.—*R.*

[3] A History of the Royal Society of London was published by Thomas Spratt, London, 1722, 4to. See *Bibliothèque Angloise*, tome xi. part i. p. 1, &c. [A much more interesting and ample history of this respectable society has lately been composed and published by Dr. Birch, its learned secretary.—*Mack.*] A History of the Parisian Academy of Sciences has been published by Fontenelle. A comparison between the two academies is made by Voltaire, *Mélange de Littérature et de Philosophie*, chap. xxvi. in *Œuvres*, tome iv. p. 317. [Of the origin of these two national societies, see also Hallam, *ubi supra*, vol. iv. p. 562, &c. A more recent account of the Royal Society and of its contributions to science, has been compiled by Dr. Thos. Thomson, professor of chemistry in the Univ. of Glasgow, entitled *History of the Royal Society from its Institution to the end of the Eighteenth Century*, Lond. 1812, 4to, and one more recent by C. R. Weld, Lond. 1848.—*R.*

28. Those Christians who gave attention to Hebrew and Greek literature and to the languages and antiquities of the eastern nations (and very many prosecuted these studies with great success), threw much light on numerous passages of the holy Scriptures which were before either dark and obscure, or misunderstood and erroneously adduced in support of opinions rashly taken up, nay made to teach error and false doctrine. And the consequence was, that the patrons of many vulgar errors and groundless opinions were deprived of the best part of their armour. Nor will the wise and the good maintain that there was no advantage to religion from the labours of those who either kept Latin eloquence from becoming extinct, or in imitation of the French laboured to polish and improve the vernacular languages of their respective nations. For it is of great importance to the welfare and progress of the Christian community, that it should not lack men who are able to write and to speak properly, fluently, and elegantly on all religious subjects, so that they may bring the ignorant and those opposed to religion to listen with pleasure to what they ought to learn, and readily to comprehend what they ought to know.

29. The moral doctrines inculcated by Christ and his apostles received a better form and more support against various abuses and perversions, after the law of nature or of right reason had been more critically investigated and better explained. The incomparable Hugo Grotius [or De Groot] stood forth a guide to others in this department, by his work *On the Rights of War and Peace* (*De Jure Belli et Pacis*); and the excellence and importance of the subject induced a number of the best geniuses to follow him with alacrity.[1] How much aid the labours of these men afforded to all those who afterwards treated of the life and duties of a Christian, will be manifest to any one who shall take the trouble to compare the treatises on this subject composed after their times, with those which were previously in estimation. It is certain that the boundaries of Christian and natural morality were more accurately determined; some Christian duties, the nature of which was not well understood by the ancients, were more clearly defined; the great superiority of the divine laws to the dictates of mere reason was more lucidly shown; those general principles and solid grounds, by which all the Christian's doubts and conflicts respecting right and wrong in action may be easily settled, were established; and finally, the folly of those who audaciously maintained that the precepts of Christianity were at variance with the dictates of sound reason, that they subverted nature, were calculated to undermine the prosperity of nations, rendered men effeminate, diverted them from the proper business of life, and the like, was vigorously chastised and refuted.

30. But it is proper to make some particular remarks on the state of philosophy among Christians. At the commencement of this century, nearly all the philosophers were distributed into two sects, namely, that of the Peripatetics and that of the Fire-Philosophers or the Chemists. And during many years, these two sects contended for pre-eminence with very great warmth, and in a great number of publications. The Peripatetics held nearly all the professorial chairs both in the universities and the inferior schools, and they were furious against all who thought Aristotle should either be corrected or abandoned; as if all such had been traitors to their country and public enemies of mankind. Most of this class however if we except the professors at Tubingen, Helmstadt, Altorf, and Leipsic, did not follow Aristotle himself, but rather his modern expositors. The Chemical or Fire-Philosophers roamed over nearly every country of Europe, assumed the obscure and deceptive title of Rosecrucian Brethren (Rosæcruciani Fratres),[2] which had some apparent respecta-

[1] See Glafey's *History of the Law of Nature*, written in German, and prefixed to a *Bibliotheca Juris Naturæ et Gentium*, Lips. 1739, 4to. [See a full account of this work and of the opinions of Grotius in Hallam's *Intro. to the Literature of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 384, &c.—*R.*

[2] It is abundantly attested that the title of Rosecrucians was given to the Chemists, who united the study of religion with the search after chemical secrets. The term itself is chemical, nor can its import be understood without a knowledge of the style used by the chemists. It is compounded, not as many think, of *rosa* and *crux* (a rose and the cross), but of *ros* (dew) and *crux*. Dew is the most powerful of all natural substances to dissolve gold. And a cross in the language of the fire-philosophers is the same as *Lux* (light); because the figure of a cross + exhibits all the three letters of the word *Lux* at one view. Moreover, this sect applied the term *Lux* to the seed or Menstruum of the Red Dragon, or to that crude and corporeal light which being properly concocted and digested produces gold. A Rosecrucian therefore is a philosopher who by means of dew seeks for light, that is, for the substance of the philosopher's stone. The other interpretations of this name are false and deceptive; and were invented and given out by the chemists themselves, who were exceedingly fond of concealment, for the sake of imposing on others who were hostile to their religious views. The true import of this title was perceived by the sagacity of Peter Gassendi, *Examen Philosophiæ Fluddanæ*, sec. xv. in his *Opp.* tom. iii. p. 261. But it was more lucidly explained by the celebrated French physician, Eusebius Renaudot, *Conférences Publiques*, tome iv. p. 87. Very much, though ill arranged, respecting these Rosecrucian brethren who made so much noise in this century, their society, institutes, and writings, may be found in Arnold's

bility, as it seemed to be derived from the arms of Luther, which were a cross upon a rose; and in numerous publications, some of them more and some of them less able and severe, they charged the Peripatetics with corrupting and perverting both reason and religion. The leaders of the band were Robert Fludd,[1] an Englishman of a singular genius, Jacob Boehme, a shoemaker of Gorlitz, and Michael Mayer.[2] These were afterwards succeeded by John Baptist Helmont and his son, Francis Mercurius,[3] Christian Knorr of Rosenroth,[4] Quirin Kuhlmann,[5] Henry Noll,[6] Julius Sperber,[7] and numerous others, but of unequal rank and fame. Harmony of opinion among this sort of people no one would expect. For as a great part of their system of doctrine depends on a kind of internal sense, on the imagination, and on the testimony of the eyes and the ears—than which nothing can be more fluctuating and fallacious—this sect of course had almost as many disagreeing teachers as it had writers of much note. There were however certain general principles in which they all agreed. They all held that the only way to arrive at true wisdom and a knowledge of the first principles of all things was by analyzing bodies by the agency of fire. They all imagined there was a sort of coincidence and agreement of religion with nature, and held that God operates by the same laws in the kingdom of grace as in the kingdom of nature; and hence they expressed their religious doctrines in chemical terms as being appropriate to their philosophy. They all held that there is a sort of divine energy or soul diffused through the frame of the universe, which some called Archæus, others the universal spirit, and others by various appellations. They all talked much and superstitiously about (what they called) the signatures of things, about the power and dominion of the stars over all corporeal beings and even over men, and about magic and demons of various kinds. And finally,

Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie, part ii. book xvii. chap. xviii. p. 1114, &c. [According to most of the writers on the subject, the name Rosecrucians was not assumed by all the Fire-Philosophers, nor was it first applied to men of that description; but it was the appropriate name of an imaginary association first announced about the year 1610, into which a multitude of Fire-Philosophers or alchymists eagerly sought admission. The earliest writing professedly from them was either published or republished at Frankfort A.D. 1615, in German, and afterwards in Danish, Dutch, and Latin; and bore the title of "*Fama Fraternitatis*, or Discovery of the Brotherhood of the praiseworthy Order of the Rosy-cross, together with the Confession of the same Fraternity, addressed to all the learned heads in Europe; also some answers by Mr. Haselmeyer and other learned persons to the *Fama*, together with a Discourse concerning a general Reformation of the whole World." The next year, 1616, David Mederus wrote "that the *Fama Fraternitatis* and the Confession had then been, for six years, printed and dispersed in five languages." In the *Fama*, p. 15, &c. the founder and head of the fraternity is said to have been one Christopher Rosen-Creutz, a German, born in the year 1388, who became a pilgrim, visited the holy sepulchre and Damascus, where he was instructed by the wise men, and afterwards learned magic and the Cabala at Fez and in Egypt; on his return to Germany he undertook to improve human knowledge, and received several into his fraternity in order to commence the business, and lived to the age of 100 years, a sage far in advance of the men of his age. This fraternity it was said continued down to the time of these publications. A vast excitement was produced by this publication in 1615. Some declared in favour of the fabled Rosecrucian society, as a body of orthodox and learned reformers of the world, and others charged them with errors and mischievous designs. But in the year 1619, Doctor Jo. Valentine Andreä, a famous Lutheran divine, published his *Tower of Babel, or Chaos of Opinions respecting the Fraternity of the Holy-Cross*; in which he represents the whole history as a farce, and gave intimations that he was himself concerned in getting it up. But many enthusiastic persons, especially among the Fire-Philosophers, continued to believe the fable, and professed to know many of the secrets of the society. Much continued to be written about them for a long time, and indeed the whole subject is involved in great obscurity. See Arnold, *ubi supra*, vol. ii. p. 244—258, ed. Schaffhausen, 1741; Henke's *Gesch. der christl. Kirche*, vol. iii. p. 509—511, and the authors there cited. For the origin and character of the Theosophists or Fire-Philosophers, see above on the preceding century, p. 641, &c.—*Mur.*

[1] For an account of this singular man, to whom our Boehme owed all his wisdom, see Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. i. p. 610, and *Historia et Antiq. Acad. Oxoniensis*, lib. ii. p. 390, &c. Concerning Helmont the father, see Witte, *Memoriæ Philosophorum*, and others. Respecting Helmont the son, see Feller, *Miscellanea Leibnitiana*, p. 226, and Leibnitz's *Epistles*, vol. iii. p. 353, 354. Concerning Boehme, see Arnold, and various others. Respecting the rest, various writers must be consulted. [See also page 808, below.—*R.*

[2] See Möller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 376, &c. [He was a learned physician and chemist, wrote much, and ranked high as a physician and a good man. He died at Magdeburg, A.D. 1622, aged 54.—*Mur.* [See some particulars of Fludd and Boehme, in Hallam's *Introd. to the Literature of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 153, 4, and in Tennemann's *Manual*, &c. p. 311, 12.—*R.*

[3] Concerning him, see Brucker's *Hist. Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. par. i. p. 709, &c.—*Schl.*

[4] As Brucker, who gives account of the preceding Fire-Philosophers, is in everybody's hands, while the history of Knorr of Rosenroth must be derived from the more rare *Nova Literaria* of Krause, Lips. 1718, p. 191, we shall here offer the reader a brief notice of him. Christian Knorr of Rosenroth was a Silesian nobleman, who together with no ordinary knowledge of medicine, philology, and theology, possessed a particular acquaintance with chemistry and the Kabbala, and was privy counsellor and chancellor to Christian Augustus, the palsgrave of Sulzbach. He was born in 1636, and died in 1689. His most important work was his *Kabbala Denudata*, in 2 vols. 4to, printed, vol. i. Sulzb. 1678, and vol. ii. Frankf.-on-Mayn, 1684. He also aided the publication of many Rabbinical works, and particularly of the book Sohar, at the Hebrew press in Sulzbach, 1684, fol.—*Schl.*

[5] See concerning him, Brucker, *ubi supra*, p. 706; Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhist.* part iii. chap. xix p. 197, &c.; and Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, article *Kuhlmann.*—*Schl.*

[6] He belonged to the gymnasium of Steinfurt in Westphalia, was afterwards professor of philosophy at Giessen, and at last preacher at Darmstadt. He applied himself also to chemistry and medicine, and was a follower of Paracelsus. He wrote, among other things, *Systema Hermeticæ Medicinæ*, and *Physica Hermetica*, in which there are very many paradoxical propositions.—*Schl.*

[7] This man also belonged to the Rosecrucians. He was a counsellor at Anhalt-Dessau, and composed many Theosophic tracts which were published at Amsterdam in 1660 and 1662, 8vo. He died A.D. 1616.—*Schl.*

they all expressed their very obscure and inexplicable ideas in unusual and most obscure phraseology.

31. This contest between the chemical and the Peripatetic philosophers was moderated, and a new method of philosophising was introduced by two great men of France, namely, Peter Gassendi, professor of mathematics at Paris and canon of the church at Digne, a man of erudition, well acquainted with the *belles lettres*, eloquent also and deeply versed in all branches of mathematics, astronomy, and other sciences; and René des Cartes, a French chevalier and soldier, a man of an acute and subtle genius, but much inferior to Gassendi in literary and scientific acquirements. Gassendi in the year 1624 forcibly and ingeniously attacked Aristotle and the Aristotelians, by publishing some Exercitations against Aristotle; but the work excited so much resentment and was procuring him so many enemies, that from his strong love of peace and tranquillity he desisted from continuing the publication. Hence only two books of the work which he projected against Aristotle were published; the other five (for he intended to embrace the whole subject in seven books) were suppressed in their birth.[1] He likewise in an appropriate work attacked Fludd, and through him the Rosecrucian Brethren,[2] which was not unacceptable to the Aristotelians. At length he pointed out to others, though cautiously and discreetly, and he himself entered upon that mode of philosophising, which ascends by slow and timid steps from what strikes the senses to what lies beyond their reach, and prosecutes the knowledge of truth by observation, attention, experiment, and reflection on the movements and the laws of nature; that is, from the contemplation of particular events and changes in nature, endeavours gradually to elicit some general ideas. In these inquiries he called in the aid especially of the mathematics, as being the most certain of all sciences; and neglected metaphysics, the precepts of which he regarded as so dubious that a man desirous to know truth can safely confide in but very few of them.[3]

32. Des Cartes philosophised in a very different manner. For he abandoned the mathematics, which he at first had made his chief dependence, and betook himself to general ideas or to metaphysics, in order to come at that truth which was the object of his pursuit. Calling in the aid therefore of a few very simple positions, which the very nature of man seems almost to dictate to him spontaneously, he first endeavoured to form in his own mind distinct ideas of souls, bodies, God, matter, the universe, space, and of the principal objects of which the universe is composed. Combining these ideas together and reducing them to a scientific form or system, he applied them to the correction, improvement, and solid establishment of the other parts of philosophy; always taking care that what followed or was brought out last should coincide with what went before and appear to rise spontaneously from it. Scarcely had he brought his reflections before the public, when a considerable number of discerning men in most countries of Europe, who had been long dissatisfied with the dust and darkness of the schools, approved and embraced his views, and wished to see Des Cartes recommended to the studious youth and the Peripatetics set aside. On the other hand, the whole tribe of Peripatetics, aided by the clergy who feared that religion was in danger from some secret plot, raised a prodigious dust to prevent the new philosophy from supplanting the old; and to carry on the war with better success, they bitterly taxed the author of it, not only with the grossest errors but also with downright Atheism. This will appear the less surprising, if we consider that the Aristotelians fought, not so much for their system of philosophy as for their personal interests, their honours and emoluments. The Theosophists, Rosecrucians, and Chemists seemed to enter into the contest with more calmness; and yet there was not one of them who did not regard the doctrines of the Peripatetics, vain and injurious to piety as they were, as far more tolerable than the Cartesian discoveries.[4]

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[1] See Bougerell, *Vie de Gassendi*, p. 17, 23.

[2] The title of his book was, *Examen Philosophiæ Fluddanæ, sive Exercitatio Epistolica, in qua Principia Philosophiæ Roberti Fludd retegantur, et ad recentes illius libros adversus Marinum Mersennum* (a friend of Gassendi) *scriptos Respondetur, cum aliquot Observationibus Cœlestibus*, Paris, 1630, 8vo.—*Schl.*

[3] Those who wish for farther information on this subject may consult his *Institutiones Philosophiæ*, a diffuse performance, which fills the two first volumes of his works [published by Sorbierre in 6 vols. fol. A.D. 1658]. Throughout these *Institutes* it seems to be his main object to show that the opinions of the philosophers, both ancient and modern, on most subjects, derived by them from the precepts of metaphysics, have little of certainty and solidity. [Further information respecting the philosophical views of Gassendi may be seen in Hallam, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, vol. iv. p. 194, &c.—*R.*

[4] Here should be read, besides the others who have written the history of Des Cartes and his philosophy, Baillet's *Life of Des Cartes*, in French, printed at Paris, 1691, 2 vols. 4to. Add the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. et Crit.* tome ii. p. 39. [The student should refer to Hallam, *ubi supra*, vol. iii. p. 229, &c. for an able summary of the philosophical views of Des Cartes. See also respecting his principles and his followers, and the works which treat of this system, Tennemann's *Manual*, &c. p. 314, &c.—*R.*

The result of this long contest finally was, that the wiser part of Europe would not indeed give themselves up entirely to the philosophy of Des Cartes alone, yet in conformity with his example, they resolved to philosophise more freely than before and to renounce their servitude to Aristotle.

33. The great men contemporary with Des Cartes very generally applauded his plan and purpose of philosophising without subjecting himself to a guide or master, of proceeding circumspectly and slowly from the first dictates of nature and reason to things more complex and difficult, and of admitting nothing till it was well examined and understood. Nor was there an individual who did not acknowledge that he was the author of many brilliant and very useful discoveries and demonstrations. But some of them looked upon his positions respecting the causes and principles of natural things as resting for the most part on mere conjectures; and considered the groundwork of his whole system, namely, his definitions or ideas of God, the first cause of matter and spirit, of the essential nature of things, of motion and its laws, and of other similar subjects, as either uncertain or leading to dangerous errors or contrary to experience. At the head of these was his countryman, Peter Gassendi, who had attempted to lower the credit of the Aristotelians and the Chemists before Des Cartes, and who was his equal in genius, much his superior in learning, and most expert in all the branches of mathematics. He endeavoured to overthrow those metaphysical principles which Des Cartes had made the foundation of his whole system; and in opposition to his natural philosophy, he set up another which was not unlike the old Epicurean, but far better, more perfect, and more solid, and founded not on mental conceptions, but on experience and the testimony of the senses.[1] The followers of this new and very sagacious teacher were not numerous, and were far outnumbered by the Cartesian host; yet it was a select band, and pre-eminent for attainments and ardour in mathematical and physical knowledge. Among his countrymen Gassendi had few admirers; but among their neighbours, the English, who at that time were much devoted to physical and mathematical studies, he had a larger number of adherents. Even those English philosophers and theologians who combated Hobbes (whose doctrines more resembled those of Gassendi than they did those of Des Cartes), and who, in order to confute Hobbes, revived the Platonic philosophy, such as William [Benjamin] Whichcot, Theophilus Gale, Ralph Cudworth, Henry Moore, and others, did not hesitate to associate Plato with Gassendi, and to put such a construction upon the latter as would make him appear the friend of the former.[2]

34. From this time Christendom was divided by two distinguished sects of philosophers, who, though they had little dispute about things of most practical utility in human life, were much at variance respecting the starting points in all philosophical reasoning, or the foundations of all human knowledge. The one may not improperly be called the metaphysical sect, and the other the mathematical; nor would the leaders in these schools probably reject these appellations. The former trod in the footsteps of Des Cartes, the latter preferred the method of Gassendi. That supposed truth was to be discovered by reasoning; this, rather by experiments and observation. That placed little dependence on the senses, and trusted more to reflection and ratiocination; this placed less dependence on reasoning, and relied more on the senses and the actual inspection of things. That deduced from a few metaphysical principles a long list of dogmas, by which it affirmed a way was opened for acquiring a certain and precise knowledge of the nature of God, of souls, of bodies, and of the entire universe; this did not indeed reject the principles of metaphysics, but it denied their sufficiency for constructing an entire system of philosophy, and contended that long experience, a careful inspection of things, and experiments often repeated, were the best helps to the attainment of solid and useful knowledge. That boldly soars aloft to examine the first cause and source of truth, and the natures and causes of all things, and returning with these discoveries, de-

[1] See in particular his *Disquisitio Metaphysica, seu Dubitationes et Instantiæ adversus Cartesii Metaphysicam et Responsa*, which was first published in 1641, and is inserted in the third volume of his works, p. 283, &c. A neat compendium of his whole system of philosophy was drawn up by Bernier, a celebrated French physician, *Abrégé de la Philosophie de Gassendi*, Lyons, 1684, 8 vols. 12mo. From this compendium, the views of this great man may be more easily learned than from his own writings, which are not unfrequently designedly ambiguous and equivocal, and likewise overloaded with various learning. The *Life of Gassendi* was not long since carefully written by Bougerell, one of the Fathers of the Oratory, Paris, 1737, 12mo, concerning which, see *Biblioth. Françoise*, tome xxvii. part ii. p. 353, &c.

[2] See the remarks we have made in the Preface to Cudworth's *Intellectual System*, § 2 a. and in many places of our Notes to that work (in the Latin translation, by Mosheim.—*Mur.* [The English reader will find all these notes translated into English in Harrison's edition of Mosheim's Cudworth; of which see note 1, p. 29, above.—*R.*

scends to explain by them the changes which take place in nature, the purposes and the attributes of God, the character and duties of men, and the constitution and fabric of the universe; this, more timid and modest, first inspects most attentively the objects which meet the eye and which lie as it were at our feet, and then ascends to inquiries into the nature and causes of things. That supposes very much to be perfectly well understood, and therefore is very ready to attempt reducing its knowledge into the form of a regular and complete system; this supposes innumerable things to elude our grasp, and instructs its followers to suspend all judgment on numerous points, until time and experience shall throw more light upon them; and lastly, it supposes that the business of making out complete systems, as they are called, either entirely exceeds human ability, or must be left to future generations who shall have learned far more from experience than we have. This disagreement respecting the first principles of all human knowledge has produced much dissension upon subjects of the greatest importance, such as the character of God, the nature of matter, the elements of bodies, the laws of motion, the mode of the divine government or providence, the constitution of the universe, the nature and mutual relation of souls and bodies; and the wise who reflect upon the subject of these disputes, and upon the habits and dispositions of human minds, are fearful that these controversies will be perpetual.[1] At the same time, good men would be less troubled about these contests if the parties would show more moderation, and would not each arraign the other as chargeable with a grievous offence against God, and as subverting the foundations of all religion.[2]

35. All those who either embraced the sentiments of Des Cartes or adopted his rules of philosophising endeavoured to elucidate, confirm, amend, and perfect the metaphysical method in philosophy. And these persons were very numerous in this century, especially in Holland and France. But as some of this class not obscurely undermined religion and the belief of a God, of whom Benedict de Spinoza was the ringleader, and as others of them abused the precepts of their master to pervert and overthrow certain doctrines of religion, as Balthazar Becker, hence in various places the whole school became extremely odious. There were none who pursued the metaphysical method more wisely and at the same time more acutely than Francis Nicholas Malebranche and Godfrey William Leibnitz; the former, a Frenchman and one of the Fathers of the Oratory, a man equally eloquent and acute; the latter, a German, to be ranked with the first genius of any age.[3] Neither of them indeed received all the dicta of Des Cartes, but they adopted his general method of philosophising, added many opinions of their own, improved many things, and confirmed others with more solid arguments. Malebranche yielded too much to his very fertile imagination; and therefore he often inclined towards those who are agreeably deceived by the visions of their own creation. Leibnitz depended entirely on his reason and judgment.

36. The mathematical philosophy already mentioned had a much smaller number of followers and friends, the causes of which

[1] Voltaire published a few years since, *La Métaphysique de Neuton, ou Parallèle des Sentimens de Neuton et de Leibnitz*, Amsterd. 1740, 8vo, which little book, though not so accurately written as it should be, nor a complete treatise on the subject, will yet be not a little serviceable to those who wish to know how much these philosophic schools disagree.

[2] It is well known that Des Cartes and his followers, the metaphysical philosophers, were formerly accused by vast numbers and they are still accused of subverting all religion and piety. In the list of *Atheists Unmasked*, by Harduin (*Œuvres Mêlées*, p. 200, &c.), Des Cartes, with his principal and most noble followers, Anthony le Grand and Silvanus Regis, hold a conspicuous place. Nor is the name of Malebranche, though many think nearer allied to the fanatics, excluded from this black catalogue. (See p. 43.) It is true that Harduin very often talks like one delirious; yet he does not here follow his own genius, but adopts the views of the Peripatetic and Mathematical sects, who more fiercely than others assailed the Cartesian philosophy. And even very recently Voltaire, though he is much more moderate, yet not obscurely assents to these accusations. (*Métaphysique de Neuton*, chap. i. p. 3, &c.) Nor were the Metaphysical philosophers more temperate towards their adversaries. Long since, Anthony Arnauld considered Gassendi in his dispute against Des Cartes as subverting the immortality of the soul. And Leibnitz added that the whole of natural religion was corrupted and shaken by him. See Maizeaux, *Recueil des Diverses Pieces sur la Philosophie*, tome ii. p. 166. Nor does Leibnitz hesitate to declare that Isaac Newton and his adherents rob God of his best attributes and perfections, and rip up the foundations of natural religion. And most of the writings of both parties even down to our times are full of such criminations.

[3] Concerning Malebranche, the author of the interesting work entitled, *Search after Truth* [*Recherche de la Vérité*, Paris, 1673, 3 vols. 12mo, also translated into English, in one vol. fol.—*Mar.*], and of other metaphysical works, see Fontenelle, *Eloges des Académiciens de l'Académie Royale des Sciences*, tome i. p. 317, &c. For what is reprehensible in his philosophy, see Harduin's *Atheists Unmasked*, in his *Œuvres Mêlées*, p. 43, &c. The life and doctrines of Leibnitz are described by the same Fontenelle, *ubi supra*, tome ii. p. 9. But his history and his philosophy are the most copiously described by Ludovici, in his *History of the Leibnitian Philosophy*, written in German, 2 vols. Lips. 1737, 8vo. The genius of this great man may be most satisfactorily learned by reading his Epistles, published by Kortholt, in 3 vols. 8vo, Leipsic, and afterwards by others. Nor is it necessary I should here draw his portrait. [Of these two eminent men see also Hallam, *ubi supra*.—*R.*

will readily occur to those disposed to inquire for them. But it found a new domicile in Great Britain, the philosophers of which perceiving in its infantile and immature features a resemblance of the great Francis Bacon, lord Verulam, took it into their arms, cherished it, and to our times have given it fame. The whole Royal Society of London, which is almost the public school of the nation, approved of it, and with no less expense than pains and patience improved and extended it. In particular, it is very much indebted for its progress to those immortal men, Isaac Barrow, John Wallis, John Locke, and Robert Boyle, who should have been named first, a very religious gentleman, much noted among other things for his very learned works. The theologians also of that country, a class of men whom philosophers are wont to charge with violently opposing their measures, deemed it not only sound and harmless, but most useful to awaken and cherish feelings of reverence for the Deity and to defend religion, and most consonant with the decisions of the Holy Scriptures and the primitive church. And hence all those who publicly assailed the enemies of God and religion in the Boyle Lectures, descended into the arena clad in its armour and wielding its weapons. But by the ingenuity and diligence of no one have its increase and progress been more aided than by those of Isaac Newton, a man of the highest excellence, and venerable even in the estimation of his opposers; for he spent the whole of his long life in digesting, correcting, amplifying, and demonstrating it, both by experiments and by computations; and with so much success, that from only silver it seemed to become gold in his hands.[1] The English say that the excellence and the superior value of this philosophy may be learned from this fact, that all those who have devoted themselves wholly to it have left behind them bright examples of sanctity and solid piety; while, on the other hand, many of the metaphysical philosophers have been entirely estranged from God and his worship, and were teachers and promoters of the greatest impiety.

37. But although these two illustrious schools had deprived the ancient ones of their pupils and their reputation, yet all the philosophers would not join themselves to the one or the other of them. For liberty of thinking for themselves being obtained, some men of superior genius and acumen, and some also whose imaginations were stronger than their judgments, ventured to point out new ways for discovering latent truths. But nearly all of them failed of obtaining many followers, so that it will be sufficient just to glance at the subject. There were some whose mediocrity of talents or whose native indolence deterred them from the difficult and laborious task of investigating truth by the efforts of their own minds; and who therefore attempt to collect and form into a kind of system the best and most satisfactory principles admitted by all the schools. These are commonly denominated Eclectics. And finally, from these very contests of the philosophers, some very acute men took occasion to despair of finding the truth, and again to open the long-closed school of the Sceptics. Among these, the more distinguished were Francis Sanches, a physician of Toulouse,[2] Francis de la Mothe le Vayer,[3] Peter Daniel Huet, bishop of Avranches,[4] and some others. It is usual and not without reason to place among this class Peter Bayle,[5] who acquired high reputation in the latter part of this century by various works rich in matter and elegant in style.

[1] This great man's *Elementa Philosophiæ Mathematicæ*, often printed, and his other writings, philosophical and mathematical and also theological, are of great notoriety. His life and merits are elegantly described by Fontenelle, *Elogés des Académiciens de l' Académie Royale de Sciences*, tome ii. p. 293-323. Add *Biblioth. Angloise*, tome xv. part ii. p. 545, and *Biblioth. Raisonnée*, tome vi. part ii. p. 478.

[2] There is a celebrated work of his entitled, *De eo, quod nihil scitur*; which, with his other tracts and his Life, was published at Toulouse, 1636, 4to. See Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, tome iii. p. 2530, and Peter de Villemandy's *Skepticismus Debellatus*, cap. iv. p. 32.

[3] See Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, tome iv. art. *Vayer*, p 2780, &c.

[4] His book on the Weakness of Human Reason was published after his death, both in French, Amsterd. 1723, 8vo, and recently in Latin. But it appears that long before this book was either published or written, Huet had recommended the mode of philosophising adopted by the sceptics, and thought this alone best suited to establish the Christian religion. See his *Commentarius de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus*, lib. iv. p. 230, and his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, preface, sec. iv. p. 9, where he approves of the measures of those who first enervate all philosophy and expel it from the mind by sceptical arguments, before they prove to the doubting the truth of Christianity. We are aware that the Jesuits, to whom Huet was much inclined, formerly adopted with success and do still adopt this very hazardous artifice, in order to draw over Protestants to the Romish community.

[5] Who at this day can be unacquainted with Bayle? His Life, copiously written in two volumes 8vo, by Des Maizeaux, was published at the Hague in 1732 [and is prefixed to the fifth edition of his *Dictionnaire Hist. et Critique*, Basil, 1738, 4 tomes, fol.] His scepticism was most clearly shown and confuted with great dexterity by De Crousaz, in a very copious French work (*Examen du Pyrrhonisme*], a neat abridgment of which was made by Sam. Formey [*Le Triomphe de l'Evidence*], and translated from French into German, by Haller, Gotting. 1750, 8vo. [See also Bayle's own answer to this and other charges brought against him, subjoined to the fifth edition of his *Dictionnaire*, tome iv. p. 616, &c.—*Mur.*

SECTION II.

THE PARTICULAR HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

PART I.

THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF THE ROMISH OR LATIN CHURCH.

1. AT the commencement of this century, the Romish church was governed by Clement VIII. [A.D. 1592–1605] whose former name was Aldobrandini, and who reigned in the close of the preceding century. That he possessed genius and cunning, and was very zealous for suppressing Protestantism and extending the Romish church, all admit; but whether he had all the prudence necessary for a sovereign pontiff, many have questioned. He was succeeded [during 27 days] in the year 1605 by Leo XI. of the family of Medici, who died at an advanced age in the very year of his elevation and left the Romish chair to Paul V. of the family of Borghese [1605–1621], who was a man of violent passions and frequently a most insolent asserter of his prerogatives, as appears, among other things, from his rash and unsuccessful conflict with the Venetians. In Gregory XV. [1621–1623] of the family of Ludovici, who was elected in 1621, there was more moderation than in Paul V. but no more gentleness towards those who forsook the Romish church. This however is the common and almost necessary fault of all the Roman pontiffs, who without it could scarcely fulfil the high duties of their office. Urban VIII. of the family of Barberini [1623–1644], whom the favour of the cardinals placed in the Romish chair in 1623, showed himself very favourable and liberal to learned and literary men, being himself well versed in literature and an excellent writer both in prose and verse;[1] but towards the Protestants he was extremely cruel and harsh. Yet Urban will appear kind and good, if compared with Innocent X. [1644–1655] of the family of Pamphili, who succeeded him in 1644. For he was ignorant of all those things of which ignorance is least excusable in heads of the church, and surrendered up himself and all public affairs civil and sacred to the control of Olympia his kinswoman, a most vicious creature, avaricious and insolent.[2] His very zealous efforts to prevent the peace of Westphalia, I do not think we should reckon among his peculiar crimes, because, if I am not greatly mistaken, the best of pontiffs would have done the same. His successor in 1655, Alexander VII. previously Fabius Chigi [A.D. 1655–1667], is deserving of a little more commendation. Yet he was not lacking in any of those stains which the pontiffs cannot wash off and yet preserve their rank and authority; and discerning and distinguished men even in the Romish church have described him as possessing slender talents, inadequate to the manage-

[1] See Leo Allatius, *Apes Urbanæ*, which little book was republished by Fabricius at Hamburg. It is a full catalogue of the learned and excellent men who adorned Rome in the pontificate of Urban VIII. and who experienced the liberality of that pontiff. The neat and elegant Latin poems of this pontiff have been often printed. [These poems were written while he was a cardinal. Under him nepotism greatly prevailed, and the political transactions of his court are ascribable more to his nephews and family than to him. He procured a very distinguished edition of the Romish Breviary, suppressed the order of female Jesuits, conferred the title of Eminence on the cardinals and on all cardinal-legates, on the three clerical German electors, and on the grand master of the order of Malta.— *Schl.*

[2] *Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz*, tome iii. p. 102, &c. newest edition. Add tome iv. p. 12. Respecting his contests with the French, see Bougeant's *Histoire de la Paix de Westphalie*, tome iv. p. 56, &c. [Respecting Olympia, see *La Vie d'Olympe Maldachini Princesse Pamfili, trad. de l'Italien de l'Abbé Gualdi, avec des notes par M. I.* Geneva (or rather Paris), 1770, 12mo. The original was published in 1666, 12mo. Innocent before his election had lived in free intercourse with Olympia, which was continued after his elevation, and was carried to such lengths that the Donna, under the reign of her dear brother-in-law, possessed all power, sold all offices and prebends, gathered money in a thousand ways, opened the despatches of the envoys, and guided and controlled all state affairs. She suppressed nearly 2,000 minor cloisters, and thereby obtained vast sums; and other cloisters threatened with the same fate had to purchase their freedom. She was for some time excluded from the palace and removed from the court by cardinal Pancirolla and his creature, the pretended cardinal Pamphili, whose proper name was Astalli and who had no connexion with the pope. But she soon after returned to her old place and was the absolute mistress of the Vatican, where she at last took up her residence; indeed the unfriendly chroniclers say that one of her earrings was found in the pope's bed. And such was the pontiff who persuaded Ferdinand III. to hold the sword always drawn over the Protestants, who condemned Jansenius, and who entered his dissent against the peace of Westphalia.— *Schl.*

ment of great affairs, an insidious disposition, and the basest instability.[1] The two Clements IX. and X. who were elected, the one in 1668 and the other in 1669 [1670–1676], performed little worth recording for posterity. The former was of the family of Rospigliosi, and the latter of that of Altieri.[2] Innocent XI. previously Benedict Odescalchi, who ascended the papal throne in 1677 [1676–1689], acquired a high and permanent reputation by the strictness of his morals, his uniform consistency, his abhorrence of gross superstition, his zeal to purge religion of fables and reform the clergy, and by other virtues. But his example most clearly shows that much may be attempted and but little accomplished by pontiffs, although they possess perfectly sound views and upright intentions; and that the wisest regulations cannot long resist the machinations of such a multitude of persons, fostered and raised to power and influence by licentiousness of morals, pious frauds, fables, errors, and worthless institutions.[3] At least, nearly all the praiseworthy regulations and enactments of Innocent fell to the ground and were overthrown by the indolence and the yielding temper of Alexander VIII. of the Ottoboni family, who was created pope in the year 1689 [A.D. 1689–1691].[4] Innocent XII. of the family of Pigniatelli, a good man and possessed of fine talents, who succeeded Alexander in the year 1691 [A.D. 1691–1700], wished to restore the regulations of Innocent XI. to their authority, and he did partially restore them. But he too had to learn that the wisest and most vigorous pontiffs are inadequate to cure the maladies of the court and church of Rome; nor did posterity long enjoy the benefits he had provided for them.[5] At the very end of the century, 1699 [A.D. 1700–1721], Clement XI. of the family of Albani was placed at the head of the Romish church. He was clearly the most learned of the cardinals, and not inferior to any of the preceding pontiffs in wisdom, mildness, and the desire to reign well. Yet he was so far from strenuously opposing the inveterate maladies and the unseemly regulations of the Romish church, that indiscreetly and as he supposed for the glory and security of the church, *i.e.* of the head of it, he rather admitted many things which conduce to its dishonour, and which show that even the better sort of pontiffs, through their zeal to preserve or to augment their dignity and honour, may easily fall into the greatest errors and faults.[6]

[1] See the *Mémoires du Card. de Retz*, tome iv. p. 16, &c. p. 77, who very sagaciously decides many points respecting him; also *Mémoires de M. Joly*, tome ii. p. 186, 210, 237, who speaks equally ill of Alexander; and the celebrated Arckenholz, *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, tome ii. p. 125, &c. [The craft and dissimulation attributed to this pontiff really constituted an essential part of his character; but it is not strictly true that he was a man of a mean genius, or unequal to great and difficult undertakings. He was a man of learning, and discovered very eminent abilities at the treaty of Munster, where he was sent in the character of nuncio. Some writers relate that while he was in Germany he had formed the design of abjuring popery and embracing the Protestant religion, but was deterred from the execution of his purpose by the example of his cousin count Pompey, who was poisoned at Lyons on his way to Germany after he had abjured the Romish faith. These writers add that Chigi was confirmed in his religion by his elevation to the cardinalship. See Bayle, *Nouvelles de la Répub. des Lettres*, Octob. 1688.—*Mucl.*

[2] *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, tome ii. p. 126, 131. [Clement IX. was a ruler fond of peace and splendour, a foe to nepotism, and a beneficent friend to his subjects. Clement X. was no less fond of peace than his predecessor, but he introduced a peculiar kind of nepotism by adopting as his son the cardinal Paolucci. Yet his six years' reign exhibited nothing remarkable.—*Schl.*

[3] See the *Journal Universel*, tome i. p. 441, &c. tome vi. p. 306. The present pontiff, Benedict XIV. attempted in the year 1743 to enrol Innocent XI. among the saints. But Louis XV. king of France, influenced it is said by the Jesuits, resisted the measure because Louis XIV. had had much controversy with this pontiff, as we shall state hereafter. [It is a remarkable circumstance in his life, that in the Thirty Years' War he served in Germany as a soldier; and there is still shown at Wolfenbuttle the house in which as an officer he is said to have resided. This circumstance indeed the count Turrezonico has called in question, in his work *De Suppositiis Stipendiis Militaribus Bened. Odeschalchi*, Como, 1742, fol. But Heumann has placed the fact beyond all doubt in the *Hannöverisch. nützlichen Sammlungen*, 1755, p. 1185; and in the *Beyträge von alten u. neuen theologischen Sachen*, 1755, p. 882. He however afterwards assumed the sacred office; and even on the papal throne exhibited the virtues of a military commander, courage, strictness, and inflexibility of purpose. He sought to diminish the voluptuousness and splendid extravagance of his court, to correct all abuses among the clergy, and to extirpate nepotism. But he often went too far, and his reforming zeal frequently extended to things indifferent. For instance, he wished to prohibit the clergy from taking snuff, and the ladies from learning music and the like. And in this way he would have hindered the good effects of his zeal for reformation if he had met with no obstructions to be overcome. To canonization and to the reading of the bull *In Cœna Domini* he was no friend. He actually canonized no one; and on Maunday Thursdays, on which this bull was to be read, he always gave out that he was sick. His Life was written by Philip Bonamici, the papal secretary of the Latin Briefs, with design probably to favour his canonization, in which business he was the Postulator; and it was entitled *Commentar. de Vita et Rebus Gestis Venerab. Servi Dei Innocentii XI. Pont. Max.* Rome, 1776, 8vo.—*Schl.*

[4] Alexander VIII. restored nepotism, condemned the Jesuitical error of philosophical sin, and benefited the Vatican library by purchasing the library of queen Christina.—*Schl.*

[5] Cardinal Henry Noris says much respecting Innocent XII. his election, character, and morals, in his Epistles, published in his *Opera*, tom. v. p. 362, 365, 370, 373, 380. [His hostility to nepotism, and his inflexibility, his strictness, and his frugality, were as great as those of Innocent XI. His strictness he manifested in particular by forbidding the clergy to wear wigs, and by requiring the monks to live according to their rules. He was so little disposed to burn heretics that the Inquisition began to doubt his orthodoxy; and when he wished to protect Molinos, they by commissioners put this question to him, "What did Aloysius Pigniatelli believe?"—*Schl.*

[6] There were published the last year [A.D. 1752], in French, two biographies of Clement XI. the one composed by the celebrated Lafitau, bishop of Sisteron in

2. The great pains taken by the Romish church to extend their power among the barbarous nations which were ignorant of Christianity have been already noticed. We have therefore now only to describe their care and efforts to recover their lost possessions, or to bring the Protestants under subjection. And for this their efforts were astonishingly great and various. In the struggle they resorted to the powers of genius, to arms and violence, to promises, to flatteries, to disputations, and to wiles and fallacies, but for the most part with little success. In the first place, in order to demonstrate the justice of that war which they had long been preparing to carry on by means of the house of Austria against the followers of the purer faith, they in part suffered and in part caused the peace settled with the Protestants by Charles V. to be assailed by Casper Scioppius, a perfidious but learned man, by the Jesuits, Adam Tanner, Anthony Possevin, Balthazar Hager, Thomas Hoderick, and Lawrence Forer, the jurists of Dillingen and others. For they wished to have it believed that this treaty of peace was unjust, that it had no legitimate force, and that it was violated and rendered null by the Protestants themselves, because they had either corrupted or forsaken the Augsburg Confession.[1] This malicious charge was repelled privately by many Lutheran divines, and publicly in 1628 and 1631, by order of John George, elector of Saxony, in two volumes accurately drawn up by Matthias Hoe, which were called the *Lutherans' Defence of the Apple of their Eye* (*Defensio Pupillæ Lutheranæ*), to indicate the importance of the subject. The assailants however did not retreat, but continued to dress up their bad cause in numerous books written for the most part in an uncouth and sarcastic style. And on the other hand, many of the Lutherans exposed their sophisms and invectives.

3. The religious war which the pontiffs had for a long time been projecting to be carried on by the Austrians and Spaniards commenced near the beginning of the century in the Austrian territories, where those citizens who had renounced the Romish religion were oppressed in numberless ways with impunity by their adversaries, and were divested of all their rights.[2] Most of them had neither resolution nor ability to defend their cause, though guaranteed by the most solemn treaties and laws. The Bohemians alone, when they perceived it to be the fixed purpose of the adherents of the pope, by gradual encroachments to deprive them of all liberty of worshipping God according to the dictates of their consciences, though purchased with immense expense of blood by their fathers and but recently confirmed to them by royal charter, resolved to resist the enemies of their souls with force and arms. Therefore having entered into a league, they ventured courageously to avenge the wrongs done to them and to their religion. And that they sometimes went farther than either discretion or the precepts of that religion which they defended would justify, no one will deny. This boldness terrified their adversaries, but it did not entirely dismay them. The Bohemians therefore in order to pluck up the very roots of the evil, when the emperor Matthias died in 1619, thought it their duty to elect for their sovereign one who was not a Roman Catholic. This they supposed they had a right to do by the ancient privileges of the nation, which had been accustomed to elect their sovereigns by a free suffrage, and not to receive them by any natural or hereditary right. The consequence was that Frederick V. the electoral prince Palatine, who professed the Reformed religion, was chosen and solemnly crowned this very year at Prague.[3]

4. But this step, from which the Bohemians anticipated security to their cause, brought ruin upon their new king and upon themselves various calamities, including that which they most dreaded, the loss of a religion purged of Romish corruptions. Frederick, being vanquished by the imperial forces at Prague in the year 1620, lost not

France, *Vie de Clement XI.* Padua, 1752, 2 tomes, 8vo; the other composed by Reboulet, chancellor of Avignon, *Histoire de Clement XI.* Avignon, 1752, 2 tomes. 4to. Both (but especially the latter) are written with elegance; both contain many historical errors which French historians are commonly not duly careful to avoid; both are not so much histories as panegyrics, yet are such that discerning readers can easily discover that though very discreet, Clement from a desire to confirm and exalt the pontifical majesty did many things very imprudently, and by his own fault brought much vexation on himself. [On the characters and policy of these pontiffs, see especially Ranke's *Popes of Rome*, vols. ii. and iii. Mrs. Austin's translation.—*R.*

[1] Respecting these writings see, besides others, Salig's *Historie der Augsb. Confession*, vol. i. book iv. chap. iii. p. 458, &c. [See also Schlegel's notes to this paragraph —*Mur.*

[2] What occurred in Austria itself is laboriously narrated by Raupach, in his *Austria Evangelica*, written in German. The sufferings of the friends of a purer faith in Styria, Moravia, and Carinthia, and the arts by which they were utterly suppressed, the same diligent and pious writer intended to have described from published and unpublished documents, but death prevented him. [Something on the subject, as far down as the year 1564, to which date Raupach had arrived when death overtook him, Winkler has left us in his *Anecdota Histor. Eccles.* par. viii. p. 233, &c.—*Schl.*

[3] Here, in addition to the writers of the ecclesiastical history of this century, Carolus, and Jäger, see Struve's *Syntagma Histor. German.* p. 1487, 1510, 1523, 1538, &c. and the authors he cites. Add the accurate Le Vassor's *Histoire de Louis XIII.* tome iii. page 223, &c.

only the kingdom he had occupied, but also his hereditary dominions; and now an exile, he had to give up his very flourishing territories, together with his treasures, to be depopulated and plundered by the Bavarians. Many of the Bohemians were punished with imprisonment, exile, confiscation of their property, and death; and the whole nation from that time onward was compelled to follow the religion of the conqueror, and to obey the decrees of the Roman pontiff. The Austrians would have obtained a much less easy victory, or would have at least been obliged to give better terms to the Bohemians, if they had not been aided and assisted by John George I. the elector of Saxony, who was influenced both by his hatred of the Reformed religion and by other motives of a political nature.[1] This overthrow of the prince Palatine was the commencement of the Thirty Years' War which was so disastrous to Germany. For some of the German princes, entering into a league with the king of Denmark, took up arms against the emperor in support of the prince Palatine, who, they maintained, was unjustly deprived of his hereditary dominions. For they contended that this prince, by invading Bohemia, had not injured the German emperor but only the house of Austria; and that the emperor had no right to avenge the wrongs of that house by inflicting the penalties decreed against princes who should rebel against the Roman empire. But this war was not attended with success.[2]

5. The papists therefore, being elated with the success of the emperor, were confident that the period most earnestly longed for had now arrived, when they could either destroy the whole mass of heretics or bring them again under subjection to the church. The emperor giving way too much to this impression, fearlessly carried his arms through a great part of Germany; and he not only suffered his generals to harass with impunity those princes and states which manifested less docility than was agreeable to the Romish court, but also showed by no doubtful indications that the destruction of all Germanic liberty, civil and religious, was determined upon. And the fidelity of the elector of Saxony to the emperor, which he had abundantly evinced by his conduct towards the elector Palatine, and the disunion among the princes of Germany, encouraged the belief that the apparent obstructions to the accomplishment of this great object might be overcome with but moderate efforts. Hence in the year 1629, the emperor Ferdinand II. to give some colour of justice to this religious war, issued that terrible decree called from its object the Restitution Edict, by which the Protestants were commanded to deliver up and restore to the Romish church all ecclesiastical property which had fallen into their hands since the religious peace established in the preceding century.[3] The Jesuits especially are said to have procured from the emperor this decree; and it is indeed ascertained that this sect had purposed to claim a great part of the property demanded as due to them in reward of their great services to the cause of religion; and hence arose a violent contest between them and the ancient possessors of that pro-

[1] Here may be consulted the *Commentarii de Bello Bohemico Germanico ab anno Chr.* 1617, ad ann. 1630, 4to; Le Vassor's *Histoire de Louis XIII.* tome iii. p. 441, &c. Compare also on many points in these affairs Scultetus' *Narratio Apologetica de curriculo Vitæ suæ*, p. 86, &c. It is a matter of notoriety that the Roman Catholics, and particularly the Jesuit Martin Becan, induced Matthias Hoe, who was an Austrian by birth and chaplain to the elector of Saxony, to make it appear to his master that the cause of the Palatinate, as being that of the Reformed religion, was both unrighteous and injurious to the Lutheran religion, and to persuade him to espouse the cause of Austria. See the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A.D. 1747, p. 858. [This Scultetus was the known court preacher to the unfortunate king of Bohemia; and he is said to have contributed much to his resolving to accept the Bohemian crown. Yet this last fact Scultetus denied, though he admitted that he subsequently commended the king for having taken that resolution, and that in one of his sermons he exhorted him to manly courage. Matthias Hoe of Hoenegg, of noble Austrian birth, burned with the most terrible religious hatred against the Reformed, and actually abhorred them more than he did the Catholics. To be convinced of this we need only to read his *Manifest Proofs that the Calvinists harmonize with the Arians and the Turks*, or his *Thoughts respecting the Heilbron League of the Protestant States with Sweden*; which last piece is in the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, vol. xxxiv. p. 570—581. These traits in his character were known, and perhaps also the susceptibility of his heart in respect to gold. And hence the Jesuitical emissaries, and particularly Becan, were able (by their unassuming and flattering letters, in which they represented the misfortune it would be to have the Bohemians fall under the dominion of a Reformed prince) to give such a direction to his mind that he exerted himself against the Reformed, and hindered his master from entering into a league with them. His master was attached to the Evangelical Lutheran faith, was very conscientious, and believed simply whatever his confessor said, by whom (as it is expressed in the above-cited *Thoughts*, &c.) he inquired of the Lord. The Austrian gold at the same time may also have had considerable influence on the court preacher's eloquence. At least it is openly stated that the court preacher afterwards received 10,000 dollars from the imperial court, to divest the elector of those scruples of conscience which might cause him [to oppose] the peace of Prague so injurious to the common cause. See Puffendorf, *Rerum Suecicar.* lib. vii. p. 193.—*Schl.*

[2] The principal historians of this war are Khevenhüller, *Annales Ferdinandi*; Von Chemnitz, *Swedish War*; Puffendorf, *De Rebus Suecicis*; and the *Histories of the Thirty Years' War*, by Bougeant, Krause, Schiller, &c. See Henke's *Kirchengesch.* vol. iii. p. 321, note. —*Mur.* [On all these transactions see especially Ranke's *Popes of Rome*, volume ii. full of original and authentic information not elsewhere accessible.—*R.*

[3] This subject will be found illustrated by the authors mentioned in Struve's *Syntagma Histor. German.* p. 1553, &c. and by the others mentioned above. [See note 1, p. 596, above.—*Mur.*

perty.[1] The soldiers forthwith gave weight and authority to the imperial mandate wherever they had power; for whatever the Romish priests and monks claimed as theirs—and they set up false claims to many things which by no right belonged to them—the soldiers without any previous investigation wrested at once from the possessors, often with intolerable ferocity; nor did they hesitate to treat innocent persons with various and most exquisite cruelty.

6. Unhappy Germany amid these commotions was in trepidation, nor did she see among her sons any one sufficiently powerful to resist the enemy now rushing upon her on every side; for the councils of her princes were exceedingly distracted, partly by religious considerations, partly by eagerness for personal aggrandizement, and partly by fear. But very opportunely Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, the great hero of his age, whom even envy could celebrate after his death, came forward and opposed himself to the Austrian forces. At the instigation especially of the French, who were jealous of the growing power of Austria, he landed in Germany in 1629 with a few forces, and his victories in a short time destroyed in a great measure the very confident expectations of soon triumphing over our religion, entertained by the emperor and the pope. But their extinguished hopes seemed to revive again in 1632, when this great assertor of Germanic liberty fell victorious in the battle of Lützen.[2] Time however in some measure repaired this immense loss; and the war was protracted to the great misfortune of Germany, amid various vicissitudes, through many years, until the exhausted resources of the parties in it and the policy of Christina, the daughter of Gustavus and queen of Sweden, who desired a peace, put an end to these evils and sufferings.

7. After a violent conflict of thirty years, the celebrated peace called the Peace of Westphalia, because it was concluded at Munster and Osnaburg, cities of Westphalia, in the year 1648, gave repose to exhausted Europe. It did not indeed procure for the Protestants all the advantages and privileges which they wished for, because the emperor would not be induced by any consideration to reinstate perfectly the Bohemians and the Austrians in their former privileges, nor restore the Upper Palatinate to its former sovereign, not to mention other difficulties of less moment which it was necessary to leave untouched; yet the peace procured much greater advantages to the adversaries of the Romish see than its patrons could well brook, and it established firmly the great interests of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. In the first place, the peace of Augsburg which the Lutherans obtained of Charles V. in the preceding century, was placed beyond the reach of all machinations and stratagems; and moreover the edict which required them to restore the ecclesiastical property of which they had obtained possession since that peace was annulled; and it was determined that each party should for ever possess all that was in its hands at the commencement of the year 1624. The advantages acquired by each of the Protestant princes (and to many of them they were not inconsiderable) it would detain us too long to enumerate.[3] The Roman pontiff in the mean time clamoured loudly, and left no means untried to interrupt the pacification; but neither the emperor nor any one who favoured his cause was daring enough to venture again upon that perfidious sea, on which they had with difficulty escaped shipwreck. The compact was therefore signed without delay, and all the stipulations made in Westphalia were ratified and executed at Nuremberg in the year 1650.[4]

8. After this period, the Roman pontiffs and their confederates did not venture to attack the professors of the Reformed religion by public war; for they found no opportunity to attempt so perilous a measure with any good prospects. But wherever it could be done without fear of the consequences, they exerted themselves to the utmost to abridge the Protestants very much of their rights, advantages, and privileges, though confirmed by oaths and the

[1] See Salig's *Historie der Augsb. Confession*, vol. i. book iv. chap. iii. sec. xxv. p. 810, &c.

[2] *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, tome i. p. 7—20, where much is said of Gustavus, his achievements, and his death. The author of this book also illustrates, in various respects, the history of the peace.

[3] Whoever wishes for circumstantial information on this whole subject will find abundant satisfaction in the *Acta Pacis Westphalicæ et Executionis ejus Norimbergensis*, an immortal work of immense labour, compiled by Von Meyern. As a shorter history, instead of all others may be consulted the work of Adam Adami, bishop of Hierapolis, entitled *Relatio Historica de Pacificatione Osnabrugo-Monasteriensi*, which the illustrious author republished, improved, and rendered more accurate than before, Leips. 1737, 4to. Very elegant also, and composed for the most part from the documents of the French envoys, is the very eloquent Jesuit Bougeant's *Histoire de la Paix de Westphalie*, Paris, 1746, 6 volumes, 8vo. Nor is this Jesuit's history only neat and beautiful; it is likewise in general true and impartial.

[4] Innocent X. assailed this peace in a warm epistle or bull, A.D. 1651. On this epistle there is extant a long and learned commentary of Hornbeck, entitled *Examen Bullæ Papalis, qua P. Innocentius X. abrogare nititur Pacem Germaniæ*, Utrecht, 1652, 4to. Perhaps the pontiff's epistle would have found the emperor and his associates ready to listen to it, if it had been backed by gold to give it weight.

most sacred enactments. In Hungary for instance the Protestant citizens, both Lutheran and Reformed, were tormented with innumerable vexations for ten years together, from 1671 to 1681.[1] Of the lesser evils which they suffered, both before and after this storm, from men of various classes but especially from the Jesuits, there was neither measure nor end. In Poland, all who dissented from the Roman pontiff experienced nearly throughout the century, to their very great sorrow and distress, that no compact limiting the power of the [Papal] church was accounted sacred and inviolable at Rome. For they were deprived of their schools and of very many of their churches, dispossessed of their property by various artifices, and often visited though innocent with the severest punishments.[2] The posterity of the Waldenses living enclosed in the valleys of Piedmont were sometimes exposed to the most exquisite sufferings on account of their perseverance in maintaining the religion of their fathers, and especially in the years 1632, 1655, and 1685, when the Savoyards cruelly attacked that unhappy people with fire and sword.[3] The infractions of the treaty of Westphalia and of the Germanic liberties secured by that treaty, arising from this preposterous zeal for the welfare and extension of the Romish church, were so many and so great in many parts of Germany as to supply matter enough for large volumes.[4] And so long as it shall remain the established belief at Rome, that God has given to the Romish church and to its head dominion over the whole Christian world, it can never be expected that those can live in security and safety who renounce subjection to it. For they will always be looked upon as rebellious citizens, whom their legitimate sovereign has a right to punish according to his pleasure.

9. The faithful servants of the Roman pontiff at length succeeded in this century in completely purging both Spain and France of the last remains of heresy. In Spain, the descendants of the Moors or Saracens, who once held the sovereignty over a considerable part of that country, had long lived intermingled with the other citizens and were considerably numerous. They were indeed Christians at least in profession and outward behaviour, and industrious, useful to the country, and injurious to no one; but they were not a little suspected of a secret inclination towards Mohammedanism, the religion of their fathers. The clergy therefore did not cease to importune the king till he had delivered the country from this pest, and expelled from his territories the whole multitude of Saracens, whose numbers were immense. By this measure the Spanish commonwealth indeed suffered a great loss, the sad effects of which are felt to the present time; but the church, which is far more important and excellent than the civil state, deemed herself so much the more benefited by it.[5] The Reformed in France, commonly called Huguenots, having been long borne down by various oppressions and well nigh destroyed, sometimes by crafty and concealed plots and at other times by open and violent attacks, were at last most cruelly compelled either secretly to flee their country or to embrace, most reluctantly and against their consciences, the Romish religion. This long persecution, than which a greater or more cruel has not occurred in modern times, will more suitably be explained in the history of the Reformed church.

10. All the efforts, devices, and plans which the boldest and most versatile geniuses could originate, were employed to bring Great Britain and Ireland again under the Romish yoke. But all these attempts

[1] See the *Historia Diplomatica de Statu Religionis Evangelicæ in Hungaria*, p. 69, &c.; Debrezenus, *Historia Ecclesiæ Reformatæ in Hungaria*, lib. ii. p. 447, &c.; Schelhorn, in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. viii. p. 16—90. [After some previous events which occurred in the year 1670, a conspiracy of some Hungarian nobles against the emperor in 1671 gave the Catholics a favourable opportunity to gratify their thirst for persecution. The noblemen were put to death as we learn from civil history; but at the same time, for three successive years nearly all the evangelical churches were taken from them by force, and the Lutheran and Reformed ministers and schoolmasters, as participators in the conspiracy and insurrection, were summoned a part of them to Tirnau and others to Presburg. When they appeared, a paper was presented to them to sign, which was very injurious to their ecclesiastical rights. And as they refused to sign it, they were thrown into noisome prisons where they fared hard enough. From these in 1675 many of them were condemned to the galleys and were sent to Naples, where however the intercession of the Dutch admiral De Ruyter procured them freedom. The other prisoners, at the intercession of the republic of Holland, were also set at liberty.—*Schl.*

[2] See Regenvolscius, *Historia Ecclesiasticæ Slavoniæ*, lib. ii. cap. xv. p. 216, 235, 253. What was undertaken against the Polish dissidents (as they were called) after the times of Regenvolscius [after A.D. 1652] may be learned from various writings published in our times. See Erskine's *Sketches of Church Hist.* vol. ii. p. 147, &c.—*Mur.*

[3] See Gilles' *Histoire Ecclésiastique des Eglises Vaudoises*, chap. xlviii. &c. p. 339, Geneva, 1656, 4to [also Leger's *Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises*, part ii. chap. 6—22, and Boyer's *Abrégé de l'Histoire des Vaudois*, chap. x.—xxvi. p. 64—235, of the English translation, Lond. 1693. The dukes of Savoy and the kings of France made open war upon these unfortunate Protestants, and actually expelled them from the country in 1686. Three years after, most of them returned, but whole congregations remained permanently in foreign lands, and particularly in the territory of Würtemberg.—*Mur.*

[4] The Histories of religious grievances by the learned Struve and Hoffmann, composed in German, are in everybody's hands.

[5] Geddes, *History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes out of Spain*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 59, &c.

failed. In the beginning of the century, some nefarious miscreants, burning with hatred of what they regarded as a new and false religion and prompted by the counsel of three Jesuits, of whom Henry Garnet was the chief, determined to destroy at a stroke king James I. with his son and the whole British parliament, by means of gunpowder which they had concealed under the house where the parliament usually met. For they had no doubt if these could be destroyed, means would occur for reinstating the old religion and giving it its former ascendancy. The English call this horrid conspiracy the Gunpowder Plot. But Divine Providence caused it to be wonderfully discovered and frustrated when it was ripe for execution.[1] More gentle and cautious was the procedure during the reign of Charles I. the son of James. For the king being of a mild and effeminate character and apparently not far removed from Romish sentiments, having also a French wife who was devoted to the Romish worship, and being guided chiefly by the counsels of William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, an honest man undoubtedly and not unlearned, but immoderately attached to what was ancient in ecclesiastical matters, it seemed probable that England might become reconciled with the Roman pontiff more easily by caresses and promises than by commotions and bloodshed.[2] But this expectation was frustrated by that lamentable civil war, in which Laud as well as Charles were beheaded, and Oliver Cromwell, a man of energy, foresight, and cunning, and one who dreaded even the shadow of the Romish religion, was placed at the head of the government with the title of Protector of the commonwealth of England. The expectation was revived when Charles II. was raised to the throne of his father to the immoderate joy of the people; and it revived with increased confidence and satisfaction. For the king himself, as appears now from very abundant testimony,[3] had already been secretly initiated in the Romish worship during his exile; and his only brother James II. the heir to the crown, had openly apostatized from the religion of the English nation to that of Rome. But Charles was prevented from doing anything in favour of popery by his native indolence, extreme fondness for dissipation, and an indifference to all religion tending to extreme impiety; and James by his immoderate eagerness to consult the wishes of the Romanists, and to follow the rash counsels of the Jesuits whom he kept about him, inflicted an incurable wound both upon the Romish religion and upon himself. For being created king after his brother's death, he in the most open manner and therefore most injudiciously, supported the languishing cause of popery in England and Ireland; and to do this more effectually, he fearlessly trampled upon those rights and liberties of the nation which were held most sacred and precious. Exasperated by these measures of the king, the people of England in the year 1688 invited over from Holland his son-in-law, William prince of Orange; and his valour obliged his father-in-law to flee an exile into France, and deprived the friends and promoters of the Romish religion of all hope of recovering England to the Romish church.[4]

11. When the wiser patrons and promoters of the Romish cause perceived that little success attended violence and war, they concluded that the reluctant minds of the Protestants must be overcome by milder measures and by covert artifices. But all of them were not disposed to adopt precisely the same course. Some resorted to public disputations between distinguished men of the two communities, indulging an expectation which the numerous vain attempts of the preceding age could not but weaken, that in such colloquies the more strenuous adversaries of the papal supremacy could either be vanquished or at least softened Others thought that contests should be avoided, and consultations rather should be held by the dissidents in order to agree upon a compromise, and therefore that less weight and importance should be attributed to the points of disagreement than had before been usual. Lastly, there were others who, believing that the former disputants on the side of the Romish church possessed

[1] Rapin, *Histoire d' Angleterre*, livr. xviii. tome vii. p. 40, &c.; Heidegger, *Historia Papatus*, Period. vii. p. 211, 291, &c. [Hume's *Hist. of England*, chap. xlvi. vol. v. p. 60, &c.—*Mur.*

[2] See Cerri's *Etat Présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 315, &c.; Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 194, &c.

[3] Burnet's *History of His Own Times*, vol. i. book iii. p. 603, &c. 606, &c. [and book i. p. 73, 74.—*Mur.*] Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 233, 237, 534 [ed. Boston, 1817, vol. iv. chap. iv. p. 255, &c.—*Mur.*] Rapin, *Histoire d' Angleterre*, livr. xxiii. tome ix. p. 160. [Hume's *Hist. of Eng.* chap. lxiii. vol. vi. p. 374; and especially chap. lxvi. vol. vii. p. 3. note, where it is proved that Charles II. entered into a treaty with the king of France in the close of the year 1669 or the beginning of 1670, for the purpose of overthrowing the Protestant religion in England and establishing popery on its ruins.—*Mur.*

[4] These events are very accurately described by Burnet and Rapin; by the former in the second volume of the *History of His Own Times* (which has been translated from English into both French and German), and by the latter in his *Histoire d' Angleterre*, tome x. Add Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. chap. xi. p. 536, &c. [And Hume's *History of England*, vol. vii. chap. lxx. lxxi.—*Mur.*

vigour and spirit enough but were deficient in skill, judged that new attacks should be made; and these of course invented new modes of reasoning against heretics.

12. At the very commencement of the century, A.D. 1601, some distinguished Lutheran divines, by authority of Maximilian of Bavaria and Philip Lewis, elector Palatine, disputed at Ratisbon with three Jesuits of great fame, respecting the rule of faith and practice and the judge of religious controversies, subjects which embrace nearly the whole controversy between the Protestants and Roman Catholics. In the year 1615, Wolfgang William, prince Palatine, who had apostatised to the Romish faith, held a disputation at Newburg between James Keller, a Jesuit, and James Heilbronn, a Lutheran. In the year 1645, Uladislaus, king of Poland, called the more distinguished theologians, papists as well as Lutherans and Reformed, to a meeting at Thorn in Prussia, to deliberate amicably on the means of putting an end to the existing religious controversies; which design of the king procured for this discussion the name of the Charitable Conference. A little after, in 1651, Ernest, landgrave of Hesse, in order to give a plausible air to that apostacy to the Romish camp which he had before resolved on, ordered Valerianus Magnus, a celebrated Capuchin divine, to hold a discussion particularly with Peter Haberkorn, a divine of Giessen, in the castle of Rheinfels. Among the private disputes of this kind the most noted of all was that of John Claude, a very learned divine of the French Reformed church, with that superior man of the Catholic church, James Benigne Bossuet, in the year 1685. All these conferences had one and the same result. Neither party could convince the other, but each exasperated and alienated the other from itself more than before.[1]

13. The whole plan and method of those who attempted a reconciliation between the Protestants and the Papists consisted in efforts to make it appear that the parties did not disagree so much as they supposed; and that there was not so much need of a discussion [of the points at issue] as of a careful and perspicuous explanation of those doctrines of the Romish community which were offensive to their opponents, in order to remove entirely all controversy and unite the minds of both in bonds of harmony. But in pursuing this general plan they varied so much from each other, that it was apparent they needed to come to some agreement among themselves, before there could be ground for listening to the counsels and advice they gave. The principal man among those who exerted their ingenuity in this way was Armand Richelieu, that very powerful French minister of state, who spared neither promises nor threatenings, nor arguments nor persuasions, in order to bring the French Reformed Christians to unite with the Catholics.[2] The

[1] Whoever wishes for a fuller account of these conferences may consult the writers mentioned by Sagittarius, *Introduct. in Historiam Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 1569, 1581, 1592, 1598. Claude and Bossuet each wrote and published the history of the dispute between them. Bossuet's book is entitled, *Conférence avec M. Claude sur la matiere de l' Eglise*, Paris, 1683, 12mo. In answer to this, Claude published his, *Réponse au livre de M. de Meaux, intitulé Conférence avec M. Claude*, à la Haye, 1683, 8vo. [The conference at Ratisbon was between seven Lutheran and three Catholic divines, and occupied fourteen sessions, ending Nov. 28. Both parties afterwards published the Acts of this Conference, which produced farther controversy, each party accusing the other of misrepresentation. See Schmidt's *Continuation of Sagittarius' Introduction*, p. 1569, &c. There was a conference appointed at Durlach in 1612, by order of Geo. Frederick margrave of Baden, and Francis duke of Lorrain. The latter at the request of the Jesuits forbade the Protestants to draw inferences from Scripture, and required them to cite only direct categorical declarations of the Bible against the Catholics. These terms the Protestant divines refused, and the conference ended. Its Acts were published, Strasburg, 1614, 4to.—The conference at Newburg embraced but two sessions, as Heilbronn, by advice of his friends, refused to appear at the third. It related wholly to the correctness of the citations from the fathers in a book published by Heilbronn, entitled *Uncatholic Popery*. Keller published his account of the conference, Ingolst. 1615, 4to, and Heilbronn his account, Ulm, 1616, 4to. The conference at Thorn was occasioned by the Reformed preacher at Dantzig, Bartholomew Nigrinus, who had become a Catholic, and persuaded the king that such a conference would be attended by good consequences. But the result did not answer the expectations from it. The history of the conference and of the subsequent written discussions is given by Hartknoch, in *Die Preussich. Kirchenhistorie*, vol. iv. chap. iv.—See Schlegel's note here.—*Mur.* [On these and other attempts towards effecting a union among various sections of the church catholic, see Tabaraud, *Histoire Critique des Projets formés depuis Trois Cent Ans pour la Réunion des Communions Chrétiennes*, Paris, 1824. This work is from the pen of a Romanist, and accordingly the whole subject is viewed through a distorted medium. It contains, however, much useful information.—*R.*

[2] Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tome i. p. 31, 32, &c. new edit.; Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome i. art. *Amyraut*, note i. p. 183; art. *Beaulieu*, note c. p. 484; tome ii. art, *Ferri*, note d. p. 1169; tome iii. art. *Millctière*, p. 1982, and elsewhere. [To Amyraut, an eminent French Protestant divine and professor at Saumur, Richelieu commissioned a Jesuit named Andebert to offer a negotiation for a union of the Protestants and Calvinists. The Jesuit stated that for the sake of peace, the king and his minister were willing to give up the invocation of creatures, purgatory, and the merit of good works; that they would limit the power of the pope; and if the court of Rome would consent to it, they would create a patriarch; that the cup should be allowed to the laity; and that some other relaxations might be made. Amyraut mentioned the eucharist. The Jesuit said no change in that was proposed. Amyraut said, then nothing can be done. Here the conference of four hours' length terminated. See Bayle, *ubi supra*.—Beaulieu, a Protestant professor of theology at Sedan, was suspected but without grounds of a willingness to sacrifice some doctrines in order to produce a union. He had only maintained that many of the disputes of theologians were about words rather than things. Yet it appears that Marshal Turenne sounded Beaulieu on the subject of a union. See Bayle, *ubi supra*.—Paul Ferri was an eloquent French

course pursued by this illustrious man was followed, yet with unequal steps and with less influence, by the German Jesuit James Masenius,[1] by Adolphus Godfred Volusius a divine of Mentz,[2] by Matthew Prætorius a Prussian,[3] by Augustin Gibbon de Burgo, an Irishman who was a professor at Erfurth,[4] by Henry Marcellus a Jesuit,[5] and by some others of less fame. In more recent times, no one has entered upon such an attempt with more foresight and sagacity than James Benigne Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, a man of uncommon genius and extraordinary prudence, whose *Exposition of the Catholic Faith* aims exclusively to show, that a short and easy way of return to the Romish religion would be open to the Protestants, if they would only judge of its nature and principles, not according to the views entertained of it by their teachers, but as it really is.[6] After him, John Dezius, a Jesuit of Strasburg, undertook to demonstrate the same thing though with less success, in a book in which he endeavours to prove that there is no disagreement or but very little between the Council of Trent and the Augsburg Confession, than which no two systems can be more unlike.[7] All these and some others undertook upon their own responsibility alone to remove the difficulties which prevented our ancestors from uniting with the pontiff; but Christopher de Roxas, bishop of Tina in Bosnia, came forward clothed with public authority or at least professing to be so; and in the year 1686 and onward he visited the principal Protestant courts in Germany, not only holding out the prospect of a new and more free council than that of Trent, but also giving assurance that the pontiff would freely grant to his returning children, the Protestants, whatever privileges and immunities they might demand, if they would only cease to decline the very mild government of the common father of Christians. But it was not difficult for theologians nor for the more discerning statesmen also to discover that this was only a snare, and that the Romish bishops aimed not so much to bring about an honourable and stable peace, as to introduce again the ancient system of slavery.[8]

Protestant preacher at Mentz. His enemies circulated the false report that he was one of the Protestant ministers whom Cardinal Richelieu had persuaded to agree to a union of the Protestant and Catholic churches. See Bayle, *ubi supra*.—Theophilus Brachet Sieur de la Milletière was a Protestant minister in France, who turned Catholic in 1645, after being silenced for attempts to unite the Protestant and Catholic churches on terms dishonourable to the former. He wrote and published much on the subject. See Bayle, *ubi supra*.—*Mur.* [See also Tabaraud, *Histoire des Projets pour la Réunion des Communions Chrétiennes*, for the proceedings of Richelieu, p. 200, and for an account of La Milletière, p. 375, &c.—*R.*

[1] See Spanheim's *Strictura ad Bossueti Expositionem Fidei Catholicæ*, in his *Opp. Theol.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 1012. [Masenius published some books on the subject of a union, which were answered by the Protestants. —*Mur.*

[2] He published *Aurora Pacis Religiosæ Divinæ Veritati Amica*, Mentz, 1665, 4to.

[3] In his *Tuba Pacis*, concerning which, see Bayle's *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, A.D. 1685, p. 1369. [He was a Lutheran minister when he wrote the book, but he soon after became a Roman Catholic.—*Schl.*

[4] In his *Luthero-Calvinismus Schismaticus quidem, sed Reconciliabilis*. [He was an Augustinian Eremite, who after long wandering about settled in Germany, and died at Erfurth in 1676, as ex-provincial of his order and professor of theology.—*Schl.*

[5] The *Sapientia Pacifica* of Marcellus was, by order of the duke of Gotha, confuted by Seldius.

[6] Of this little book and its fortunes, very much might be said and not without profit. Among many others, see Pfaff, *Historia Literar. Theologiæ*, tom. ii. p. 102; Le Clerc, *Biblioth. Universelle et Histor.* tome xi. p. 438. [It is remarkable that nine years passed before this book could obtain the pope's approbation. Clement X. refused it positively. Nay, several Roman Catholic priests were rigorously treated and severely persecuted for preaching the doctrine contained in the Exposition of Bossuet, which was moreover formally condemned by the university of Louvain in the year 1685, and declared to be scandalous and pernicious. The Sorbonne also disavowed the doctrine contained in that book; though by a late edict we learn that the fathers of that theological seminary have changed their opinion on that head, and thus given a new instance of the variations which reign in the Romish church, that boasts so much of its uniformity in doctrinal matters. The artifice which was employed in the composition of this book, and the tricks which were used in the suppression and alteration of the first edition that was given of it, have been detected with great sagacity and evidence by the learned and excellent archbishop Wake, in the introduction to his *Exposition of the Doctrines of the Church of England*, &c. See also his two *Defences of that Exposition*, in which the perfidious sophistry of Bossuet is unmasked and refuted in the most satisfactory manner. There was an excellent answer to Bossuet's book published by M. de la Bastide, one of the most eminent Protestant ministers in France. This answer the French prelate took no notice of during eight years, at the end of which he published an advertisement in a new edition of his Exposition, which was designed to remove the objections of La Bastide. The latter replied in such a demonstrative and victorious manner, that the learned bishop, notwithstanding all his eloquence and art, was obliged to quit the field of controversy. See a very interesting account of this insidious work of Bossuet, and the controversies it occasioned, in the *Bibliothèque des Sciences*, published at the Hague, tome xviii. p. 20. This account, which is curious, accurate, ample, and learned, was given partly on occasion of a new edition of the Exposition printed at Paris in 1761, and accompanied with a Latin translation done by Fleury, and partly on occasion of Burigny's *Vie de Bossuet*, published the same year at Paris.—*Macl.*

[7] The book is entitled, *La Réunion des Protestans de Strasburg à l'Eglise Romaine*, Strasb. 1689, 8vo. See Spener's *Theological Reflections* (in German), vol. i. p. 95.

[8] See the collections in Jäger's *Historia Eccles. sæcul.* xvii. and in Weismann's *Historia Eccles. sæcul.* xvii. p. 735. There are also extant other proposals for union made known at the German courts in the year 1660 by the elector of Mentz, by order and authority (as it is said) of the Roman pontiff, and which Gruber has published in the *Commercium Epistolicum Leibnitianum*, tom. i. p. 411–415: add p. 426, &c.—[Christopher Rojas (Roxas, Rohas, or Rorhas) de Spinola was a native Spaniard, and first came to Vienna in 1666 as confessor to the Infanta Margaretha Theresa, the first wife of the emperor Leopold. In the year 1668, he was made bishop of Tina in Croatia, and in 1685, bishop of Neustadt Wienerisch in Lower Austria. While bishop of Tina, his bishopric affording him little employment, he travelled about Germany with the approbation of pope Innocent XI. as a negotiator with the Protestants for their return to the church of

14. These Romish peacemakers found among the Protestants, especially among the Reformed, some divines whose natural dislike of contention, or whose hope of obtaining fame and making their fortune, induced them to listen to these overtures, and to assert that the points in controversy between the two communities were not of such magnitude as to forbid all union. Among the French Reformed, Lewis le Blanc, a man otherwise possessed of discernment, together with his disciples, fell under a suspicion of this fault.[1] It is more certain, that Theophilus Brachet de la Milletière, and Huisseaux a divine of Saumur, Tanaquil Faber, and some others, were chargeable with this conduct.[2] Among the English, William Forbes especially showed himself ready to compromise a great part of the controversies which separate us from the Romanists.[3] Among the Dutch, no man of information can well be ignorant how much Hugo Grotius was disposed to unite all sects of Christians together, and especially to excuse and give favourable views of the papists.[4] But these and the others (whom we omit to mention) obtained only this reward for their well-intended labours, that they offended both parties and drew upon themselves a great weight of odium. In this class of divines who burned with a preposterous zeal for union with the Romanists, many reckon George Calixtus, a very learned professor in the university of Helmstadt; that is, the very man than whom no one perhaps in this century more learnedly and lucidly demonstrated the errors and defects of the papal church, and no one more uniformly affirmed that the decrees and the denunciations of the Council of Trent destroyed all hope of healing the division. The reason why he was thought to lean towards this class was, that he used softer language than was customary respecting some controversies, and that he believed the first principles of the Christian religion were not absolutely subverted by the Romanists, but

Rome. The emperor Leopold also employed him in civil negotiations, and in 1691 empowered him to negotiate a reconciliation with Rome with his Protestant subjects in Hungary and Transylvania. The terms he offered the Protestants were: I. The suspension of the decrees of Trent, and the assembling a new council in which the Protestants and Catholics should each have an equal number of voters, and the decisions of Trent undergo a new and impartial investigation. II. The acquittal of the Protestants from the charge of heresy, provided they would cease to call the pope Antichrist. III. Communion in both kinds, marriage of priests, continuance in their possession of church property, abolition of auricular confession, and public worship in the vernacular tongue. In respect to the authority of the pope and traditions, he did not express himself clearly.—The archbishop of Mentz who had been active in promoting the Peace of Westphalia, after sending an envoy to Rome and consulting the electors of Treves and Cologne, held several meetings with the German Catholics who were solicitous for the peace of the country, at Mentz, Treves, Darmstadt, Rome, and elsewhere; and then made the following proposals to the Protestants at Ratisbon: I. That twelve Lutheran and twelve Catholic divines should meet together, swear to act honestly and in good faith, without fraud or subterfuge, as they should answer it to God. II. That they should examine the religious disputes, and decide them according to the Bible only. III. That to enable them to agree, they should first make a new translation of the Bible. IV. That whatever a majority of them agreed to should be considered as valid articles of faith. V. That both the decrees of the council of Trent and the Augsburg Confession should be examined, article by article, and judged of according to the Scriptures. As preliminary articles, it was proposed to yield: I. Worship in the German language. II. Marriage of bishops and the secular clergy, but not of monks and nuns. III. The abolition of auricular confession in Germany and the other Protestant countries, but not in Spain and Italy, where for certain reasons it was esteemed necessary. IV. Every one to be at liberty to pray to the saints or not. V. Purgatory no longer to be an article of faith. VI. Communion in both kinds to be allowed. VII. The pope no longer to be regarded as universal judge, but only as first priest and bishop of the church. Difficult questions of conscience may be laid before him, but none shall be compelled to follow his decisions. VIII. Christians to be hereafter divided into two classes, the Ancient Catholics and the Reformed Catholics, who should regard each other as brethren. Cardinals to be taken from both classes, and an equal number from each.—To these propositions the Lutheran courts raised many objections, and the whole project was soon abandoned. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit. der Reform.* vol. vii. p. 98, &c. and Schlegel's note here.—*Mur.*

[1] See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome i. p. 484, &c. [art. *Beaulieu.* See also note 2, p. 745, above. His whole name was Louis le Blanc Sieur de Beaulieu.—*Mur.*

[2] Concerning Milletière, see Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome iii. p. 1982 [and note in p. 746, above.] Concerning Huisseaux and his pacific propositions, see Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tome iii. p. 14, and Aymon, *Synodes Nationaux de l'Eglises Réformées en France*, tome ii. p. 765. [Quick's *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, vol. ii. p. 544, &c.—*Mur.*] On Faber's attempt, see Morhoff, *Polyhistor.* tom. i. p. 295.

[3] His *Considerationes Modestæ et Pacificæ Controversiarum de Justificatione, Purgatorio*, &c. were published Lond. 1658, 8vo, and in Germany, with corrections by Fabricius, a divine of Helmstadt. He is highly extolled by Grabe, in his notes to Bull's *Harmonia Apostolica*, p. 19. Nor were his probity and very exemplary life unworthy of praise. Yet the wiser among the English cannot but admit that he favoured the Romish party too much. See Burnet's *History of his Own Times*, vol. i. p. 22. He was of course much commended by the papists. See Simon's *Lettres Choisies*, tome iii. lettr. xviii. p. 119. He was undoubtedly one of those who did most to persuade the English (whether right or wrong), that king Charles I. and William Laud had designs of again restoring the Romish religion in England. [William Forbes was by Charles I. under the direction of Laud, appointed the first bishop of Edinburgh, on the 26th of January, 1634, and he died on the 1st of April following, having occupied the see only nine weeks. When principal of the Marischal College, Aberdeen, he had delivered the substance of the work above mentioned in his lectures, and it was not till twenty-four years after his death that it was published from notes taken at the time. It is therefore difficult to say how far it may be depended on as conveying his sentiments fully and accurately. What would Mosheim have said of the present Puseyite party in the Church of England, who have gone far beyond Forbes in their attempts to bring that church into closer conformity with the Roman?—*R.*

[4] Here may be consulted with advantage, though he is partial to Grotius, the author of the book, *Grotii Manes ab Iniquis Obtrectatoribus Vindicati*, tom. ii. p. 542, 826, &c.

only loaded and deformed by a great multitude of intolerable opinions.

15. This band of pacificators, which was badly marshalled and weak from its own discords, was easily put to flight by a moderate effort; but stronger forces were necessary to withstand those among the papists who devised new modes of warfare. These have usually been called Methodists; and they were chiefly of that ingenious nation the French, whom perpetual conflicts with the very learned Huguenots (as the Protestants of France are called) had rendered extremely fond of disputation and expert in it for that age. They may very suitably be divided into two classes. The first class imposed hard and unreasonable laws of argumentation upon the Protestants, and resembled those generals who concentrate their troops in fortresses and surround themselves with ramparts, to enable them more easily to resist the assaults of their foes. Of this class was Francis Veron, a Jesuit, who was of opinion that the enemies of the Romish religion ought to prove their doctrines by explicit declarations of the Holy Scriptures, and therefore preposterously forbade their resorting to any inferences, necessary consequences, or argumentation;[1] Barthold Nihusius, an apostate;[2] the brothers named Walenburg and others, who deeming it easier to defend their cause against attacks than to demonstrate its justice, threw the whole burden of proof on their adversaries, assuming the ground of mere respondents and defendants; Armand Richelieu, who recommended neglecting the various objections and complaints of their adversaries, reducing the whole controversy to the single article of the church, and placing the divine majesty and authority of that beyond all cavils by means of conclusive arguments; and some others.[3] The other class preferred the plan of those generals who, to avoid a protracted war, resolve to stake all upon the issue of a general battle, instead of wasting time in sieges and a series of skirmishes; that is, they thought best not to weigh one point after another and answer in detail all the arguments of opponents, but to overwhelm the Protestants at once by certain great principles or general arguments involving the whole subject, or by what are technically called *præjudicia*. The glory, if not of inventing yet of perfecting this method, and of displaying it with great eloquence, is enjoyed by Peter Nicole, a Jansenist, who was neither a bad man nor an obtuse reasoner.[4] After him, many others supposed there was so much power in this method, that they believed a single argument of this kind, if wisely and properly managed, was sufficient to overthrow the whole cause of the Protestants. Hence, some opposed the Protestants with the single principle of prescription; others supposed our case would be desperate, if it could be made to appear that the principal Reformers were vicious men and destitute of virtue; many believed they should divest their antagonists of all means of defence, on the ground that religious sepa-

[1] Musæus, *De Usu Principiorum Rationis in Controversiis Theologicis*, lib. i. cap. iv. p. 22; Calixtus, *Digressio de Arte Nova*, p. 125, &c.; Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tome i. p. 276. [The famous controversial preacher Veron, who under the protection of the French court travelled about challenging the Huguenots to public disputation and conference, from the year 1622 onward, composed a book with the Thrasonic title: *Methodus nova, facilis et solida, Hæresin ex Fundamento destruendi, et refutandi Confessionem Gallicam, Augustanam, Saxonicam, Libros denique omnes Theologorum Protestantium*, &c.— *Schl.*

[2] Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome iii. p. 2086, &c. [art. *Nihusius*.] This vain and half-learned man was formerly confuted by Calixtus, in his *Digressio de Arte Nova contra Nihusium*, a book very well worth reading; Helmst. 1634, 4to. [Nihusius was a Lutheran divine, educated under Calixtus at Helmstadt. But he turned Catholic about the year 1611, after which he became an abbot and a bishop, and wrote numerous letters and tracts in support of popery. He died in 1657. His principal work was entitled, *Ars nova dicto Sacræ Scripturæ unico lucrandi e Pontificis plurimos in partes Lutheranorum, detecta nonnihil et suggesta Theologis Helmstetentibus, Georgio Calixto præsertim et Conrado Horneio*. Nihusius assumed that the church of Rome was an ancient church, and in possession of a system of doctrines which she had held unmolested for ages; of course she was not to be ousted of her possession by any new claimant, unless that claimant could make good his title. In this way, he threw all the burden of proof on the Protestants, or upon the innovators on the established religion. At the same time, he forbade their reasoning from Scripture by way of inference, and required them to bring direct and positive proofs. Reasonings he said were human; positive declarations of the Bible were divine. Moreover in reasoning from the Bible, men differed so widely that there was no knowing what to believe, unless we admitted and confided in an infallible interpreter, namely the pope. When it was objected that the popes had for centuries been such dissolute and base characters, that it could not be supposed they were the mouth of God to men, he replied that the same might be said of some of the writers of the Bible, David for instance, &c. See Bayle, *ubi supra*.— *Mur.*

[3] For a somewhat fuller account of these matters, see Spanheim, *Strictura ad Expositionem Fidei Bossueti*, in his *Opp.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 1037. Heidegger, *Historia Papatus*, period vii. sec. ccxviii. p. 316; Walch, *Einleitung in die Religionsstreit.* vol. ii. p. 191, &c.; Weismann, *Historia Eccles. sæcul.* xvii. p. 726, and various others. [Peter and Adrian von Walenburg were two brothers, born at Rotterdam, who abandoned their country and their religion, and lived at Cologne. The first was a titular bishop in Mysia, and suffragan to Cologne; the other was the titular bishop of Adrianople, and suffragan to Mentz. Their works, consisting chiefly of controversial pieces against the Protestants, were printed together under the title of *Fratrum Walenburgicorum Opera*, 1670, 2 vols. fol.— *Schl.*

[4] He is generally supposed to be the author of that book confuted by vast numbers, entitled *Préjugez Légitimes contre les Calvinistes*, Paris, 1671, 8vo, and afterwards reprinted several times. This method certainly was not the invention of Nicole, for it seems to differ little if at all from the method of cardinal Richelieu. We may observe farther, that Richelieu seems rather to belong to the second class of Methodists than to the first, where Mosheim has placed him.—*Mael.*

ration or schism is the greatest of all evils, if they made it appear that the fathers of the Reformed churches were the authors of so great a calamity.[1] Pre-eminent among these for the felicity of his genius and the copiousness of his eloquence, but not for his discernment, was James Benigne Bossuet, who endeavoured to demonstrate from the disagreements among the Protestant teachers, and from the frequent changes their church and doctrines had undergone, that the church established by Luther was not a true church; and from the perpetual uniformity of the Romish church, that it was the true church and of divine origin.[2] This appears very surprising as coming from a learned man, who could not be ignorant that the pontiffs are very subservient to times and places and to the opinions of men; and still more as coming from a Frenchman, whose fellow-citizens contend with so much zeal, that modern Rome differs as much from ancient and primitive Rome as lead does from gold.

16. These efforts of the patrons of the Romish church, so many and various, occasioned indeed the Protestant doctors not a little labour, but produced very slender effects. Some of the princes and a few learned men were induced to embrace again the Romish religion which their fathers had renounced, but no one nation or province could be persuaded to follow their example. Of the highest order of persons, Christina, queen of Sweden, a lady of great spirit and genius but precipitate, and one who preferred her ease, pleasure, and liberty, to all other considerations;[3] Wolfgang William, count Palatine of the Rhine,[4] Christian William, marquis of Brandenburg,[5] Ernest, prince of Hesse,[6] John Frederick, duke of Brunswick,[7] and Frederick Augustus, king of Poland,[8] subjected themselves to the Roman pontiff. Of the men of genius and erudition, the illustrious John Christian, baron of Boisneburg, privy counsellor to the elector of Mentz and a noted Mæcenas in that age,[9] Christ. Ronzovius, a knight of Holstein,[10] Caspar Scioppius,[11] Peter Bertius,[12] Chris-

[1] Spanheim, *Diss. de Præscriptione in Rebus Fidei adversus Novos Methodistas*, in his *Opp.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 1079.

[2] His *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, Paris, 1688, 8vo, is very generally known. To this day the papists confide in it, and place it among their strongest bulwarks. And they may continue to exult in this their great champion and defender if they choose; but if they are not beside themselves and wish to preserve the head of their church safe, they must be exceedingly desirous that Bossuet's great principle, that whatever church frequently modifies and changes its doctrines has not the Holy Spirit, may never be believed true by any one who is acquainted with the course of events at Rome. [Against Bossuet, Basnage wrote his famous *Histoire des Eglises Réformées*, Rotterdam, 1690, 2 vols. 8vo. And as Bossuet replied to this in his *Défense de l' Histoire des Variations*, Basnage composed his great work, *Histoire de l'Eglise depuis J. C. jusqu' à Présent*, Rotterd. 1699, 2 vols. fol.—*Schl.* [The student should consult a late work, elaborately compiled as a counterpart to that of Bossuet, by the Rev. S. Edgar, one of the ministers of the Presbyterian church in Armagh, entitled *The Variations of Popery*, Dub. 1831, 2d edit. enlarged, Lond. 1837, 8vo.—*R.*

[3] Of this queen and the causes of her defection to the Romish church, there is a very full account in Arckenholz, *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, which is a very interesting and useful book. [This vain and rash woman, who probably had no fixed religious principles, became weary of the cares of government, resigned her crown in 1654, and retired to Italy to enjoy the refined society of that country. As a preparatory step to a comfortable residence at Rome, while on her way thither she changed her religion.—*Mur.* [See an admirable sketch of this remarkable woman, of her apostacy, and of her residence at Rome, in Ranke's *Popes of Rome*, vol. iii. p. 82, &c.—*R.*

[4] This prince at his solemn renunciation of Protestantism in the year 1614 assigned as his reasons the common arguments used by Catholics to prove the truth of their religion and the falsehood of the Protestant. But it was believed at the time and even by Catholic historians, that a principal motive with him was to secure the favour of the emperor and of the Spanish court in order to make sure his heirship to the duchy of Julian-Cleves. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. s. der Reform.* vol. iv. p. 370, and Schlegel's note here.—*Mur.*

[5] At the capture of Magdeburg by the imperial troops in 1630, he was taken prisoner and carried to Vienna, where his conversion took place. The grounds of it, which he published, were chiefly that the Protestants had no legitimate priesthood. See Schlegel's note here.—*Mur.*

[6] This very learned and good prince was converted in 1651, by the celebrated Capuchin monk Valerius Magnus. See Gruber's *Commercium Epistol. Leibnitianum*, tom. i. p. 27, 35; *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, tome i. p. 216. But it is manifest from the writings of Ernest himself, that he, as well as Anthony Ulric duke of Brunswick and many others, did not go over to such a Romish church as actually exists, but to a very different one, which has long since ceased to be and of which his imagination formed an idea.

[7] He put entire confidence in his favourite preacher, Henry Julius Blum; and when solicited to apostatize, refused unless the Catholics could first convert Blum. The Jesuits then applied themselves to Blum, and offered him an income of 2,000 dollars annually if he would turn Catholic. Blum consented. A dispute was held between them in presence of the duke. For a considerable time Blum answered all the arguments of the Jesuits triumphantly; but at length they adduced a new argument which Blum could not withstand, and which he told the duke was unanswerable. Of course he now openly yielded to popery, and the duke followed his example. This was in 1654. Blum obtained his pension, and at length was made vice-president of the supreme court of appeals at Prague. See Schlegel's note here.—*Mur.*

[8] He was the elector of Saxony, and to qualify himself for the throne of Poland made profession of the Catholic religion in the year 1697. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. s. d. Reform.* vol. vii. p. 74, and Henke's *Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 559.—*Mur.*

[9] He apostatized to the Romish church in 1653, following the example of Ernest, prince of Hesse, and was indeed a man of great distinction, but rather a man of letters than a sound reasoner or philosopher. See Gruber's *Commercium Epistol. Leibnitianum*, containing his and Conring's Epistles, tom. i. p. 35, 37, 39, 48, 56, 60, 70, 76, 93, &c.

[10] See Möller, *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 520. [He defended Lutheranism at Helmstadt in 1649. But the next year at Rome, the splendour of the jubilee and the arguments of Lucas Holstenius overcame him. See Henke, *Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 300, &c.—*Mur.*

[11] He was a German, learned, ardent, restless. He became a papist about A.D. 1600, fell out with the Jesuits, and fought much against the Protestants. See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome iv. art. *Scioppius*.—*Mur.*

[12] Bertius was rector of the theological college of

topher Besold,[1] Helfr. Ulric Hunnius,[2] Nicholas Stenonius, a celebrated Danish physician,[3] John Philip Pfeiffer, a professor at Königsberg,[4] Lucas Holstenius,[5] with his kinsman, Peter Lambecius,[6] Henry Julius Blum, professor at Helmstadt, a learned but vain man,[7] Daniel Nessel,[8] Andrew Fromm,[9] Bartholt Nihusius, Christ. Hellwig, Matthew Prætorius,[10] and some others of inferior note and standing, revolted to the Romish party. But if you except from among them all those who, we are abundantly assured, were led to this change by their domestic misfortunes, by their desire to advance their rank and reputation, by their inordinate love of wealth and worldly advantages, by their fickleness of mind, by their imbecility of intellect, or by other causes of no better character, you will reduce the whole number to a few persons whom no one will greatly envy the Roman Catholics.[11]

17. Those Christians of the East who were not of the Romish communion, opposed the papal envoys no less firmly than the Europeans. Nor do the more ingenuous Catholics themselves deny, that those who give us splendid accounts of the great extension of the papal authority among the Nestorians and Monophysites, and of the favourable disposition of several of the prelates of these sects towards the Romish church, deceive us with fictitious statements.[12] On the other hand, the sovereign pontiffs suffered two severe losses in the East during this century: the one was in Japan, the other in Abyssinia. What occurred in Japan has already been stated, among the evils which the Christian cause in general experienced. It therefore remains only to give some account of the occurrence in Abyssinia or Ethiopia. In the beginning of the century, the mission to the Abyssinians which had been interrupted in the preceding century was renewed by the Portuguese Jesuits with very favourable auspices. For the emperor Susneius, who assumed the name of Seltam Segued at his coronation, after his victories over his enemies, influenced partly by the eloquence of the Jesuits and partly by the hope of confirming his authority by the aid of Portuguese troops, committed the direction of all religious affairs in the year 1625 to Alphonso Mendez, a missionary from Portugal; or, in other words, created

Leyden. Being an Arminian, he was censured by the synod of Dort and afterwards excommunicated. He retired to France, became a Catholic, was a professor at Paris, historiographer to the king, and died in 1629. See Rees' *Cyclopædia*, article *Bertius*.—*Mur.*

[1] Besold was a learned and excellent man, professor of law at Tubingen, and after his conversion to the Romish church in 1635, professor at Ingolstadt. He published his motives, and appears to have been sincere, though the timidity of his character and the troubled state of the times seem to have had an influence. His revolt was a serious loss to the Protestants. See Henke's *Kirchengesch.* vol. iii. p. 517, and Schlegel's note here.—*Mur.*

[2] He was the son of the famous Ægidius Hunnius, brother to Nicholas. He was professor of law at Giessen and Marpurg, turned Catholic in 1631, was made counsellor and vice-chancellor at Treves, and died in 1636. See Henke and Schlegel, *ubi supra*.—*Mur.*

[3] This celebrated anatomist travelled for improvement as far as Italy. On his return he was made professor of anatomy at Copenhagen. But preferring Italy, he soon removed to that country. There, at the age of thirty-seven, in the year 1675 he became a real Catholic, changed his profession, was created a titular bishop, and sent as papal legate into Germany, where he died in 1686. He was first a great anatomist, and then a very sincere Catholic and a man of blameless life. He wrote many tracts in defence of popery. See Möller, *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 867, &c.—*Mur.*

[4] For a notice of Pfeiffer, see Henke's *Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 305. He apostatized in 1694, published his apology for it, and died the next year.—*Mur.*

[5] This distinguished literary man was born at Hamburg in 1596, first studied medicine, but afterwards devoted himself to Latin and Greek literature and to ecclesiastical antiquities. He early travelled to Italy and Sicily. Returning, he pursued study in Holland. Being denied a scholarship at Leyden he left that place in disgust, and after travelling a year or two settled in Paris, A.D. 1624. Here he was promoted, became a Catholic and an author. He next went to Italy, where he was in high esteem, was made librarian to the pope, and came near to being a cardinal. He died 1661, aged 65. He was one of the most learned men of his age and a sincere Catholic, but not bigoted. See Möller, *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 257, and tom. iii. p. 321-342.—*Mur.*

[6] Lambecius was a countryman and nephew of Holstenius, and a rector at Hamburg. But he had a bad wife, and besides fell also into ill fame as a teacher of false doctrine. He therefore abandoned his country, office, wife, and religion, and became a librarian at Vienna.—*Schl.* [This very learned man and voluminous writer and editor died in 1680, aged 52. See Möller, *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 323, and tom. iii. p. 391-414.—*Mur.*

[7] He apostatized in 1654. [See above, note 7, p. 749. See Burckard's *Historia Biblioth. Augustæ*, par. iii. p. 223, 233; Gruber's *Commercium Epistol. Leibnitianum*, tom. i. p. 41, 95, 135, 137, 379, 388, 410, &c. In these Epistles he is usually called Florus.—*Mur.*

[8] He was the son of Martin Nessel, a rector of Bremen, and studied law. He and his father both turned Catholics in 1667 Daniel succeeded Lambecius as librarian at Vienna, and died A.D. 1700. See Henke's *Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 302.—*Mur.*

[9] He was a provost at Berlin, and from the year 1662 laboured much to unite the Protestants and Catholics. His apostacy took place at Prague, in 1667. See Henke, *ubi supra*, iv. p. 303, and Schlegel's note here.—*Mur.*

[10] Concerning Nihusius, see above, note 2, p. 748. Prætorius was noticed also, note 3, p. 746. Hellwig was a physician, and son-in-law to J. P. Pfeiffer, mentioned in note 4. He apostatized with his father-in-law, A.D. 1694.—*Mur.*

[11] Of these men and others of a similar character, an account is given by Arnold, *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, part ii. book xvii. chap iii. p. 912, &c.; Weismann's *Historia Eccles. sæcul.* xvii. p. 738; Walch's *Einleitung in die Religions-Streitigkeiten*, vol. ii. p. 728, &c. [Henke's *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. iii. and iv.] With these may be joined the best writers on civil and literary history.

[12] See the express declarations of Chardin, in various parts of the latest edition of his travels. Add, respecting the Armenians, Cerri, *Etat Présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 170; also concerning the Copts, p. 216, 222, &c. That some small but poor congregations were collected among these sects no one denies. Thus, near the middle of the century, the Capuchins collected a very small company of popish converts among the Asiatic Monophysites, whose prelate resides at Aleppo. See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 1408.

him patriarch of the nation. The next year, he not only himself publicly swore obedience to the authority of the Roman pontiff, but also required all his people to forsake the religion of their fathers and to embrace that of Rome. But that new prelate with his associates by his ill-timed zeal himself subverted the foundations of the papal authority, which appeared to be so well established. For in the first place, he resolved to subdue the people (the greatest part of whom together with their ministers held their ancient religion more dear than life itself) by means of terror, wars, and very severe punishments, in the manner of the Portuguese Inquisition. In the next place, the prelate ordered those who yielded obedience to the commands of the emperor to be baptized and consecrated anew after the Roman form, as if they had previously been entirely without the true Christian ordinances, which was an injury to the religion of their fathers that the clergy regarded with more horror than they did the tortures and violence inflicted on recusants. And lastly, he did not hesitate to rend the commonwealth into factions, and to encroach even upon the authority and the prerogatives of the emperor. Hence arose first, civil commotions and formidable insurrections; then, the indignation of the emperor himself and a general abhorrence of the Jesuits; and finally, a public edict of the emperor in 1631, which gave the citizens full liberty to embrace which of the two religions they preferred. The son of Seltam, Basilides, who succeeded to the throne on the death of his father in 1632, thought proper to clear the country of these troublesome strangers; and therefore in the year 1634 he drove Mendez and the whole body of Jesuits and Portuguese from Abyssinia with no kind of indulgence or tenderness.[1] From this time onward, such an abhorrence of the Roman name became firmly rooted in the breasts of the Abyssinians, that they most cautiously guarded their frontiers lest some Jesuit or other priest of the Romish communion should creep into the country, and again embroil their commonwealth. The Roman pontiffs at first sought to repair the damage done by the Jesuits by sending out two French Capuchin monks, and these being stoned to death by the Abyssinians, as soon as they were discovered, recourse was had to more secret methods; and at last the authority of Lewis XIV. king of France was resorted to, in order to open a door for the access of their missionaries to Ethiopia.[2] But to the present time they have not been able, so far as we know, to calm the wakeful indignation of that highly-incensed nation.[3]

18. We have thus far spoken of the external prosperity or adversity of the Romish church, and of the zeal of the pontiffs to

[1] See Ludolf's *Historia Æthiopica*, lib. iii. cap. xii.; Geddes, *Church History of Ethiopia*, p. 233, &c.; La Croze's *Histoire du Christianisme d'Ethiopie*, p. 79, &c.; Lobo's *Voyage d'Abyssinie*, p. 116, 130, 144, and Le Grand's Additions to it, p. 173, and his fourth Dissertation subjoined to vol. ii. p. 32. The judgment of this learned man respecting the Jesuit Mendez, in this Dissertation (iv. p. 36) is worth transcribing: "Il eût été à souhaiter que le Patriarche ne se fut pas chargé de tant d'affaires" (thus cautiously does he speak of Mendez's lust of power and intrusion into the affairs of the civil government), "et qu'il n'eût pas fait tant valoir son autorité en se conduisant en Abyssinie comme dans un pays d'Inquisition. Il révolta tout le monde, et rendit les Catholiques, et en particulier les Jésuits, si odieux, que la haine qu'on a conçûe contre eux dure encore aujourd'hui." [The third Book of La Croze's History, which relates to the progress and ruin of this mission, is translated by Mr. Lockman into English, and inserted in *The Travels of the Jesuits*, vol. i. p. 308, &c. as also is Poncet's *Voyage*, mentioned in the following note.—*Mael.*

[2] These projects are mentioned by Cerri, *Etat Présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 217, &c.; Le Grand, *Supplement to Lobo's Itinerar. Æthiopicum*, tom. i. p. 181, &c.; tom. ii. p. 108, &c. [Father Lobo, who resided nine years in Ethiopia, has given an elegant and lively though simple and succinct description of that vast empire, in his *Itinerarium Æthiopicum*. This Itinerary was translated into French by M. le Grand, and enriched by him with several curious anecdotes and dissertations. Hence Mosheim sometimes quotes the *Itinerarium* under the title of *Voyage d'Abyssinie*, referring to Le Grand's French translation of it.—*Mael.*] I wish the reader to compare the statements made from these documents which are above all suspicion, by this papist (Le Grand) who was not unfriendly to the Jesuits, with the Voyage of that French physician, Poncet, who travelled into Ethiopia in the year 1698, in company with the Jesuit Brevedent who died on the way; which Voyage was published by the Jesuits in the fourth volume of the *Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes des Missions Etrangères*, Paris, 1713, 8vo [in the ed. Lyons, 1819, tome ii. p. 238, &c.—*Mur.*] The discerning reader may thus learn how much reliance is to be put on the statements which the Jesuits give us of the friendly disposition of the Asiatic and African Christians towards the see of Rome. After ingenuously and candidly making this comparison, he will perhaps declare that Grecian and even Punic faith is more to be trusted than that of the Jesuits.

[3] The biographers of Clement XI. and especially Lafitau and Reboulet, amuse us with fables (invented perhaps by the Jesuits and their friends), when they tell us of the Abyssinian emperor's embracing the Romish religion in the year 1712; or of his petitioning the Roman pontiff in 1703 to send him teachers to instruct him and his people. On the contrary, it is fully ascertained that but a few years ago the Abyssinians most rigorously denied not only to all Europeans, but also to the Turks, all access to their country; nay, they would not allow Egyptian Monophysites who entered Ethiopia to return again. This is confirmed by the best possible testimony in such a case, that of Benedict Maillet, who long filled the office of French consul in Egypt, and was appointed by Louis XIV. ambassador to the emperor of Abyssinia, in his *Description de l'Egypte*, part i. p. 325, Paris, 1735, 4to. To him we add Le Grand, who in his Additions to *Lobo's Itinerarium*, part i. p. 222 (published in 1728), after faithfully detailing all the projects of the French and the popes in our age for introducing Romish priests into Abyssinia, subjoins, that all such projects must necessarily appear vain and chimerical to persons acquainted with the state of things in Ethiopia: "Toutes ces entreprises paroîtront chimériques à ceux qui connoissent l'Abyssinie et les Abyssins." Perhaps the mission which is now fitting out at Rome to the Abyssinians, will add new confirmation to this opinion.

extend the limits of their empire; we now proceed to examine its internal state. The ancient form of government was in no respects changed; yet the officers of the church were in most countries gradually abridged of no small part of their ancient power by the civil authorities. For that happy age was everywhere gone by when the clergy might excite public commotions, engage in civil affairs at their pleasure, terrify with their sacred denunciations, and impose contributions and other burdens upon the citizens. The supreme pontiff himself, though saluted with the same appellations and titles as formerly, often experienced with vast regret that names had lost much of their ancient power and import, and were still losing more and more. The principle formerly held only by the French, that the power of the Roman pontiff was wholly and exclusively confined to sacred and ecclesiastical affairs, and by no means extended to secular things, to the property, the persons, and the business of the citizens, had now become almost the universal opinion of all kings and princes. The schools indeed in most parts of the Romish world, with the public writers, extolled the majesty of the pontiff to the utmost of their ability; and the Jesuits who wished to be thought among the first defenders of the Romish see and power, did the same; and even the courts of princes sometimes used magnificent language respecting the dignity and authority of the head and father of the church. But the misfortune was, that in this as in other cases men's actions did not accord with their language; and the sovereign princes, when any question or controversy arose with the court of Rome, measured the rights and prerogatives of the pontiff, not as formerly by the decisions of the schools, but by their own convenience and interests.

19. This the sovereign pontiffs experienced to their great detriment, as often as they ventured in this age to resume their former pretensions and to encroach upon the jurisdiction of sovereign states. In the year 1606, Paul V. a haughty pontiff, laid the Venetians under an interdict, because they presumed to punish certain priests who had committed crimes, and forbade the erection of any more sacred edifices in their territories without the consent of the senate, and prohibited all farther transfers of estates to the clergy without permission from the government. But the senate of Venice most firmly and vigorously resisted this wrong. For in the first place they would not allow the priests to intermit the sacred services as the pontiff commanded; and the Jesuits and Capuchins, who chose to obey the pontiff rather than the senate, were banished the country. In the next place, they ordered Paolo Sarpi, a theologian of the republic who was a monk of the order of the Servites and a man of very great genius, and other persons deeply learned in civil and ecclesiastical law, to demonstrate the justice of their cause in several treatises, and to inquire with great freedom into the true limits of the papal power; and their attacks were so powerful, that Cæsar Baronius and the other writers, to whom the Roman pontiff trusted the defence of his cause, could with difficulty stand up against them. When at length Paul V. prepared for war against the Venetians, Henry IV. king of France, interposed and brought about a peace, but on terms which were not very honourable to the pontiff.[1] For the Venetians could not be induced to rescind entirely those decrees which had given offence to the Romish bishop, nor to allow the banished Jesuits to return to their country.[2] The senate of Venice at that time contemplated a secession from the

[1] Besides Thuanus (de Thou), and other historians, see Daniel's *Histoire de France*, tome x. p. 358, &c. of the recent edit.; Heidegger's *Historia Papatus*, period vii. sec. ccxx. p. 322, &c.; Jäger's *Historia Eccles. Sæcul.* xvii. decenn. i. p. 108. But especially the writings of the celebrated Paolo Sarpi and of the other Venetian theologians deserve a careful perusal. For being written with no less solidity than erudition and elegance, these works contributed most to open the eyes of kings and magistrates, and to lead them no longer to yield implicit obedience to the will of the pontiffs, as had formerly been done. Pre-eminent among these writings is the *Istoria delle cose passate entre Paul V. et la Republ. di Venetia*, composed by Sarpi, who is usually called Fra Paolo, *i.e.* Brother [or rather Friar] Paul, printed Mirandol. 1624, 4to; and the *Historia Interdicti Veneti*, by the same author, which was printed at Cambridge, 1626, 4to, by William Bedell, at that time chaplain to the English embassy at Venice and afterwards a bishop in Ireland. Paul V. therefore, whose rashness and imprudence led the Venetians to publish these books, was himself the cause of those very great perplexities which the Romish see afterwards often experienced.

[2] The Venetians indeed, a long time afterwards, in the year 1657 when Alexander VII. governed the Romish church, being wearied with the importunities of several princes and especially of Louis XIV. king of France, suffered the Jesuits to return to their territories. Yet down even to our age, nowhere is this very powerful society under more restraint than among the Venetians; to its own loss, it finds the old grudge remaining deeply fixed in the public mind. See the *Voyage Historique en Italie, Allemagne, Suisse;* Amsterd. 1736, 8vo, tome i. p. 291. To this day, the pontifical rescripts and bulls have just so much power among the Venetians as the interests of the republic and the judgment of the senate will allow them to have. I adduce as a most credible witness cardinal Noris, who (in the *Epistles of Famous Venetians to Magliabechi*, vol. i. p. 67) thus wrote in the year 1676: "Poche Bulle passevano quelle acque verso le parte del Adriatico, per le massime lasciate nel testamento di Fra Paolo." That is: "Few bulls of the pontiffs pass the waters of the Po and reach the shores of the Adriatic; they are prohibited by the maxims which Brother Paul laid down in his last testament." [See a full account of this collision between Rome and Venice in Ranke's *Popes of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 339-364.—*R.*

Romish church, and the English and Dutch ambassadors endeavoured to persuade them to such a step. But many causes of great weight prevented the measure; nor did the sagacious and circumspect Sarpi himself, though he was no friend to the Romish court, appear to approve of it.[1]

20. If the Portuguese had possessed as much wisdom and courage as the Venetians, equally unsuccessful would have been the contest which Urban VIII. commenced against them in 1641, and which continued till the year 1666. The Portuguese having driven out the Spaniards, made John, duke of Braganza, their king. Urban and his successors pertinaciously refused either to acknowledge John as king of Portugal or to confirm the bishops appointed by him, though urged to it in a thousand ways both by the Portuguese and the French. The consequence was that the greatest part of the Portuguese territories was for a long time without bishops. The vicar of Christ, who above all things should have no fear of man, had such a dread of Spanish resentment, that rather than offend the king of Spain he chose to violate his most sacred duty and leave great numbers of churches without pastors. The king of Portugal was advised from various quarters, and especially by the French, to imitate the example of the Venetians, and to cause his bishops to be consecrated by a national council of Portugal in despite of the pontiff; and he seemed at times disposed to act with vigour. But the ascendancy of the Inquisition, the amazing superstition of the people and their devotion to the will of the pontiff, prevented his adopting energetic measures. Thus it was not till after the lapse of twenty-five years and the conclusion of a peace with the Spaniards, that Clement IX. confirmed the bishops appointed by the king. Yet the Portuguese showed themselves men in strenuously resisting the pontiff when he endeavoured to take advantage of this contest to extend his power in Portugal; nor would they suffer the ancient prerogative of their kings to designate the bishops of the country, to be at all abridged.[2]

21. For many centuries there had been almost perpetual controversy between the French nation and the popes, which as in other periods so also in this century, sometimes came to an open rupture. If the pontiffs ever employed cunning and perseverance in any cause, they certainly did so throughout this century in their endeavours to subdue the hostility of the French to the Romish power, and to destroy or gradually undermine what are called the liberties of the Gallic church; and their principal coadjutors in this business were the Jesuits. But to these machinations very strong opposition was constantly made both by the parliament of Paris, and by the very able writers, Edmund Richer, John Launoi, Peter de Marca, Natalis Alexander, Louis Ellies du Pin, and others, who had the courage to bring forward the opinions of their ancestors, some with more spirit and erudition and others with less, and to confirm them with new arguments and authorities. The court indeed did not always reward these protectors of their country according to their merits, nay, frequently showed itself opposed to them, with a view to please the angry and menacing pontiff; yet this afforded little advantage to the papal cause. The French kings, it seems, would rather have their rights silently maintained than publicly defended with noise and war, in open declarations and disputations; nor did they esteem it below their dignity to temporize occasionally and to pretend great reverence for the mandates and edicts of the pontiffs, in order more easily to obtain from them the objects of their wishes.[3] But if they perceived the Romish prelates taking advantage of this complaisance to extend their authority, they remembered that they were kings of the French, that is, of a nation for a long time most impatient of Romish servitude. This is abundantly confirmed by the contests of Lewis XIV. with the pontiffs.[4]

[1] This project of the Venetians is expressly treated of by Burnet in his *Life of William Bedell*, p. 18, &c. of the French edit. and by Le Courayer, *Défense de la Nouvelle Traduction de l'Histoire du Concile de Trente*, p. 35, &c. Amsterd. 1742, 8vo, who shows very clearly that Sarpi departed indeed in many respects from the opinions of the Romish church, yet that he did not approve of all the doctrines of the Protestants; nor would he recommend to the Venetians to separate from the Romish church. [From the account of the agent for a union, Jo. Bapt. Lenke, to the elector Palatine, which the keeper of the records, Gattler, has given in an appendix to the *Hist. of the Duchy of Würtemburg*, vol. vi. No. 10, p. 57, it appears that in the year 1609 a Protestant congregation of more than 1,000 persons, among whom were about 300 gentry of the principal families, then actually existed at Venice, which Sarpi and his friend Fulgenzo had collected and which contemplated under favourable circumstances to abandon popery. The substance of this account is also in Le Bret's *Magazin zum Gebrauch der Staaten- und Kirchengesch.* vol. ii. p. 235, &c.—*Schl.*

[2] See Geddes, *History of the Pope's Behaviour towards Portugal from* 1641 *to* 1666, which is in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. ii. p. 73-186. The cause of the Portuguese in this contest was learnedly defended among the French, by Bullialdus [Boulliau], whose *Libelli duo pro Ecclesiis Lusitanis ad Clerum Gallicanum* were reprinted at Helmstadt, 1700, 4to.

[3] It was with a view to this that Voltaire, speaking of the manner in which the court of France maintains its prerogatives against the Roman pontiff, says pleasantly that "the king of France kisses the pope's feet and ties up his hands."—*Mael.*

[4] Many both of the Lutherans and Reformed, of

22. The first of these contests occurred in the time of Alexander VII. and originated from the temerity of the pontiff's Corsican guards, who in the year 1662 ventured to insult the king's ambassador, the Marquis Crequi and his lady, at the instigation as it is reported of Alexander's nephew. The French monarch determined to avenge the insult by a war; but on the pope's imploring his mercy, he granted him peace in 1664 at Pisa on the following conditions among others—that he should send his nephew to Paris to ask pardon, that he should brand the Corsican nation with infamy by a public edict, and erect a pillar in the Farnesian market on which this crime and the punishment of it should be inscribed for future generations. But this contest of the king was not so much with the pontiff as head of the church, as with Alexander considered as a prince and a temporal sovereign.[1] With the pontiff in his proper character the monarch had a controversy in 1678 and the following years, when Innocent XI. filled the Romish see. The subject of this controversy was the right which the French call Régale; according to which when a bishop dies, the king is allowed to collect and enjoy the revenues of the see, and in some respects to act in the place of bishop, until the see is filled by the accession of a new prelate. Lewis wished to subject all the sees in his kingdom to this right; but Innocent would not permit it, determining that the king's power in this particular should extend to no more sees than formerly. This contest was carried on with great passion on both sides. To the many admonitions and epistles of the pontiff, the king opposed severe laws and mandates,

great merit and learning, lament the augmentation of the Romish power in France during this century and the gradual corruption of the minds of both the nobility and the clergy, by the prevalence of Italian notions respecting the papal power which the ancient French people viewed with abhorrence; and from this they infer that the famous liberties of the Gallic church were much abridged in this century by the influence principally of the Jesuits. Into these views they are led, partly by certain measures of the French monarchs which have the appearance of greatly subserving the wishes of the pontiffs, and partly by the numerous representations of the Jansenists and other recent French writers, who lament that the ancient glory has departed from the French nation, that the edicts of the popes are held in immense veneration, that the Jesuits have imbued the minds of the monarchs and of the leading men in the government with excessive attachment to the Romish views, that vigilance is used against all those who wish to see the opinions of their ancestors prevail, that the tribunal of the Inquisition is gradually introduced, and other things of this sort. But I am persuaded that more reliance is placed on these representations than ought to be, and that the rights of the French people are still in the same state as formerly; nor am I able at all to discern those triumphs of the pontiffs over the French, which many excellent men as well as the French themselves who are too indignant, especially the Jansenists and the Appellants, think they can clearly see. As the general policy of the French government is much more artful and crafty in the present century, so the machinations of the pontiffs are thwarted by more silent and artful methods than in the preceding less civilized age. The same conflict is kept up as before, but it is now managed in a very different way. And this new and politic course does not meet the views of many of the French, who are of an ardent temperament, and who think they ought to contend, as their ancestors did, in open manly warfare. Hence those sighs and lamentations over the rights of the nation, alleged to be invaded and almost annihilated by the craftiness of the Jesuits. If these persons could check those passions with which Frenchmen are so prone to be agitated, and would carefully examine the history of their country, they would certainly learn that their liberties are not extinct; nor are they neglected by their monarchs, but are only maintained with more caution and foresight. France, I am aware, is full of persons who basely flatter the pontiffs, and seem inclined to become slaves for the sake of gain or of honours. But the number of these was no less formerly than it is now, as might be proved by numerous examples. Nor is it common for states to be ruled and governed by such characters. The Jesuits are in high authority, and they sometimes cause things to be done which cannot but be grievous to the friends of the ancient Gallic liberties, although things of this sort occurred also in those times when there were no Jesuits; and on the other hand, very many things occur continually which are most adverse to the wishes of the Jesuits, and which undoubtedly give much disquietude to the pontiffs. Those who contend with the aid of learning for the opinions of their ancestors, sometimes scarcely escape without punishment; those who dispute with warmth not unfrequently suffer for it, and are either imprisoned or sent into exile; and the most modest writers receive no reward for their labours. True, it is so. Yet the cause which these men defend is neither disapproved of nor deserted, but their manner of supporting it is disliked. For the monarchs and their friends in reality choose to have the machinations of the pontiffs resisted without noise and clamour, rather than by publications and disputation which often produce parties in a nation, excite the passions of men, disturb the public peace, exasperate the pontiffs, and alienate them from the French nation. At the same time, the public teachers are at full liberty to instil into their pupils the ancient principles of the nation, and to explain fully in the schools those views by which the Romish lust of power has usually been for ages repressed. Some things take place which are inconsistent with these principles, and restraint is laid upon those

who think it very hard to depart from the customs and practices of their fathers; yet this is almost never done, unless either necessity or the prospect of some great advantage warrants it. Besides, the public authorities take good care that the pontiffs shall derive no great benefit from such condescensions to them. That this was the fact in the affair of the bull, Unigenitus, in which many things occurred not agreeing with the ancient customs and opinions of the French, will be readily seen by those who will examine carefully the whole transaction, and compare the public decisions with the actual state of the country. It was judged best frequently to admit a less evil in order to avoid a greater. In short, the kings of France are wont to treat the sovereign pontiff as the ancient heroes who descended into the infernal regions treated the dog Cerberus that guarded the gate of that dark world (no offence is intended by this comparison), sometimes throwing him a cake when he growled, and sometimes awing him with their brandished swords as occasion and circumstances demanded; and both for the same object, namely, that they might freely march on in their chosen way.—These remarks I thought proper to extend thus far, lest those who read the bitter complaints and declamations of the Jansenists and Appellants should put entire confidence in them, which many Protestants have done and particularly those who are not well acquainted with the world.

[1] See Jäger's *Historia Eccles. sæcul.* xvii. decenn. vii. lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 180, &c.; Voltaire's *Siècle de Louis XIV.* tome i. p. 131, &c. The French also published some tracts in which the history of this contest was related. *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, tome ii. p. 72, &c. [Gifford's *History of France*, vol. iv. p. 379.—*Mur.*

and when the pope refused his approbation to the bishops appointed by the king, the latter by his regal authority caused them to be inducted into office, thus showing publicly that the Gallic church could get along without a pope. On the other hand, the high-spirited and persevering pontiff denounced the vengeance of Heaven against the king, and omitted nothing which might show that the ancient power of the pontiffs was not yet extinct.[1] The king offended by this resolute behaviour, in the year 1682 assembled at Paris that famous convention of his bishops, in which the ancient opinions of the French respecting the power of the pontiff as being exclusively spiritual and inferior to that of councils, were stated in four propositions, unanimously adopted, confirmed, and set forth as the perpetual rule for all the clergy as well as for the schools.[2]

But Innocent received this blow also with manly courage.[3] This violent contest was soon after followed by another. In the year 1687, Innocent deprived the ambassadors resident at Rome and among others the French ambassador Lavardin, of the right of asylum, because it often rendered criminals secure from impunity. The king employed all the means his angry feelings could suggest to induce the pontiff to restore the right he had taken away, but the latter met the king with a bold front and could by no means be persuaded to put on even the semblance of yielding.[4] This long conflict which was injurious to both the parties, was at length closed by the death of Innocent. The subsequent pontiffs were more pliable, and therefore more ready to remove the principal causes of contention; yet they were not so careless as to forget the dignity of the Romish see. The right of asylum was abrogated with the consent of the king; the controversy respecting the right of Régale was adjusted by a compromise.[5] The four celebrated propositions respecting the power of the pontiff, without objection from the king were gilded over

[1] See Heidegger's *Historia Papatus*, period vii. sec. ccexli. &c. p. 535; Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* tome ii. p. 210, and numerous others, who either professedly or incidentally treat of the right of the Régale and of the disputes which grew out of it. Henry Noris discusses very copiously the history of the origin and progress of this right, in his *Istoria delle Investiture Ecclesiastic.* p. 547, &c. in his *Opp.* vol. v. [See also Burnet, in his *History of the Rights of Princes in the Disposing of Ecclesiastical Benefices and Church Lands, relating chiefly to the Pretensions of the Crown of France to the Régale, and the late Contests with the Court of Rome*, Lond, 1682, 8vo.—*Mur.*

[2] This convention was composed of eight archbishops, twenty-six bishops, and thirty-eight other clergymen, who all set their names to the four following propositions:—

I. That God has given to St. Peter and to his successors, the vicars of Christ, and to the church itself, power in spiritual things and things pertaining to salvation; but not power in civil and temporal things: our Lord having said, "My kingdom is not of this world;" and again, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cesar's and unto God the things that are God's." And therefore that injunction of the apostle stands firm: "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. There is no power but is from God; and the powers that be are ordained of God." Therefore, in temporal things kings and princes are subject to no ecclesiastical power of God's appointment; neither can they either directly or indirectly be deposed by authority of the keys of the church, nor can their subjects be exempted from fidelity and obedience, nor be absolved from their oath of allegiance. And this principle, which is necessary to the public tranquillity, and no less useful to the church than to the state, ought by all means to be held fast, as being consonant to the word of God, to the tradition of the fathers, and to the example of the saints.

II. That plenary power in spiritual things so exists in the apostolic see and in the successors of Peter, the vicars of Christ, that at the same time the decrees of the holy œcumenical council of Constance, approved by the apostolic see, and confirmed by the practice of the Roman pontiffs and of the whole church, and observed by the Gallican church with perpetual veneration, respecting the authority of general councils, as contained in the fourth and fifth sessions, must also be valid and remain immoveable. Nor does the Gallican church approve of those who infringe upon the force of these decrees, as if they were of dubious authority or not fully approved; or who pervert the words of the council by referring them solely to a time of schism.

III. Hence the exercise of the apostolic power is to be tempered by the canons, which the Spirit of God dictated and which the reverence of the whole world has consecrated. The rules, customs, and regulations received by the Gallic realm and church are also valid, and the terms of the fathers remain immoveable; and it concerns the majesty of the apostolic see that statutes and usages confirmed by the consent of so great a see and of such churches should retain their appropriate validity.

IV. In questions of faith likewise, the supreme pontiff has a principal part, and his decrees have reference to all and singular churches; yet his judgment is not incapable of correction, unless it have the assent of the church.

These propositions, approved by Lewis XIV. and registered by the parliament of Paris on the 23d of March, 1682, were ordered to be publicly read and expounded in the schools from year to year, and to be subscribed to by all clergymen and professors in the universities. See Bossuet's *Defensio Declarationis Cleri Gallicani*; the documents at the beginning of vol. i.—*Mur.*

[3] These four propositions which were extremely adverse to his wishes, the pontiff caused to be opposed both publicly and privately. The most distinguished person who defended the cause of the pontiff was cardinal Celestine Sfondrati, who under the assumed name of Eugene Lombard, published *Regale Sacerdotium Romano Pontifici assertum et quatuor Propositionibus explicatum*, 1684, 4to. The form of the types shows that the book was printed in Switzerland. Next to him among the multitude of Italians, Spaniards, and Germans who supported the tottering majesty of the pontiff against the French, Nicholas du Bois, a doctor of Louvain, stood conspicuous. He published some books on the subject which are mentioned by Bossuet. But all these were confuted by the very eloquent bishop of Meaux, Jacques Benigne Bossuet, in a learned work composed by order of the king but which was not published till long after his death, entitled, *Defensio Declarationis Celeberrimæ, quam de Potestate Ecclesiastica sanxit Clerus Gallicanus*, xix. *Martii*, 1682, Luxemburg, 2 vols. 1730, 4to. For the king forbade the publication of the Defence, because after the death of Innocent there seemed to be a great prospect of peace, which in fact soon followed.

[4] See Jäger, *ubi supra*, decenn. ix. p. 19, &c.; the *Legatio Lavardini*, which was published, 1688, 12mo. But especially, *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, tome ii. p. 243, &c. For Christina engaged in this contest, and sided with the king of France.

[5] See Fleury, *Institutio Juris Eccles. Gallici*, p. 454, &c. of the Latin translation.

by some bishops in private letters to the pope, but they were by no means given up. To the present day they maintain their place among the laws of the realm.[1]

23. That the faults which had long characterized the bishops and some of the inferior clergy in the Romish church were rather increased than diminished, no good man even of that community will deny. The bishops everywhere owed their elevation rarely to their piety and merit, generally to personal friendships, to services rendered to individuals, to simony, to consanguinity and relationship, and often even to their vices. And the greater part of them lived, as if they had been hired with their great salaries expressly to exhibit before the people examples of those very vices which the Christian religion condemns.[2] If there were some (as there doubtless were) who endeavoured to benefit their flocks, and who set themselves against both ignorance and wickedness, they were either put down by the enmity and hatred of the others, or at least fell under neglect and were hindered from effecting anything great and laudable. And nearly the same things were experienced by those clergymen of inferior rank who exerted all their powers in behalf of truth and piety. These however, if compared with those whom voluptuousness, ambition, and lust for wealth drove headlong, were exceedingly few. Some indeed of the pontiffs of this century should not be defrauded of their just praise, for attempting to correct the morals of the clergy by wholesome laws, and to bring them to exhibit at least common decency in their lives. Yet it is strange that these sagacious men should not see, that the very constitution of the Romish church and its whole interior structure were insuperable obstacles to all such good designs; and that a pontiff, even if he were inspired, unless he also possessed more than human power and could be present in many places at the same time, could never reduce such a heterogeneous mass of people to good order.

24. The monks, though in many places more decent and circumspect in their lives than formerly, yet for the most part were extremely negligent of the rules and regulations of the founders of their orders. In the beginning of the century, as learned and good monks themselves admit, the state of all the monasteries was still lamentable. But as the century advanced, some wise men, first among the Benedictines in France and then also in other countries, endeavoured to reform certain monasteries, that is, to bring them back in some degree to the rules and laws of their order.[3] Their example was afterwards followed by other religious houses of the Cluniacensians, Cistercians, Regular Canons, Dominicans, and Franciscans.[4] At this time therefore the monks of the Romish church became divided into two classes; namely, the Reformed, who abandoning their licentious and profligate manners, lived more decently and more conformably to the rules of their order; and the Unreformed, who disregarded the precepts of their founders, and chose to live as they found it convenient and pleasant, rather than austerely and according to the laws by which they were bound. But the number of the Unreformed far exceeds that of the Reformed; and moreover most of the Reformed not only depart widely from the mode of living prescribed by the rule, but are also in one place and another gradually relapsing into their former negligence.

25. Among the Reformed monastic associations, certain Congregations of Benedictines surpass the others, partly in the

[1] On this significant and instructive contest, in addition to the French historians, see the remarks of Ranke in his *Popes of Rome*, vol. iii. p. 167, &c. and of Hallam in his *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, vol. iv. p. 123, &c.—*R.*

[2] See a multitude of proofs collected from the most celebrated doctors of the Romish church, in the *Mémoires de Port-Royal*, tome ii. p. 308.

[3] Le Bœuf, *Mémoires sur l'Hist. d'Auxerre*, tome ii. p. 513, &c. where there is a list of the first reforms of this century. *Voyage Littéraire de Deux Bénédictins*, par. ii. p. 97, &c.

[4] There is an account of all the convents, both Benedictines and others, which submitted to a reform of any kind, in Helyot's *Histoire des Ordres*, tome v. vi. vii. &c. to whose account, however, numerous additions might be made. Of the Reformed Congregation of Cluny, which commenced in the year 1621, the Benedictines have treated expressly in their *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 544, &c. They also treat of the Reformed Canons Regular of St. Augustine, in tom. vii. p. 778, 787, 790. For an account of the Reformed Cistercians in France and Germany, see Mabillon, *Annal. Benedictin.* tome vi. p. 121, &c.; *Voyage Littéraire de deux Bénédictins*, tome i. p. 7, 8, tome ii. p. 133, 229, 269, 303. The Reformed Cistercians with great zeal attempted a reformation of their whole sect in this century, but in vain. See Meaupou, *Vie de l'Abbé de la Trappe*, tome i. p. 192, &c. I omit other notices as requiring too much room. [I find no more suitable place to notice some abolished orders in this century. Clement XIV. in his bull for suppressing the order of Jesuits, mentions the Congregation of the Reformed Conventual Brethren, which Sixtus V. approved but which Urban VIII. abolished by his bull of February 6, 1626, because the above-named brethren did not yield spiritual fruits to the church of God; nay, very many disagreements had arisen between those Reformed Conventual Brethren and the Unreformed Conventual Brethren; and he allowed them to go over to the Capuchin Brethren of St. Francis or to the Observant Franciscans. According to the same bull, the order of Regulars of St. Ambrose and St. Barnabas ad nemus, was suppressed by the same pontiff. And in the year 1668, Clement IX. abolished the three regular orders of Canons Regular of St. Gregory in Alga, of Hieronymists de Fesulis, and of Jesuates, established by St. Jo. Columbanus, because they were of little or no use to the church, and had lent their revenues to the Venetian republic to be applied to war against the Turks.—*Schl.*

excellence and utility of their regulations, and partly in the constancy with which they observe them. The most famous of these is the French Congregation of St. Maur,[1] which was formed under the authority of Gregory XV. in 1621, and endowed with various privileges and rights by Urban VIII. in 1627. This association does not indeed consist of genuine followers of St. Benedict, nor is it free from everything censurable; yet it has many excellencies which raise it above all others. Of these excellencies the first and most useful is, that it enables a certain number of persons of superior genius to devote themselves to the cultivation of learning, both sacred and civil, and particularly to the study of history and antiquities, and that it furnishes them in abundance with all the helps which they need to prosecute their business with advantage.[2] Those who are acquainted with the history of learning need not be informed how much this institution has benefited the literary world, or what a multitude of excellent and immortal works it has produced, illustrative of every branch of learning except philosophy.[3]

26. But the best and most sacred of these changes were esteemed trivial and imperfect by those whose eye was fixed on the ancient discipline, and who wished to see the lives of monks strictly conformed to their first rules. The number of these in the Romish church was not inconsiderable, though they had little influence and were odious to most persons on account of their severity. These persons taught that a monk should spend his whole life in prayers, tears, con-

[1] See the *Gallia Christiana*—not the old work of this name, but the new and elegant production of the Benedictines of this same Congregation of St. Maur, vol. vii. p. 474, &c.; Helyot's *Histoire des Ordres*, tome vi. chap. xxxvii. p. 256. The bull of Gregory XV. approving the society of St. Maur is severely criticised in all its parts by Launoi, that scourge of the monks, even the best of them, in his *Examen Privilegii S. Germanii; Opp.* tom. iii. part i. p. 303. He also treats of the dissensions and commotions in this order soon after its institution, (though with considerable prejudice, as is usual for him when speaking of monks), in his *Assertio Inquisit. in Privileg. S. Medardi*, par. i. cap. lxxvi. in his *Opp.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 227. [This Congregation consists of more than 180 Abbeys and Conventual Priories, which are divided into six provinces (extending over the greatest part of France), and it is governed by a General, two assistants, and six visiters, who are elected, as are the superiors of the several cloisters, every three years in a general chapter of the order. As it is the object of this Congregation to revive the spirit of St. Benedict in the observance of his rule, so special care is taken to train up the young religious according to it. Hence in each province one or two houses for novices are erected, from which those to be admitted to profession are removed to other cloisters, where they are trained for two years to virtue and to acts and exercises of worship. After this they study human learning and theology five years, and then spend one year in collecting their thoughts, and thus prepare themselves for orders and for more assiduity in their spiritual offices. In some cloisters there are also seminaries for the education of youth.—*Schl.*

[2] The Benedictines talk largely of the great services done by this Congregation in various ways; and among other difficult enterprises they mention numerous cloisters of monks which had declined and become corrupt, recovered and restored to order and respectability. See *Voyage de Deux Religieux Bénédictins de la Congrég. de St. Maur*, tome i. p. 16, tome ii. p. 47, and nearly throughout that work. A person must indeed be much prejudiced who can look upon all these statements as fictions. There are however in the Romish community persons who for various reasons dislike this society. First, some of the bishops are unfriendly to these learned Benedictines. For after these monks had thrown great light upon ancient history and upon diplomatics by their learned works, they were able to defend their possessions, property, and rights, more learnedly and successfully in the courts against the bishops who coveted them, than when they were destitute of this literature and erudition. In the next place, the Jesuits, whose merits and glory were greatly obscured by the splendid works undertaken and accomplished by these Benedictines, endeavour to the utmost of their power to run down both them and their pursuits. See Simon's *Lettres Choisies*, tome iv. p. 36, 45. Others are led by superstition to indulge hatred of them, but it is perhaps a superstition tinctured with envy. For these Benedictines have substituted the pursuit of learning in place of that of manual labour, which the rule of St. Benedict prescribes for his monks. The more robust are required to labour with their hands during certain hours of the day, but the more feeble or those who possess superior genius are taxed with intellectual or mental labour or the pursuit of sacred or secular learning. This is censured by certain austere persons who are very fond of the ancient monastic discipline, and who think that literary pursuits are disreputable for monks, because they divert the mind from the contemplation of divine things. As this sentiment was advanced with excessive ardour, especially by Bouthillier de Rance, abbot of La Trappe, in his book, *Des Devoirs Monastiques*, the most learned of the Benedictines, John Mabillon, was directed to defend the cause of his fraternity, which he did in his well-known work *De l' Etudes Monastiques*, which was first published, Paris, 1691, 8vo. and often afterwards, and translated also into the Latin and other languages. Hence arose that well-known controversy in France, "How far is it suitable for a monk to cultivate literature?" an elegant history of which has been given to the world by Vincent Thuillier, a very learned monk of the congregation of St. Maur, published among the *Opera Posthuma Mabillonii et Ruinarti*, tom. i. p. 365—425.

[3] A list of the writings and works with which the congregation of St. Maur have favoured the learned world is given by Le Cerf, *Bibliothèque Historique et Critique des Auteurs de la Congrégation de S. Maur*, Hague, 1726, 8vo, and by Pez, *Bibliotheca Benedictino-Mauriana*, Augsburg, 1716, 8vo. These monks are going on with great perseverance to benefit both sacred and profane learning by their elaborate and excellent productions. [A more complete catalogue of their works is in the *Histoire Littéraire de la Congrégation de S. Maur, Ordre de St. Benoit, où l'on trouve la Vie et les Travaux des Auteurs, qu'elle a produits depuis son Origine en 1618, jusqu' à present, avec les Titres, Enumération, l' Analyse, des differentes Editions des Livres, qu'ils ont donnés au Public, et le Jugement que les Savans en ont porté; ensemble la notice de beaucoup d' Ouvrages manuscrits, composés par des Bénédictins du même Corps*, Brussels and Paris, 1770, 4to.—*Schl.* [by Père Tassin. Among their most valuable works are their *Gallia Christiana* in thirteen vols. fol. 1715-85, not yet completed; their *Hist. Littér. de la France*, &c. in twenty vols. 4to, Paris, 1733-1842; and their *L' Art de vérifier les Dates des Faits historiques*, &c. Paris, 1750, frequently republished in folio, quarto, and octavo, and continued to the present time. Their celebrated editions of the fathers, commenced in this century (1642), continued to appear from time to time down to the year 1780, when the French Revolution interrupted their learned labours. They edited ten Greek and twelve Latin fathers, comprised in 59 vols. in folio, one in 4to, and one in 8vo. The student will find a chronological list of these editions in the Appendix to Dowling's *Introd. to the Critical Study of Eccles. Hist.* p. 286.—*R.*

templation, sacred reading, and manual labour; and that whatever else might occupy him, however useful and excellent it might be in itself, was inconsistent with his vocation and therefore vain and not acceptable to God. Besides others who had not the fortune to become so celebrated, the Jansenists proposed this rigid reformation of the monks, and they exhibited some examples of it in France;[1] the most perfect and best known of which was that which took place in the convent of Sacred Virgins bearing the name of Port-Royal, and which has flourished from the year 1618 down to the present time [A.D. 1753].[2] Several emulated this example; but the most successful and zealous of all these was, in the year 1664, Armand John Bouthillier de Rance, abbot of La Trappe, a man of noble birth, who was so happy as to prevent the accusation of extravagant superstition which the Jansenists had incurred from being brought against his associates, although they lived in the most austere manner of the old Cistercians; nay, although they carried their austerity beyond the ancient discipline of the Cistercians. The fraternity established by this noted man still flourishes under the name of the Reformed Bernardines of La Trappe, and has been propagated among the Italians and the Spaniards; though, if credit is to be given to the testimony of many, it has gradually departed much from the very painful discipline of its founder.[3]

27. Of the new orders of monks which arose in this century—for that fruitful mother, the church, has never ceased to bring forth such fraternities—we shall notice only those which have acquired some celebrity. We mention, first, the French society of Fathers of the Oratory of the Holy Jesus, instituted in 1613 by John Berulle [Peter de Berulle], a man of various talents, who served the commonwealth and religion, the court and the church, with equal ability, and was at last a cardinal. This institution was in reality intended to oppose the Jesuits. It has trained and it is still training many persons eminent for piety, eloquence, and erudition. But through the influence of the Jesuits, who were its enemies, it fell under a suspicion of broaching new doctrines in certain of its publications. The priests who enter this fraternity do not divest themselves of private property; but so long as they continue in the society (and they are at liberty to retire from it whenever they please) they relinquish all prospects of admission to any sacred office which has attached to it fixed revenues or rank and honour. Yet they are required faithfully to discharge all the duties of priests, and to make it their greatest care and effort to perfect themselves and others more and more in the art of profitably discharging those duties. Their fraternities therefore may not improperly be denominated schools for pastoral theology. In more recent times however they have in fact begun to teach the liberal arts and sacred science.[4] With

[1] See *Mémoires de Port-Royal*, tome ii. p. 601, 602. In particular, that most celebrated Jansenist, Martin de Barcos, introduced the austere discipline of ancient monks into the monastery of St. Cyran, of which he was abbot. See *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 132; Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 135, &c. But after his death the monks of St. Cyran, like those of other places, relapsed into their old habits. See *Voyage de Deux Bénédictins*, tome i. part i. p. 18, &c.

[2] Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tome v. chap. xliv. p. 455.

[3] See Marsollier, *Vie de l'Abbé de la Trappe*, Paris, 1702, 4to, and 1703, 2 vols. 12mo.; Meaupou (a doctor of the Sorbonne), *Vie de M. l'Abbé de la Trappe*, Paris, 1702, 2 vols. 8vo; Felibien, *Description de l'Abbayé de la Trappe*, Paris, 1671, 12mo; Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tome vi. chap. i. p. 1, &c. [The author of this reformation lived, as the greater part of the French abbés now do, in a thoughtless, unprincipled manner, and kept up an illicit intercourse with a French lady, Madame de Montbazon. Her sudden death by the small-pox and the unexpected sight of her mutilated corpse, brought him to the resolution of becoming a Carthusian. The common statement is this:—The abbot had received no notice of the lady's sickness, and after an absence of six weeks returned from the country to visit her. He went directly to her chamber by a secret staircase with which he was acquainted, and there found her dead and her corpse mutilated. For the leaden coffin which had been made for her was too short, and it was found necessary to cut off her head. The sight of her corpse in the coffin and her head on the table so affected him that he resolved to forsake the world and to embrace the severest monastic order. Vigneul-Marville (*Mélanges d' Hist. et de Littérature*, Rotterd. 1700, 8vo, tome iii. p. 126) contradicts this statement. He says the true account is:—The abbot had been a particular friend of this lady, and once on waiting on her he learned from a gentleman in her antechamber that she had the smallpox and was then wishing the attendance of a clergyman. The abbot went to call one, and on his return found her dying. He was much affected on the occasion; but it was two or three years after this event that he formed his rigorous establishment. And probably the additions and alterations of the story were invented for the sake of giving it a romantic aspect. Be this as it may, the abbot changed his life and established an order into which none would enter but melancholy people, who were weary of the whole world and constantly in fear of losing heaven. They permitted no scientific or literary pursuits, and in their library had none but devotional books. Their worship was continued day and night; and if a cloister contained so many as twenty-four monks, they were divided into three classes which interchanged continually. All these monks lived very austerely and observed a rigorous silence, conversing together only once a-week and then not on worldly things. Their time was divided between manual labour, the canonical exercises, and private devotion. They lived wholly on bread, herbs, and pulse.—*Schl.*

[4] See De Cerisy, *Vie du Cardinal Berulle, Fondateur de l' Oratorie de Jésus*, Paris, 1646, 4to; Morin's Life, prefixed to his *Antiquit. Orientales*, p. 3, 4, 5, 110; Simon's *Lettres Choisies*, tome ii. p. 60, and his *Bibliothèque Critique* (which he published under the name of Sainlorc), tome iii. p. 303, 324, 330, &c. On the character of Berulle, see Baillet's *Vie de Richer*, p. 220, 342; Le Vassor, *Histoire de Louis XIII.* tome iii. p. 397, &c.; Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tome viii. chap. x. p. 53, &c.; *Gallia Christiana* of the Benedictines, tom. vii. p. 976, &c. [These Fathers of the Oratory must

these we join the Priests of the Missions, an order founded by Vincent de Paul, who was canonized not long since. They were constituted a regular and legitimate society in 1632 by Urban VIII. To fulfil the designs of their founder they must attend especially to three things: first, to improve and amend themselves daily by prayers, meditation, reading, and other things; secondly to perform sacred missions among the people living in the country towns and villages, eight months in the year, in order to imbue the peasantry with religious knowledge and quicken their piety (from which service they derive their name of Priests of the Missions); and lastly, to superintend seminaries in which young men are educated for the priesthood, and to train up candidates for the sacred office.[1] Under the counsel and patronage of the Priests of the Missions are the Virgins of Love or the Sisters of Charity, whose business it is to minister to the indigent in sickness. They originated with a noble lady, Louisa le Gras, and received the approbation of Clement IX. in 1660.[2] The Brethren and Sisters of the Pious and Christian Schools were instituted by Nicholas Barre in 1678. They are usually called Piarists, and their principal object is the education of poor children of both sexes.[3] But it would be tedious to expatiate on this subject and to enumerate all the religious associations which in the various parts of the Romish jurisdiction were now set up with great expectations, and then suddenly neglected and suffered to become extinct.

28. The society of Jesuits, by which as its soul the whole body of the Romish community is governed, if it could have been oppressed and trodden to dust by hosts of enemies, by innumerable indignities, by the most horrid accusations, and by various calamities, must undoubtedly have become extinct or at least have been divested of all reputation and confidence. The French, the Belgians, the Poles, the Italians, have attacked it with fury and have boldly charged it, both publicly and privately, with every species of crime and error which the imagination can conceive as most pernicious to the souls of men and to the peace and safety of civil governments. The Jansenists especially and those who adopt altogether or in part their views, have exposed its character in numerous publications, strengthened not merely by satire and groundless declamation, but by proofs, evidences, and documents of the most credible nature.[4] But this immense host of accusers and of most decided enemies seems not so much to have weakened and depressed this very sagacious sect, as to have exalted it and enriched it with possessions and honours of every kind. For the Jesuits, without parrying the strokes of their enemies by replies and noisy disputation, have by silence for the most part and patience, held on their course amid all these storms, and reaching their desired haven have possessed themselves, with wonderful facility, of their supremacy in the Romish church. The very countries in which the Jesuits were once viewed as horrid monsters and public pests have sometimes voluntarily, and sometimes involuntarily, surrendered

not be confounded with the Italian order of the same name, established in the preceding century by Philip Neri. (See above, p. 616). Both agree in this, that they devote themselves to learning; but the Italians pursue especially church history, while the French cultivate all branches of learning. The founder of this order, Berulle, was in so high favour with the queen of France, Anna of Austria, that Cardinal Richelieu envied him; and his death which occurred in 1629 was so sudden, that some conjectured he died of poison. The Fathers of the Oratory are not monks but secular clergymen, nor do they chant any canonical hours. They are called Fathers of the Oratory, because they have no churches in which the sacraments are administered, but only chapels or oratories in which they read prayers and preach.—*Schl.*

[1] Abely, *Vie de M. Vincent de Paul*, Paris, 1664, 4to; Helyot, *ubi supra*, tome viii. chap. xl. p. 64; *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 998, &c.

[2] Gobillon, *Vie de Madame de Gras, Fondatrice des Filles de la Charité*, Paris, 1676, 12mo.

[3] Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tome viii. chap. xxx. p. 233.

[4] Here is matter for a volume, or rather for many large volumes. For there is scarcely any part of the Catholic world which does not offer for our inspection some conflict of the Jesuits with the magistrates, with other orders of monks, or with the bishops and other religious teachers; from which the Jesuits, though they might seem vanquished, yet finally came off victorious. An attempt was made to bring together all these facts which lie scattered and dispersed through numerous writers, by a man of the Jansenist party, who a few years ago undertook to write a history of the order of Jesuits, if he should be permitted to fulfil the promises in his Preface, *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jésus*, tome i. Utrecht, 1741, 8vo. And no man was more competent to finish the work commenced by him than he was, unless we are to regard as fabulous all that he tells us respecting his travels and his sufferings for many years, while exploring the plans, policy, and operations of the Jesuits. But this honest man, imprudently venturing to go into France, was discovered, it is said, by his enemies and assassinated. Hence his work was carried no farther than the third volume. [Maclaine in his note here written at the Hague about the year 1764 says this man was a Frenchman named Benard, that he was then living at the Hague, that he had not been massacred in France, but had returned in safety from his visit to that country; that he had never travelled in the manner he pretended in his preface to collect information, but had collected all his information from books in his study, and had made up the story of his travels to amuse his readers and procure credit to his book; and that no good reason was offered for his having violated his promise to continue the work. Schroeckh (in his *Kirchengesch. s. d. Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 645) tells us on the authority of a Dutch journal, that the man's name was Peter Quesnel, with the surname Menard, that he had never travelled as he pretended, that he died at the Hague in the year 1774, and that the report was that he was persuaded, a little before his death, to burn the manuscript of the residue of his work which was sufficient to fill twenty volumes.—*Mur.*

no small share of their interests and concerns to the discretion and good faith of this most potent fraternity.[1]

29. Literature and the sciences, both the elegant and the useful branches, acquired additional honour and glory in the better provinces of the Romish church. Among the French, the Italians, the Spaniards, and the Catholics of the Low Countries, there were men distinguished for their genius and their knowledge of various sciences and languages. But we must not ascribe this prosperous state of learning to the influence of the public schools. For in both the higher and lower classes of these schools that ancient, jejune, tedious, and barren mode of teaching which enfeebles, embarrasses, and perplexes rather than quickens and strengthens the mind, and which loads the memory with a multitude of technical words and phrases without meaning and without use, has maintained its place down even to our times. But beyond the limits of these reputed seats of learning, certain great and excellent men guided others to a better and more profitable method of prosecuting study. In this matter the pre-eminence is justly due to the French, who being prompted by native powers of genius and encouraged by the munificence of Louis XIV. towards learning and learned men, treated nearly all branches of literature and science in the happiest manner; and rejecting the barbarism of the schools, exhibited learning in a new and elegant dress suited to captivate the mind.[2] And how greatly the efforts of this very refined nation tended to rescue the other nations from scholastic bondage, no person of even a moderate share of information can well be ignorant.

30. No means whatever could remove from the chairs of philosophy those misnamed Aristotelians, who were continually quoting Aristotle while they did not in reality understand him. Nor could the court of Rome, which is afraid of everything new, for a long time persuade itself to allow the new discoveries of the philosophers to be freely promulgated and explained; as is manifest from the sufferings of Galileo, a Tuscan mathematician, who was cast into prison for bringing forward the Copernican system of astronomy. Some among the French, led on by René des Cartes and Peter Gassendi,[3] the former of whom by his doctrines and the latter in his writings confuted the Peripatetics, first ventured to abandon the thorny fields of the Aristotelians and to follow more liberal principles of philosophising. Among these there were some Jesuits, but a much larger number from among the Fathers of the Oratory and the disciples of Jansenius, who distinguished themselves. Here will readily occur to many minds the names of Malebranche, Anthony Arnauld, Bernard Lami, Peter Nicole, and Blaise Pascal, who acquired lasting fame by illustrating, perfecting, and adapting to common use the principles of Des Cartes.[4] For Gassendi, who professed to understand but few things and who rather taught how to philosophise than proposed a system of philosophy, had but few followers among a people eager for knowledge, sanguine, ardent, and impatient of protracted labour. Towards the close of the century, some of the Italians as well as other nations began to imitate the French; at first indeed timidly but afterwards more confidently, as the pontiffs appeared to relax a little of that jealousy which they had entertained against the new views of the

[1] Perhaps no people have attacked the Jesuits with more animosity and energy, or done them more harm, than the French. Those who wish to learn what was said and done against them by the parliament, by the university of Paris, and by the people of France, may consult Cæsar Egasse de Boulay [better known by his Latin name Bulæus], *Historia Academiæ Parisiensis*, tom. vi. p. 559-648, 676, 738, 742, 744, 763, 774-890, 898, 909, who has scarcely omitted anything relating to the subject. And what was the issue of all these most vehement contests? The Jesuits, after being ignominiously expelled from France, were first honourably received again under Henry IV. in the year 1604, notwithstanding the indignation of so many men of the greatest reputation and of the highest rank who were opposed to them. See the *Mémoires du Duc de Sully*, the late edition of Geneva, tome v. p. 83, &c. 314, &c. In the next place, they were admitted to the government both of the church and of the state, and this privilege they retain quite to our times. [So it was when Mosheim wrote; but now,—

Venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus
Dardaniæ, &c.

And even in France, where the Jesuits were caressed by the great and feared by bishops and archbishops, the conflagration began which consumed the whole fabric of the Jesuits' universal monarchy.—*Schl.* [But, as formerly stated, this order has not only been re-established but has returned to France, although it has been, only a few years ago, once more formally expelled or withdrawn by the pope out of that kingdom.—*R.*

[2] This will be found illustrated by Voltaire, in the noted work already quoted repeatedly, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* and in his *Additions* to that work [in the edition, Paris, 1820, tome ii. chap. xxxi.-xxxiv.—*Mur.*

[3] Gassendi's *Exercitationes Paradoxæ adversus Aristoteleos* is in his *Opera*, tom. iii. p. 95, &c. and is an accurate and elegant performance, which did great harm to the cause of the Peripatetics. See the remarks already made [in Section I. sec. 31 of this century, p. 734.—*Mur.*

[4] The reward which these men had for their labours was, that they were charged with atheism by the Peripatetics; John Harduin, who was intoxicated with the Aristotelico-Scholastic philosophy, being the accuser; *Athei Detecti*, in his *Opera Posthuma*, p. 1, &c. and p. 259. Nor is the cause of this odium very difficult to be discovered. For the Cartesian philosophy, which avoids all darkness and obscurity, is much less efficacious for defending the Romish cause than the vulgar scholastic philosophy which delights in darkness. [On these Cartesian philosophers and their system, see Tennemann's *Manual of the Hist. of Philos.* p. 314, &c. and Hallam's *Introduction to the Liter. of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 214, and 229, &c.—*R.*

naturalists, mathematicians, and motaphysicians.

31. But it is proper to notice here more distinctly who were the persons entitled to the praise of having preserved and advanced both divine and human learning in the Romish church. During a large part of the century the Jesuits were nearly the only teachers of all branches of learning, and they alone among the monks were accounted learned men. And the man must be either ignorant or uncandid, who can deny that many renowned and very learned men have highly adorned that society. Lasting as literature itself will be the merits of Denys Petau,[1] James Sirmond,[2] Peter Possin,[3] Philip Labbé,[4] Nicholas Abrams,[5] and even of John Harduin,[6] though in many things erratic and not of a sound mind, as well as of many others. But as the century advanced, this literary glory of the Jesuits was greatly obscured by the Benedictines, especially by those belonging to the Congregation of St. Maur. For while the Jesuits immoderately vaunted of their merits and renown, and were unceasingly censuring the sloth and indolence of the Benedictines, in order to give plausibility to their designs of invading and appropriating to themselves the revenues and the goods of the Benedictines, the latter thought it necessary for them to wipe off this stain upon their character which they could not deny, and to disarm their most zealous enemies, by becoming really meritorious. Hence they not only opened schools in their convents for instructing youth in all branches of learning, but also appointed select individuals of the best talents to publish great and imperishable works, which might vindicate the ancient glory and reputation of the Benedictine family against its traducers. This task has been admirably fulfilled and with a success which baffles description for about a century past, by such superior men as John Mabillon,[7] Luke D'Achery,[8] René Massuet,[9] Theodore Ruinart,[10] Anthony Beaugendre,[11] Julian Garnier,[12] Charles de la Rue,[13] Edmund Martene,[14] Bernard Montfaucon,[15] and many others, some of whom have published excellent editions of the Greek and Latin fathers; others have drawn from the obscure shelves of the libraries those old papers and documents which serve to elucidate the history and antiquities of the church; others have explained the early history of church and state, the customs and rites of former times, the chronology of the world, and other parts of polite learning; and others have executed various works worthy to be handed down to posterity. I know not how it happened but from the time these new stars appeared above the literary horizon, the splendour of Jesuit erudition began gradually to decline. For there is no one disposed to deny that for a long time past, the Jesuits in vain look around among their order to find an individual who may be compared with the Benedictines, who are constantly pursuing with ardour every branch of literature, and publishing almost every year distinguished monuments of their

[1] Dionysius Petavius or Petau, born in 1583, died 1652, wrote largely on chronology and the history of religious doctrines, and ably edited several of the fathers, particularly Epiphanius.—*Mur.*

[2] Sirmond, confessor to Lewis XIII. died 1651, aged 92, wrote much on church history, and edited several of the fathers. His works were printed, Paris, 1696, 5 vols. fol.—*Mur.*

[3] Possin, born in 1590, and died at Rome near the end of the 17th century, was distinguished as a Hebrew and Greek scholar, and for his editions of the fathers. —*Mur.*

[4] Labbé of Bourges died in 1667, aged 60. He was a man of great learning, particularly in church history, but proud and overbearing.—*Mur.*

[5] Abrams, born in 1589, died 1655, was chiefly distinguished for polite learning and for his comments on Cicero's orations and on Virgil.—*Mur.*

[6] Harduin died at Paris in 1729, aged 83. He was a prodigy of learning, but he maintained that most of the Greek and Latin classics were forgeries of the monks in the middle ages. His best work is his *Concilia*, in 12 vols. fol.—*Mur.*

[7] Mabillon was born in 1632, and died at Paris in 1707. He travelled much for literary purposes in France, Germany, and Italy; and besides publishing the works of St. Bernard and the Lives of the Benedictine saints (*Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Benedicti*), and his *Analecta Veterum*, he composed Diplomatics, Annals of the Benedictines, and some smaller works.—*Mur.*

[8] Dacherius or D'Achery, born 1608, died 1685, collected judiciously and published numerous unprinted writings pertaining to ecclesiastical history, 13 vols. 4to, or (2d ed.) in 3 vols. fol. entitled *Spicilegium*, &c.—*Mur.*

[9] Massuet, born 1665, died 1716, published the best edition of Irenæus.—*Mur.*

[10] Ruinart, born 1657, died 1709, was associated with Mabillon, and published *Acta martyrum sincera et selecta*, the works of Gregory Turonensis and of Victor Vitensis, and some other works.—*Mur.*

[11] Beaugendre is noted only for the lives of some French bishops, and an edition of the works of Hildebert.—*Mur.*

[12] Garnier died 1723, aged 53, noted as editor of the works of St. Basil, 3 vols. fol.—*Mur.*

[13] De la Rue, born 1685, died 1739, an associate of Montfaucon, and editor of the works of Origen, 3 vols. fol. He must not be confounded with the Jesuit of the same name who was a poet, and editor of Virgil *in usum Delphini*.—*Mur.*

[14] Martene died 1739, aged 85; he travelled much to explore monasteries and libraries, and published a Commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict, on the ancient monastic rites, a Thesaurus of unpublished works, in 5 vols. fol. and with Durand, a new Thesaurus of the same kind, in 10 vols. fol.; and he and Durand were the Benedictine travellers who published the well-known *Voyage Littéraire de deux Religieux de la Congrégation de S. Maur*.—*Mur.*

[15] Montfaucon, born 1655, died 1741, aged 87 a very learned antiquarian, known by his *Analecta Græca*, 4to, *Palæographia Græca*, fol. the works of Athanasius. 3 vols. fol. Origen's *Hexapla*, 2 vols. fol. Chrysostom's works, 13 vols. fol. *Antiquité Expliquée et Representée en Figures*, 15 vols. fol. *Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise*, 5 vols. fol. a Collection of the Greek fathers, 2 vols. fol. *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum*, 2 vols. fol. and some other works.—*Mur.*

genius and erudition; nor have the Jesuits for many years published a single work which can compete with the labours of the Benedictines, unless it be the *Acta Sanctorum* now issuing from their press at Antwerp. The rivals of the Benedictines were the French Fathers of the Oratory, many of whom are acknowledged to have laboured successfully in advancing several branches of both human and divine knowledge; which, if there were no other examples, would be manifest from the works of Charles le Cointe, author of the imperishable *Ecclesiastical Annals of France*,[1] and of John Morin,[2] Lewis Thomassin,[3] and Richard Simon.[4] Lastly, the followers of the opinions of Jansenius—or, as they would say, of Augustine—have published various works, some erudite and others neatly and methodically composed, very useful both to adults and to the young. Who is such a stranger to the literature of this century as not to have heard of the works of the Messieurs de Port-Royal,[5] and of the very elegant and useful productions of Tillemont,[6] Arnauld,[7] Nicole,[8] Pascal,[9] Lancelot,[10] and others? The other religious orders, as well as the bishops and inferior clergy in the Romish church, had also their great men. For it would be strange, if in such a multitude of men enjoying much leisure and all advantages for study, there should not be some successful scholars. Yet all who acquired fame and merited distinction as learned men and authors, out of those four orders just mentioned, would collectively scarcely form so large a body as any one of those orders alone can exhibit.

32. Hence a copious list might be drawn up of learned men in the Romish church, whose works, composed with great care and diligence, survive their authors' death. Of the monastic families and of the priests who were bound to fixed rules of living, the most distinguished were, Cæsar Baronius,[11] and Robert Bellarmine,[12] both cardinals, and both extremely useful to their church; the first by his elaborate *Annals*, and the latter by his controversial writings; also Nicholas Serrarius,[13] Francis Feuardentius,[14] Anthony Possevin,[15] James Gretzer,[16] Francis Combefis,[17] Natalis Alexander,[18] Martin Becan,[19] James Sirmond, Denys Petau, Peter Possin, Lewis Cellot,[20] Nicholas

[1] Le Cointe, born 1611, died 1681. His *Annales Ecclesiast. Francorum*, in 8 vols. fol. extend from A.D. 235 to A.D. 835.—*Mur.*

[2] Morin, born 1591, educated a Protestant, became a Catholic, and died at Paris 1659. He wrote on the origin of Patriarchs and Primates, on the Samaritan Pentateuch, and published an edition of the Septuagint, 2 vols. fol. and the Samaritan Pentateuch. There were several distinguished men named Morin.—*Mur.*

[3] Thomassin, born 1619, died 1695, published a history of religious doctrines (a feeble imitation of Petau's work) in 3 vols. fol. Paris, 1680. Voltaire says he was "a man of profound erudition, and first composed Dialogues on the fathers, on Councils, and on History."—*Mur.*

[4] Simon, born, 1638, died 1712, a great critic; wrote *Histoire Critique du Vieux Test.*; *the Hist. of Ecclesiast. Rencontres*, 2 vols. 12mo; Crit. Diss. on Du Pin's *Biblioth des Auteurs Ecclés.*; *Hist. Critique du Noveau Test.* and various other works.—*Mur.*

[5] By this title are designated all the Jansenist writers, but especially and in a stricter sense those who spent their lives in literary and devotional pursuits in the retired situation of Port-Royal, not far from Paris. Among these it is generally known there were great men who possessed first-rate talents and were very finished writers.

[6] Sebastian le Nain de Tillemont, born at Paris 1637, died 1698, refused a bishopric, and wrote *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiast. de six Premiers Siècles*, Paris, 1693, &c. 16 vols. 4to; and *Histoire des Empereurs et des autres Princes, jusqu' à l'Empereur Honorius.*—*Mur.*

[7] Anthony Arnauld or Arnaud was born at Paris in 1612, and died at Liege 1694. He wrote on grammar, logic, and geometry, and polemic pieces against the Jesuits and the Calvinists on moral subjects, and is supposed to have contributed Nos. 3, 9, 12, 13, 14, and 15, to the *Provincial Letters*.—*Mur.*

[8] Peter Nicole, born 1625, died at Paris 1695. Besides controversial pieces against the Jesuits and aiding Arnaud in some works, he wrote *Essais de Morale*, 13 vols. 12mo, *La Perpetuité de la foy de l'Eglise Catholique touchant l' Eucharistie*, 3 vols. *Préjugés Légitimes contre les Calvinistes*, and translated the *Provincial Letters* into Latin with notes, under the fictitious name of William Wendrock.—*Mur.* [Anth. Arnaud, and not Nicole, was the author of the famous work on the perpetuity of the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist.—*R.*

[9] Blaise Pascal, born at Clermont 1623, died 1662. Besides his *Pensées* and some treatises on Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, he composed the famous *Lettres à un Provincial*. His works were printed, 5 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1799.—*Mur.*

[10] Claude Lancelot, born 1616, died 1695, taught Greek and the mathematics at Port-Royal, and had a hand in the school-books there published.—*Mur.*

[11] Baronius, born at Sora in Naples 1538, second general of the Italian order of Fathers of the Oratory, confessor to pope Clement VIII. cardinal, and librarian of the Vatican; he wrote *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 12 vols. fol. Rome, 1588-1607, was candidate for the papal chair in 1605, and died in 1607.—*Mur.*

[12] Bellarmine, a Florentine, born in 1542, cardinal in 1599, died in 1621. He wrote *Opus Controversiarum*, 3 vols. fol. *De Potestate summi Pontificis*, a Commentary on the Psalms, and an account of the ecclesiastical writers. He was learned and a giant reasoner, though in a bad cause.—*Mur.*

[13] Serrarius of Lorrain, a Jesuit, died at Mentz in 1619, aged 65; a voluminous commentator on the Bible. His works fill 16 vols. fol.—*Mur.*

[14] Feuardent, of Normandy, a Franciscan, born 1541, died 1641; edited Irenæus, wrote and preached furiously against the Protestants.—*Mur.*

[15] Possevin was a Jesuit of Mantua, born 1533, died 1611. He was papal legate to Poland, Sweden, Germany, &c. He wrote *Bibliotheca Selecta de Ratione Studiorum*, 2 vols. fol.; *Apparatus Sacer*, 2 vols. fol. and some other things.—*Mur.*

[16] Gretzer, a German Jesuit, born 1561, professor of theology at Ingolstadt, died 1636. He wrote much against the Protestants. His works fill 17 vols. fol. —*Mur.*

[17] Combefis, a Dominican of Guienne, died 1679. A fine Greek scholar, and editor of several Greek fathers, and of five Greek historians.—*Mur.*

[18] Natalis or Noel Alexandre, a Dominican of Rouen, died in 1724, aged 86. He wrote *Historiæ Eccles. Vet. et Novi Test. selecta Capita*, 8 vols. fol. in 18 vols. 4to, and 30 vols. 8vo; also a System of Theology, 2 vols. fol. His *Ecclesiastical History* is candid and learned, but written in a dry and argumentative manner.—*Mur.*

[19] Becan, a Jesuit of Brabant, confessor to Ferdinand II. died at Vienna in 1624. He wrote much against the Protestants, and a *Sum of Theology*, in French.—*Mur.*

[20] Cellot, a Jesuit of Paris, died 1658. He wrote the

Caussin,[1] John Morin, Theophilus Raynard (Raynaudus),[2] Paul Sarpi,[3] Sforza Pallavicini,[4] Philip Labbé, Lewis Maimbourg,[5] Lewis Thomassin, Cœlestine Sfondrati,[6] Joseph Aguirre,[7] Henry Noris,[8] Luke D'Achery, John Mabillon, John Harduin, Richard Simon, Theodore Ruinart, Bernard de Monfaucon, Anthony Gallon,[9] Fortunatus Scacchi,[10] Cornelius à Lapide,[11] James Bonfrere,[12] Hugh Menard,[13] Claude Seguenot,[14] Bernard Lami,[15] John Bolland,[16] Godfrey Henschenius,[17] Daniel Papebroch,[18] and many others. Of the other clergy, or those not of any religious order, but secular clergymen, as they are called in distinction from the regular clergy, the following acquired distinction and fame by their writings: viz. James David Perron,[19] William Est (Estius),[20] John Launoi,[21] Gabriel Aubespine (Albaspinius),[22] Peter de Marca,[23] John Armand Richelieu,[24] Luke Holstein,[25] Stephen Baluze,[26] John Bona,[72]

History of Gottschalk, and published the *Opuscula* of Hincmar of Rheims.—*Mur.*

[1] Caussin, a French Jesuit, died 1651, aged 71. He was confessor to Louis XIII. and wrote *De Sacra et Profana Eloquentia*, and some other things.—*Mur.*

[2] Raynard, an Italian Jesuit, died at Lyons, 1663, aged 80. He edited several of the fathers, and wrote Tables for sacred and profane history. His works were printed at Lyons, 1665, in 20 vols. fol.—*Mur.*

[3] Sarpi, a Venetian monk of the order of the Servites, born 1552, died 1623; a celebrated defender of the religious liberties of his country against the pontiff. He wrote a History of the Council of Trent, folio, a History of Benefices, and various tracts in defence of his country, which fill six vols. 12mo, Venice, 1677.—*Mur.* [See note 5, p. 613, above.—*R.*

[4] Pallavicini, a Romish Jesuit and cardinal, born at Rome, 1607, died 1667. He wrote in Italian a History of the Council of Trent, opposed to that of Sarpi, Rome, 1656, 2 vols. fol. translated into Latin, Antw. 1673, 2 vols. fol.; also a treatise on style, &c.—*Mur.* [See also note 5, p. 614, above.—*R.*

[5] Maimbourg, a French Jesuit of Nancy, born 1610, died 1686, noted as a preacher, but more as a historian. His *Histoire du Lutheranisme* was refuted by Seckendorf; his *Hist. du Calvinisme*, by Jurieu and by Jo. Bapt. de Rocoles. He also wrote Histories of Arianism, of the Iconoclasts, of the Crusades, of the schism of the Greeks, of the schism of the West, of the decay of the Empire, of the League, of the pontificate of Leo the Great. He is a sprightly writer, but a partial historian.—*Mur.*

[6] Sfondrati, a Benedictine abbot of St. Gall and a cardinal, died at Rome 1696, aged 53. He wrote *Gallia Vindicata*, and *Nodus Prædestinationis Dissolutus*, 4to. —*Mur.*

[7] Aguirre, a Spanish Benedictine, professor at Salamanca, defended the papal supremacy against the French, was made a cardinal, published *Collectio Maxima Conciliorum omnium Hispan. et Novi Orbis*, &c. 6 vols. fol. and died at Rome, 1669, aged 69.—*Mur.*

[8] Noris, an Augustinian monk, born at Verona 1631, of Irish parentage, professor of Ecclesiastical History at Pisa, librarian of the Vatican, a cardinal in 1695, and died at Rome in 1704. He wrote a *History of Pelagianism*, *History of Investitures*, and various other learned works, printed collectively, Verona, 1729, 1730, 5 vols. fol.—*Mur.*

[9] Gallonio, a Romish presbyter of the Oratory, died 1605. He wrote *De Cruciatibus Martyrum*, with plates, 1594, 4to, and some other things.—*Mur.*

[10] Scacchi was an Italian Augustinian Eremite, who corrected the Romish Martyrology and Breviary, and died in 1640.—*Mur.*

[11] A Lapide was a Jesuit of Liege, who wrote Commentaries on the Bible, 10 vols. fol. and died at Rome, 1637, aged 71.—*Mur.*

[12] Bonfrere was a Jesuit, professor at Douay, wrote Commentaries on the Pentateuch, on Scripture names, &c. and died at Tournay, 1643, aged 70.—*Mur.*

[13] Menard was a Benedictine of St. Maur, born at Paris in 1587, and died in 1644. He wrote *Diatribe de unico Dionysio*, and *Martyrolog. ex Ord. Benedict.*—*Mur.*

[14] Seguenot was a French priest of the Oratory, wrote notes on the French translation of Augustine de Virginitate, which excited commotion; and died in 1644. —*Mur.*

[15] Lami was also a French priest of the Oratory, born in 1645, and died in 1715. He wrote on geometry, on the sciences, on perspective, on Christian Morality, 5 vols. 12mo, Apparatus Biblicus, 4to, De Tabernaculo, fol. Harmonia Evangelica, 2 vols. 4to, &c.—*Mur.*

[16] Bolland, a Jesuit of Tillemont in Flanders, who commenced the *Acta Sanctorum*, of which he published 6 vols. fol. and died in 1665.—*Mur.* [The continuators of this great work are called after him the Bollandists; two of these are mentioned in the next two notes. The first volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* was published in 1643; at various intervals other folio volumes appeared, the fifty-third volume was published in 1794; after an interval of half a century the work has been resumed. Two volumes, the fifty-fourth and fifty-fifth, were published at Brussels in 1845, 46, and I believe there is a likelihood of this gigantic undertaking being at length brought to a termination. The lives of the saints which it contains are arranged in the order of the calendar, and the work is quoted by the volumes connected with each month: for example, the last two volumes are the sixth and seventh of the month of October. Thus, although above two centuries have elapsed since the commencement of this stupendous work, and fifty-five ponderous folio volumes have appeared, yet scarcely three-quarters of the year have yet been finished; so that it may be computed it will require fifteen volumes more to complete the series, which will then amount to the unprecedented number of *seventy volumes folio*.—*R.*

[17] Henschen, a Jesuit of Antwerp, continuator of the *Acta Sanctorum*, died 1682.—*Mur.*

[18] Papebroch, a Jesuit of Antwerp, also a continuator of the *Acta Sanctorum*, died in 1714.—*Mur.*

[19] Perron, born a French Protestant, 1556, turned Catholic, became bishop of Evreux, archbishop of Sens, almoner of France, and in 1604 a cardinal. He was very learned and eloquent, and a great reasoner; wrote on the Eucharist, against Du Plessis Mornay, &c. and died at Paris in 1618, aged 63. His works fill 3 vols. fol.—*Mur.*

[20] Estius, born at Gorcum in Holland, was divinity professor and chancellor of the university of Douay, where he died in 1613, aged 71. He wrote Commentaries on the Epistles, 2 vols. fol. Annotations on difficult passages of Scripture, fol. and the martyrdom of Edmund Campian.—*Mur.*

[21] Launoi, a doctor of theology at Paris, born in 1603, and died in 1678. He was a strenuous defender of the liberties of the Gallican church, a strong opposer of legends, and a learned critic. His works were printed at Geneva, in 10 vols. folio.—*Mur.*

[22] Aubespine, bishop of Orleans, died 1630, aged 52. He was learned in ecclesiastical antiquities, and commented on the fathers and councils.—*Mur.*

[23] De Marca was born at Gart in Bearne, 1594, studied law, married and became a counsellor; afterwards devoted himself to theology, was bishop of Conserans, archbishop of Toulouse, and lastly of Paris, where he died in 1662. This man wrote a History of Bearne, and *De Concordia Imperii et Sacerdotii*.—*Mur.*

[24] Richelieu, born 1585, died 1642, a cardinal, peer, and prime minister, persecuted the French Protestants, and wrote a defence of the Catholic faith against the Protestants, a tract on the best method of confuting heretics, and several other things.—*Mur.*

[25] Holstein. See note 5, p. 750. He was a critic and editor, and wrote *De Abassinorum Communione sub unica specie*, on the Sacrament of Confirmation among the Greeks, on the Nicene Council, &c.—*Mur.*

[26] Baluze, professor of canon law at Paris, died 1718, aged 87. He wrote Lives of the Popes of Avignon, and was a noted editor.—*Mur.*

[27] Bona, born in Piedmont 1609, died at Rome, 1674.

Peter Daniel Huet,[1] James Benigne Bossuet,[2] Francis Fénélon,[3] Anthony Godeau,[4] Sebastian le Nain de Tillemont, John Baptist Thiers,[5] Lewis Ellies du Pin,[6] Leo Allatius,[7] Lawrence Alexander Zaccagni,[8] John Baptist Cotelier,[9] John Filesac,[10] Joseph Visconti,[11] and others.[12] This list may be greatly enlarged by adding the names of those laymen, either in public or private life, who did service to sacred and secular learning.

33. That the professed religion of the Romish church, both as to articles of faith and rules of practice, was not purified in this century and made conformable to the only standard, the sacred Scriptures, and that it was occasionally corrupted and deformed either by the negligence of the popes or the zeal of the Jesuits, is the complaint not so much of those who are opposed to this church or those called heretics, as of all those members of it who are in favour of a thorough knowledge of religion and genuine piety. As to doctrines of faith, it is said that the Jesuits, with the connivance, nay, frequently with the assistance of the Romish prelates, entirely subverted such of the first principles of Christianity as the council of Trent had left untouched; for they lowered the dignity and utility of the sacred Scriptures, extolled immoderately the power of man to do good, extenuated the efficacy and necessity of divine grace, detracted from the greatness of Christ's merits, almost equalled the Roman pontiff to our Saviour, and converted Him into a terrestrial deity, and in fine brought the truth of Christianity itself into immense danger by their fallacious and sophistical reasonings. It is difficult to gainsay the abundant testimony by which the gravest men, particularly among the Jansenists, support these accusations. Yet it is easy to show that the Jesuits were not inventors of the doctrines they inculcated, but in reality taught and explained that old form of the Romish religion which was everywhere taught before Luther's time, and by which the authority, wealth, and power of the pontiffs and the church had grown during many centuries to their immense height. The Jesuits would teach otherwise if the pontiffs wished them to use all their efforts to render the church more holy and more like Christ; but they cannot teach otherwise, so long as they are instructed to make it their first care that the pontiffs may hold what they have got and recover what they have lost, and that the prelates and ministers of the church may continually become more rich and more powerful. If the Jesuits committed any error in this matter, it consisted wholly in this, that they explained more clearly and lucidly what the fathers at Trent either left imperfectly explained or wholly passed over, lest they should shock the minds of those imbued with better sentiments who attended that celebrated convention. Hence also the pontiffs, though pressed by the strongest arguments and exhortations, could never be persuaded to pass any severe censures upon the religious sentiments of the

a cardinal. He wrote *Manuductio ad Cœlum, Principia Vitæ Christianæ, Via Compendii ad Deum, De Sacrificio Missæ, De Discretione Spirituum, De Rebus Liturgicis, De Divina Psalmodia, Testamentum*, and *Horologium Asceticum*. He was a very devout man. —*Mur.*

[1] Huet, born in Caen 1630, bishop of Soissons, and of Avranches, died 1721. He was very learned, and wrote *De Interpretatione, Origeniana, Demonstratio Evangelica, Censura Philosophiæ Cartesianæ, Quæstiones Alnetanæ de Concordia Rationis et Fidei*, and several other things.—*Mur.*

[2] Bossuet, born at Dijon, 1627, bishop of Meaux, counsellor of state, died 1704. This elegant writer composed a Discourse on Universal History, History of the variations among Protestant Churches, Funeral Orations, Exposition of the Catholic Faith, Disputes with Fénélon, &c. collected, Paris, 1743, in 12 vols. 4to.—*Mur.*

[3] Fénélon, archbishop of Cambray, born 1651, died 1715. He wrote *Explication des Maximes des Saintes sur la Vie Intérieure*, in which he supports the views of Madame Guyon, and thus involved himself in controversy with Bossuet, and incurred censure from the pope; also Telemachus, Dialogues of the Dead, Dialogues on Eloquence, Demonstration of the Existence of God, Spiritual Works, and many other pieces; in all, 10 vols. 8vo.—*Mur.*

[4] Godeau, born at Dreux, 1605, died 1671, bishop of Venice. He wrote some Commentaries on the Scriptures, and an Ecclesiastical History, 3 vols. fol. 1653. —*Mur.*

[5] Thiers, born at Chartres, 1616, died 1703; professor of Belles Lettres at Paris, and then curate of Vivray in Le Mans. He wrote on Superstitions, concerning the Sacraments, on Fast Days, History of Perukes, the Crucifixion of St. Francis, &c.—*Mur.*

[6] Du Pin, a doctor of the Sorbonne, born at Paris, 1657, died there 1719, aged 62. He wrote *Bibliothèque Universelle des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques* in 19 vols. 4to, down to A.D. 1600, Prolegomena to the Bible, Notes on the Psalms and the Pentateuch, *De Antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina*, a Method of studying Divinity, and edited the works of Optatus Milevitanus and of Gerson.—*Mur.*

[7] Allatius or Allazzio [his Italian name was Leone Allaccio.—*R.*], born at Scio in the Ægean Sea, educated at Rome, teacher in the Greek college there, librarian of the Vatican, died at Rome 1699, aged 83. Besides editing various Greek works, he wrote *De Perpetua Consensu Ecclesiæ Græcæ et Latinæ*, and some other works.—*Mur.*

[8] Zaccagni, keeper of the Vatican library, died at Rome in 1712. He published *Collectanea Monumentor. Vet. Ecclesiæ Gr. et Lat.* 1698.—*Mur.*

[9] Cotelier, born at Nismes 1627, died at Paris 1686, aged 59. He was professor of Greek at Paris, and published the *Patres Apostolici*, 1672, 2 vols. fol. and *Monumenta Eccles. Græcæ*, 3 vols. fol.—*Mur.*

[10] Filesac, doctor of the Sorbonne, and dean of the faculty of theology at Paris, died in 1638. His works were printed in 1621, 3 vols. 4to. The best is Notes on Vincentius Lirinensis.—*Mur.*

[11] Visconti or Vicecomes, professor of Ecclesiastical Antiquities at Milan. He wrote *De Antiquis Baptismi Ritibus*, and *De Ritibus Confirmationis et Missæ*. —*Mur.*

[12] Whoever wishes to know more of the merits of these writers may consult, besides the common authors of literary history, Du Pin's volumes concerning the ecclesiastical writers, vols. xvii. xviii. xix.

Jesuits; and on the other hand they have resisted, sometimes secretly and sometimes openly, those who opposed their doctrines with more than ordinary spirit and energy; for they looked upon the opponents of that order as indiscreet persons, who either did not or would not know what the interests of the church required.

34. That morality was not so much corrupted and vitiated in nearly all its parts as altogether subverted by the Jesuits, is the public complaint of innumerable writers of every class, and of very respectable fraternities in the Romish church. Nor does their complaint seem groundless, since they adduce from books of the Jesuits professedly treating of the right way of life, and especially from the writings of those called Casuists, many principles which are opposed to all virtue and honesty. In particular they show that these men teach the following doctrines:—That a bad man who is an entire stranger to the love of God, provided he feels some fear of the Divine wrath and from dread of punishment avoids grosser crimes, is a fit candidate for eternal salvation. That men may sin with safety, provided they have a probable reason for the sin, *i.e.* some argument or authority in favour of it. That actions in themselves wrong and contrary to the Divine law are allowable, provided a person can control his own mind and in his thoughts connect a good end with the criminal deed; or, as they express it, knows how to direct his intention right. That philosophical sins, that is, actions which are contrary to the law of nature and to right reason, in a person ignorant of the written law of God or dubious as to its true meaning, are light offences and do not deserve the punishments of hell. That the deeds a man commits when wholly blinded by his lusts and the paroxysms of passion, and when destitute of all sense of religion, though they be of the vilest and most execrable character, can by no means be charged to his account in the judgment of God, because such a man is like a madman. That it is right for a man, when taking an oath or forming a contract, in order to deceive the judge and subvert the validity of the covenant or oath, tacitly to add something to the words of the compact or the oath; and other sentiments of the like nature.[1] These and other doctrines, not only the Dominicans and Jansenists but also the divines of Paris, Poictiers, Louvain, and others in great numbers, so pointedly condemned in public, that Alexander VII. thought proper to condemn some part of them in his decree of the 21st of August, 1659; and Alexander VIII. on the 24th of August, 1690, condemned particularly the philosophical sin of the Jesuits.[2] But these numerous and important decisions and decrees against the moral principles of the Jesuits, if we may believe the common voice of learned and pious men, were more efficacious in restraining the horrid licentiousness of the writers of this society,

[1] One might make up a whole library of books exposing and censuring the corrupt moral principles of the Jesuits. The best work on the subject is the very elegant and ingenious production of Blaise Pascal, entitled, *Les Provinciales; ou Lettres écrites par Louis de Montalte à un Provincial des ses Amis, et aux Jésuites, sur la Morale et la Politique de ces Pères*, 2 vols. 8vo. Peter Nicole, under the fictitious name of William Wendrock, added to it learned and judicious notes, in which he copiously demonstrates the truth of what Pascal had stated either summarily or without giving authorities. It was also translated into Latin by Samuel Rachels. [An English translation of the Provincial Letters was published in London in 1657, contemporaneously with their appearance in Paris; another translation was published in 1816, and a third in 1847, all anonymously. The last, which contains M. Villemain's *Essay on Pascal*, with additional matter, is the preferable translation. A fourth translation by the Rev. T. M'Crie of Edinburgh, appeared there in 1847.—*R.*] Against this terrible adversary, the Jesuits sent forth their best genuises, and among others the very eloquent and acute Gabriel Daniel, the celebrated author of the History of France; they also caused Pascal's book to be publicly burned at Paris. See Daniel's *Opuscula*, vol. i. p. 363, who himself admits that most of the answers to the book by the Jesuits were unsatisfactory. But whether Pascal prevailed by the force and solidity of his arguments, or by the sweetness and elegance of his style and satire, it is certain that all these answers detracted very little from the reputation of his Letters; and edition after edition of them continued to be published. Less attractive in form but more solid, from the multitude of testimonies and citations from the approved Jesuitical writers, was, *La Morale des Jésuites, extraite fidèlement de leurs livres imprimés avec la permission et l'approbation des Supérieurs de leur Compagnie par un Docteur de Sorbonne*, in 3 vols. 8vo, Mons, 1702. This book also (which was written by Perault, brother of that Charles Perault who began the famous dispute, whether the moderns were inferior or superior to the ancients) was burned at Paris in 1670, through the instigation of the Jesuits. *Œuvres du Père Daniel*, tome i. p. 356, &c. And there was good reason; for whoever shall read this single book will there see all the faults which were charged upon the Jesuitical writers on morals. That the Jesuits actually put their moral principles in practice, especially in foreign and remote countries, Anthony Arnauld with his Jansenist associates undertook to prove in an elaborate work entitled, *La Morale Pratique des Jésuites*, which appeared successively during the last century, in eight volumes; and when copies of it became scarce it was republished at Amsterdam, 1742, 8 vols. 8vo, with numerous additional proofs of the charges against the Jesuits. Respecting philosophical sin in particular and the disputations concerning it, see James Hyacinth Serry (or rather Augustus le Blanc), in his *Addenda ad Historiam Congregationum de Auxiliis*, p. 82, &c. and in his *Auctarium* to these *Addenda*, p. 289, &c.

[2] The history of the commotions in France and in other places arising from these opinions of the Jesuits respecting morality, was neatly drawn up by the writer of the *Catéchisme Historique et Dogmatique sur les Contestations qui divisent maintenant l'Eglise*, 1730, 8vo, tome ii. p. 26, &c. The Bulls here mentioned are sought for in vain in the *Bullarium Pontificum*. But the care of the Dominicans and Jansenists to preserve everything disreputable to Jesuits would not suffer them to be lost.

than in purging the schools of these abominable principles. And the reason assigned why so many kings and princes and persons of every rank and sex committed the care of their souls especially to the Jesuits, is, that such confessors by their precepts extenuated the guilt of sin, flattered the criminal passions of men, and opened an easy and convenient way to heaven.[1]

35. The Holy Scriptures were so far from receiving more reverence and authority from the pontiff, that on the contrary in most countries the friends of the papal cause, and especially the Jesuits, as appears from the best evidence, took great pains to keep them out of the hands of the people, or from being interpreted differently from what the claims of the church required. Among the French and the Belgians there were some who might not improperly be denominated learned and intelligent expositors; but the majority of those who pretended to expound the sacred writings, rather obscured and darkened the Divine oracles by their comments than elucidated them. And in this class must be placed even the Jansenists, who, though they treated the Bible with more respect than the other Catholics, yet strangely adulterated the word of God by the frigid allegories and recondite expositions of the ancient doctors.[2] Yet we ought to except Paschasius Quesnel, a father of the Oratory, who published the New Testament illustrated with pious meditations and observations, which has in our day been the prolific cause of so many disputes, commotions, and divisions.[3]

36. Nearly all the schools retained the old method of teaching theology, which was dry, repulsive, and by no means suited to men of liberal minds. Not even the decrees of the pontiffs could bring dogmatic or biblical theology to be in equal estimation with scholastic. For most of the chairs were occupied by the Scholastic doctors, and they perplexed and depressed the biblical divines who were in general not well acquainted with the arts of wrangling. The Mystics were wholly excluded from the schools, and unless very cautious and submissive to the church, they could scarcely escape the brand of heresy. Yet many of the French and among them the followers of Jansenius especially, explained the principal doctrines of Christianity in a neat and lucid style. In like manner, nearly all that was written judiciously and elegantly respecting piety and morality came from the pens either of the Messieurs de Port-Royal, as the Jansenists were usually called, or from the French Fathers of the Oratory. Of the change in the manner of conducting theological controversies we have already spoken. The Germans, the Belgians, and the French, having learned to their disadvantage that the angry, loose, and captious mode of disputing which their fathers pursued rather confirmed than weakened the faith and resolution of dissentients, and that the arguments on which their doctors formerly placed much reliance had lost nearly all their force, thought it necessary

[1] What is here said of the very gross errors of the Jesuits should not be understood to imply that all the members of this society cherish these opinions, or that the public schools of the order are filled with them. For this fraternity embraces very many persons who are both learned and ingenuous, and by no means bad men. Nor would it be difficult to fill several volumes with citations from the writings of Jesuits, in which a much purer virtue and piety are taught than that black and deformed system which Pascal and the others present to us from the Casuists, Summists, and Moralists of this order. Those who accuse the Jesuits as a body, if candid, can mean only that the leaders of the society both permit such impious sentiments to be publicly set forth by individuals, and give their approbation and countenance to the books in which such sentiments are taught; that the system of religion which is taught here and there in their schools is so lax and disjointed that it easily leads men to such pernicious conclusions; and finally, that the small select number who are initiated in the greater mysteries of the order, and who are employed in public stations and in guiding the minds of the great, commonly make use of such principles to advance the interests and augment the wealth of the society. I would also acknowledge, since ingenuousness is the prime virtue of the historian, that in exaggerating the turpitude of some Jesuitical opinions, several of their adversaries have been over eloquent and vehement, as might easily be shown if there were opportunity, in regard to the doctrines of probability, mental reservation in oaths, and some others. For in this, as in most other disputes and controversies respecting either sacred or secular subjects, the accused were charged with the consequences which their accusers deduced from their declarations, their words were made to express more than they intended, and the limitations they contemplated to their opinions were overlooked.

[2] Very well known even among us is the Bible of Isaac le Maitre, commonly called Sacy, which comprehends nearly everything with which the heated imaginations of the ancient doctors disfigured the simplest narrations and the clearest statements of the Sacred Volume. [It is also called the Translation of Mons because it was first printed there, in 1665. It was commenced by Sacy, a very zealous Jansenist, who died in 1664, and completed by Thomas du Fossé. It is founded on the Vulgate, yet here and there deviates from it. The archbishop of Paris, Perefix, soon after it appeared, in 1667 published a severe circular forbidding it to be read. The same thing was done by Ge. Aubusson, bishop of Embrun; the Jesuits also did not remain idle; and at last, in 1688, Clement IX. condemned it as a perverse and dangerous translation, which deviated from the Vulgate and was a stone of stumbling to the simple. This censure it by no means merited; and even Mosheim's censure is applicable only to the notes, which are taken chiefly from the fathers and are very mystical.—*Schl.*

[3] The first part containing notes on the four Gospels was published in 1671; and being received with great applause, it was republished, enlarged and amended, together with notes on the other books of the New Testament. See *Catéchisme Historique sur les Contestations de l'Eglise*, tome ii. p. 150; Weismann's *Historia Eccles. Sæcul.* xvii. p. 588, &c. and numerous others. [Quesnel in his translation followed that of Sacy, though to avoid all offence he kept closer to the Vulgate. Most of the notes relate entirely to practical religion. The contests produced by the work belong to the history of the eighteenth century.—*Schl.*

for them to look out for new and apparently wiser methods of warfare.

37. The minor controversies of the schools and of the religious orders which divided the Romish church, we shall pass over; for the pontiffs for the most part disregard them, or if at any time they become too violent, a nod or a mandate from the pope easily suppresses them; neither are these skirmishes which perpetually exist of such a nature as seriously to endanger the welfare of the church. It will be sufficient to recite briefly those controversies which affected the whole church. Among these, the first place is due to the contests between the Dominicans and the Jesuits, respecting the nature of Divine grace and its necessity to salvation, the cognizance of which Clement VIII. at the close of the preceding century had committed to certain select theologians.[1] These, after some years of consultation and attention to the arguments of the parties, plainly signified to the pontiff, that the doctrines of the Dominicans respecting grace, predestination, man's ability to do good, and the inherent corruption of our nature were more consonant with the Holy Scriptures and the opinions of the fathers than the opinions of Molina, whom the Jesuits supported; that the former accorded with the sentiments of Augustine, and the latter approximated to those of Pelagius which had been condemned. Therefore in the year 1601, Clement seemed ready to pronounce sentence against the Jesuits and in favour of the Dominicans. But the Jesuits perceiving their cause to be in such imminent peril, so besieged the aged pontiff, sometimes with threats, sometimes with complaints, and now with arguments, that in the year 1602 he resolved to give the whole of this knotty controversy a rehearing, and to assume to himself the office of presiding judge. The pontiff therefore presided over this trial during three years, or from the 20th of March, 1602, till the 22d of January, 1605, having for assessors fifteen cardinals, nine theologians, and five bishops; and he held seventy-eight sessions or congregations as they are denominated at Rome,[2] in which he patiently listened to the arguments of the Jesuits and the Dominicans, and caused their arguments to be carefully weighed and examined. To what results he came is uncertain, for he was cut off by death on the 4th of March, 1605, when just ready to pronounce sentence. If we may believe the Dominicans, he was prepared to condemn Molina in a public decree; but if we believe the Jesuits, he would have acquitted him of all error. Which of them is to be believed no one can determine, without inspecting the records of the trial which are kept most carefully concealed at Rome.

38. Paul V. the successor of Clement, ordered the judges in the month of September, 1605, to resume their inquiries and deliberations which had been suspended. They obeyed his mandate and had frequent discussions until the month of March in the next year; debating not so much on the merits of the question which had been sufficiently examined, as on the mode of terminating the contest. For it was debated whether it would be for the interests of the church to have this decided by a public decree of the pontiff; and if it were, then what should be the form and phraseology of the decree. The issue of this protracted business was, that the whole contest came to nothing, as is frequently the case at Rome; that is, it was decided neither way, but each party was left free to retain its own sentiments. The Dominicans maintain that Paul V. and the theologians to whom he committed the investigation, equally with Clement before him, perceived the holiness and justice of their cause; and they tell us that a severe decree against the doctrines of the Jesuits was actually drawn up and sealed by his order, but that the unhappy war with the Venetians, which broke out at that time, and of which we have already given an account, prevented the publication of the decree. On the contrary, the Jesuits contend that all this is false; and that the pontiff with the wisest of the theologians, after examining the whole cause, judged the sentiments of Molina to contain nothing which much needed correction. It is far more probable that Paul was deterred from passing sentence by fear of the kings of France and Spain, of whom the former patronised the cause of the Jesuits and the latter that of the Dominicans. And if he had published a decision, it would undoubtedly have been not unlike those usually given at Rome, that is, ambiguous, and not wholly adverse to either of the contending parties.[3]

[1] See the preceding century, section iii. chap. i. sec. 40, 41, p. 626, above, &c.—*Mur.*

[2] *Congregationes de Auxiliis*, i.e. *gratiæ*, in the Romish style.—*Mur.*

[3] The writers already quoted on this subject may be consulted here. Also Le Clerc, *Mémoires pour servir à l' Histoire des Controverses dans l' Eglise Romaine sur la Prédestination et sur la Grâce*, in the *Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique*, tome xiv. p. 234, &c. The conduct both of the Jesuits and the Dominicans after this controversy was put to rest, affords grounds for a suspicion, that both parties were privately admonished by the pontiff to temper and regulate in some measure their respective doctrines, so that the former

39. The wounds which seemed thus healed were again torn open to the great damage of the Catholic interest, when the book of Cornelius Jansenius, bishop of Ypres in the Netherlands, was published after his death in 1640, under the title of Augustinus.[1] In this book (the author of which is allowed even by the Jesuits to have been a learned and serious man, and apparently at least devout), the opinions of Augustine respecting the innate depravity of man, and the nature and influence of that grace by which alone this depravity can be cured, are stated and explained, and for the most part in the very words of Augustine. For it was not the object of Jansenius, as he tells us himself, to show what ought to be believed on these subjects, but merely what Augustine believed.[2] But as the doctrine of Augustine (which differed little from that of St. Thomas [Aquinas] which was embraced by the Dominicans) was accounted almost sacred and divine in the Romish church on account of the high character and merits of its author, and at the same time was almost diametrically opposite to the common sentiments of the Jesuits, this work of Jansenius could not but appear to them as a silent yet most effectual confutation of their sentiments. Hence they not only attacked it in their own writings, but they instigated the pontiff Urban VIII. to condemn it. Nor were their efforts unsuccessful. First, the inquisitors at Rome in 1641 prohibited the reading of it; and then in 1642, Urban himself in a public decree pronounced it contaminated with several errors long since rejected by the church.

40. The Jesuits and the Romish edicts were opposed by the doctors of Louvain, and by the other admirers of Augustine who were always very numerous in the Low Countries. Hence there arose a formidable and to the Belgic provinces a very troublesome controversy.[3] It had scarcely commenced when it spread into the neighbouring France, where John du Verger de Hauranne, abbot of St. Cyran or Sigeran, an intimate friend of Jansenius, a man of an accomplished and elegant mind, and no less respected for the purity of his morals and the sanctity of his life than for his erudition, had already inspired great numbers with attachment to Augustine and hatred of the Jesuits.[4] The greatest part

might no longer be taxed with Pelagianism, nor the latter with coinciding with the Calvinists. For Claudius Aquaviva, the general of the order of Jesuits, in a circular letter addressed to the whole fraternity, Dec. 14th, 1613, very cautiously modifies the doctrine of Molina; and commands his brethren to teach everywhere, that God gratuitously and without any regard to their merits, from all eternity elected those to salvation whom he wished should be partakers of it; yet they must so teach this, as by no means to give up what the Jesuits had maintained in their disputes with the Dominicans respecting the nature of Divine grace; and these two things, which seem to clash with each other, he thinks may be reconciled by means of that Divine knowledge and which is called *scientia media* [foreknowledge of the free actions of men]. See *Catéchisme Historique sur les Contestations de l'Eglise*, tome i. p. 207. On the contrary the Dominicans, though holding substantially the same sentiments as before this controversy arose, yet greatly obscured and disfigured their opinions by using words and distinctions borrowed from the schools of the Jesuits; so that not even a Jesuit can now tax them with having the mark of Calvinism. They are also much more slow to oppose the Jesuits, recollecting doubtless their former perils and their immense labours undertaken in vain. This change of conduct the Jansenists severely charge upon them, as being a manifest and great defection from Divine truth. See Pascal's *Lettres Provinciales*, tome i. lettr. ii. p. 27, &c. Yet their ill-will against the Jesuits is by no means laid aside; nor can the Dominicans (among whom many are greatly dissatisfied with the cautious prudence of their order) easily keep themselves quiet, whenever a good opportunity occurs for exercising their resentments. With the Dominicans in this cause at least the Augustinians are in harmony, (for the opinions of St. Thomas in respect to grace do not much differ from those of Augustine), and the most learned man they have, Henry Noris (in his *Vindiciæ Augustinianæ*, cap. iv. *Opp.* tom. i. p. 1175) laments that he is not at liberty, in consequence of the pope's decree, to let the world know what was transacted in the Congregations de Auxiliis, against Molina and the Jesuits and in favour of Augustine. He says, "Quando, recentiori Romano decreto id vetitum est, cum dispendio caussæ, quam defendo, necessariam defensionem omitto."

[1] For an account of this famous man, see Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, tome ii. p. 1529; Leydecker, *De Vita et Morte Jansenii*, constituting the first part of his *Historia Jansenismi*, published at Utrecht, 1695, 8vo; *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansénistes*, tome i. p. 120, &c. and many others. This celebrated work, which gave a mortal wound to the Romish community that all the power and all the sagacity of the vicar of Jesus Christ were unable to heal, is divided into three parts. The first is historical and narrates the origination of the Pelagian contests in the fifth century; the second investigates and explains the doctrine of Augustine concerning the state and powers of human nature before the fall, as fallen, and as renewed; the third traces out his opinions concerning the assistance of Christ by his renewing grace, and the predestination of men and angels. The language is sufficiently clear and perspicuous, but not so correct as it should be. [Cornelius Jansen, in Latin Jansenius, was born at a village near Leerdam in Flanders, A.D. 1585, educated at Louvain, where he became principal of the college of St. Pulcheria, doctor of theology in 1617, and professor in ordinary. He was twice sent by the university of Louvain to the Spanish court to manage their affairs. His political work against France, entitled *Mars Gallicus*, procured him favour at the court of Spain; and he was appointed bishop of Ypres in 1635. He died in 1638 of a contagion taken by visiting his flock labouring under it. His *Augustinus*, in 3 vols. fol. cost him 20 years' labour. He also wrote against the Protestants. —*Mur.*

[2] Thus Jansenius in his *Augustinus*, tom. ii. introductory book, cap. xxix. p. 65, says: "Non ego hic de nova aliqua sententia reperienda disputo—sed de antiqua Augustini. Quæritur, non quid de naturæ humanæ statibus et viribus, vel de Dei gratia et prædestinatione sentiendum sit; sed quid Augustinus olim ecclesiæ nomine et applausu—tradiderit, prædicaverit, scriptoque multipliciter consignaverit."

[3] The principal adherents of Jansenius in the Netherlands were, James Boonen, the archbishop of Mechlen; Libertus Fromond, a pupil, friend, and successor of Jansenius in the professorial chair at Louvain; and Henry Calen, a canon of Mechlin and arch-priest of Brussels.—*Schl.*

[4] He is esteemed by all the Jansenists as highly as Jansenius himself, and he is said to have aided Jansenius in composing his *Augustinus*. Those French

of the learned in this most flourishing kingdom had connected themselves with the Jesuits, because their doctrines were more grateful to human nature, and better accorded with the spirit of the Romish religion and the interests of that church, than the Augustinian principles. But the opposite party embraced besides some bishops of high reputation for piety, the men of the best and most cultivated minds almost throughout France, Anthony Arnauld, Peter Nicole, Blaise Pascal, Paschasius Quesnel, and the numerous other famous and excellent men who are denominated the Port-Royalists; likewise a great number of those who looked on the vulgar piety of the Romish church which is confined to the confession of sins, frequent attendance on the Lord's Supper, and some external works, as far short of what Christ requires of his followers, and who believed that the soul of a Christian desirous of being accounted truly pious ought to be full of genuine faith and love to God. Thus as the one party had the advantage of numbers and power, and the other that of talent and pious fervour, it is not difficult to understand why this controversy is still kept up an entire century after its commencement.[1]

41. The attentive reader of this protracted contest will be amused to see the artifices and stratagems with which the one party conducted their attack and the other their defence. The Jesuits came forth armed with decrees of the pontiff, mandates of the king, the most odious comparisons, the support of great men, the good-will of most of the bishops, and lastly with military force. On the other hand, the Jansenists enervated those decrees and mandates by the most subtle distinctions and interpretations, nay, by the same sophistry which they condemned in the Jesuits; odious comparisons they destroyed by other comparisons equally odious; to the menaces of great men and bishops they opposed the favour of the multitude; and physical force they vanquished by Divine power, that is, by the miracles of which they boasted. Perceiving that their adversaries were not to be overcome by the soundest arguments and proofs, they endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the pontiffs and of the people at large, by their meritorious and splendid deeds and by their great industry. Hence they attacked those enemies of the church, the Protestants, and endeavoured to circumvent them with artifices and sophisms which were entirely new; they applied themselves to the education of youth of all classes, and imbued them with the elements of the liberal arts and sciences; they composed very neat and elegant treatises on grammar, philosophy, and the other branches of learning; they laid all classes, from the highest to the lowest, under obligations to them, by devotional and practical treatises composed in the most elegant manner; they adopted a pure, natural, and agreeable style, and translated and explained in the very best manner not a few of the ancient writers; and lastly, they sought to persuade, and actually did persuade, very many to believe that God himself espoused their cause, and that he had by many prodigies and miracles placed the truth of the Augustinian doctrine beyond all controversy.[2]

especially who are partial to the doctrines of Augustine reverence him as a father and an oracle, and extol him above Jansenius himself. His life and history have been duly written by Claude Lancelot, *Mémoires touchant la Vie de M. S. Cyran*, published at Cologne (or rather at Utrecht), 1738, 2 vols. 8vo. Add the *Recueil de plusieurs pièces pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, Utrecht, 1740, 8vo; Arnauld d'Andilly, *Mémoires au sujet de l'Abbé de S. Cyran*, printed in the *Vies des Réligieuses de Port-Royal*, tome i. p. 15-44; Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome ii. [p. 531, art. *Garasse*, note D.—*Mur.*]; *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansénistes*, tome i. p. 133, &c. See also respecting his early studies, Liron, *Singularités Historiques et Littér.* tome iv. p. 507, &c. [Jo. Verger de Hauranne was born at Bayonne in 1581, became abbot of St. Cyran in 1620, was thrown into prison by Richelieu in 1638, released in 1643, and died the same year, aged 62. He held much the same sentiments with Jansenius, and spread them extensively by conversation. His works are, *Somme des Fautes*, &c. *de Garasse* (a Jesuit writer), 3 vols. 4to, *Spiritual Letters*, 2 vols. 4to, *Apology for Roche-Posay*, &c. and *Question Royale.*— *Mur.*

[1] The history of this controversy is to be found entire or in part in a great number of books. The following may supersede all the rest: Gerberon, *Histoire Générale du Jansénisme*, Amsterd. 1700, 3 vols. 8vo, and Lyons, 1708, 5 vols. 12mo; the Abbé du Mas (a senator of Paris who died 1722), *Histoire des Cinq Propositions de Jansénius*, Liege, 1694, 8vo. Du Mas favours the Jesuits, Gerberon favours the Jansenists. Leydecker, *Historia Jansenismi*, Utrecht, 1695, 8vo; Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* tome ii. p. 264, &c. Many books on this subject by both parties are mentioned in the *Bibliotheque Janséniste; ou Catalogue Alphabétique des Principaux Livres; Jansénistes* published in 1735, 8vo, and said to be the work of Dominic Colonia, a learned Jesuit. See *Recueil des pièces pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, p. 325, &c. But as already remarked, this book much enlarged appeared under the title of *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansénistes*, Antw. 1752, 4 vols. 8vo.

[2] That the Jansenists or Augustinians have long resorted to miracles in support of their cause is very well known. And they themselves confess that they have been saved from ruin when nearly in despair by means of miracles. See *Mémoires de Port-Royal*, tome i. p. 256, tome ii. p. 107. The first of these miracles were those said to have been performed in the convent of Port-Royal from the year 1656 onward, in the cure of several afflicted persons by means of a thorn from that crown which the Roman soldiers placed on the head of our most holy Saviour. See *Recueil de plusieurs pièces pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, p. 228, 448; Fontaine, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, tome ii. p. 131, &c. Other miracles followed in the year 1661; *Vies des Réligieuses de Port-Royal*, tome i. p. 192, and in the year 1664; *Mémoires de Port-Royal*, tome iii. p. 252. The fame of these miracles was great and very useful to the Augustinians in the 17th century, but at present it is quite hushed. In our age therefore when hard pressed, they have resisted the fury

As all these things have great influence with mankind, they often rendered the victory of the Jesuits quite dubious; and perhaps the Jansenists would have triumphed if the cause of the Jesuits had not been the cause of the church, the safety of which depends in a great measure on those opinions which the Jesuits hold.

42. Various circumstances lead to the conclusion that Urban VIII. and afterwards Innocent X. were solicitous to suppress these dangerous commotions in their commencement, just as the former pontiffs wisely suppressed the contests between Baius and the Dominicans. But they were unable to do it in consequence of the highly excitable and fervid tempers of the French. The adversaries of the Augustinian doctrines extracted from the works of Jansenius five propositions which were thought to be the worst, and instigated especially by the Jesuits they urged Innocent incessantly to condemn them. A large part of the French clergy, by their envoys dispatched to Rome, resisted such a measure with great zeal, and wisely suggested that it was of the first importance to distinguish the different constructions which might be put upon those propositions, since they were ambiguous and would admit of a true as well as a false interpretation. But Innocent X. overcome by the incessant and importunate clamours of the Jesuits, without maturely considering the case, hastily condemned those propositions in a public edict, dated May 31, 1653. The subject of the five propositions was—first, That there are some commands of God which righteous and good men are absolutely unable to obey though disposed to do it, and that God does not give them so much grace that they are able to observe them. Secondly, that no person in this corrupt state of nature can resist Divine grace operating upon the mind. Thirdly, that in order to a man's being worthy of praise or blame before God, he need not be exempt from necessity but only from coercion. Fourthly, that the Semipelagians erred greatly by supposing that the human will has the power of both admitting and of rejecting the operations of internal preventing grace. Fifthly, that whoever affirms that Jesus Christ made expiation by his sufferings and death for the sins of all mankind is a Semipelagian. The first four of these propositions Innocent pronounced to be directly heretical; but the fifth he declared to be only rash, irreligious, and injurious to God.[1]

43. This sentence of the supreme ecclesiastical judge was indeed painful and perplexing to the friends of Jansenius, and grateful and agreeable to their enemies; yet it did not fully satisfy the latter nor entirely dishearten the former. For Jansenius himself had escaped condemnation, the pontiff not having declared that the heretical propositions were to be found in his Augustinus in that sense in which they were condemned. The Augustinians therefore, under the guidance of the very acute Anthony Arnauld, distinguished in this controversy between the point of law and the point of fact; that is, they maintained that we ought to believe those propositions to be justly condemned by the pontiff; but that it was not necessary to believe nor had the pontiff required a belief, that those propositions were to be found in Jansenius' book in that sense in which they were condemned.[2] Yet they were, not allowed

of their enemies by new and more numerous prodigies. If we may believe them, the first occurred on the 31st of May, 1725, in the person of a certain woman named De la Fosse, who was suddenly cured of a bloody flux when she had supplicated relief from a host carried by a priest of the Jansenian sect. Two years afterwards in 1727, the tomb of Gerhard Rousse, a canon of Avignon, was ennobled by very splendid miracles. Lastly, in the year 1731, the bones of Francis de Paris [commonly called Abbé de Paris], which were interred at St. Medard, were famed for numberless miracles, and every one knows what warm disputes have occurred and still continue respecting them. It is also said that Paschasius Quesnel, Levier, Desangins, and Tournus, those great ornaments of the sect, have often afforded relief to the sick who relied on their merits and intercession. See *Jésus Christ sous l'Anathème et sous l'Excommunication*, a celebrated Jansenist book, written against the bull *Unigenitus*, art. xvii. p. 61, art. xviii. p. 66, ed. Utrecht. A great part of the Jansenists contend for the reality of these miracles with good faith; for this sect abounds with persons who are by no means corrupt, but whose piety is unenlightened, and to whom the truth and divinity of their cause appear so manifest that they readily believe it cannot possibly be neglected by the Deity. But it is incredible that so many persons of distinguished perspicacity as formerly were and still are followers of this sect should not know that either the powers of nature, or the operation of medicines, or the influence of the imagination, really accomplished these cures which deceivers or men blinded by party zeal have ascribed to the almighty power of God. Such persons therefore must be of the opinion that it is lawful to promote a holy and righteous cause by means of deceptions, and to take advantage of the misapprehensions of the multitude in order to confirm the truth.

[1] This bull is extant in the *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. v. p. 486. It is also published, together with many public Acts relating to this subject, by D'Argentre in his *Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus*, tom. iii. par. ii. p. 261, &c. [Mosheim mistook in regard to the sentence pronounced on the several propositions. The bull says of the first, "Temerariam, impiam, blasphemam, anathemate damnatam, et hæreticam declaramus, et uti talem damnamus." Of the second and the third it says simply, "Hæreticam declaramus, et uti talem damnamus." Of the fourth it says, "Falsam et hæreticam declaramus, et uti talem damnamus." And of the fifth it says, "Falsam, temerariam, scandalosam, et intellectam eo sensu, ut Christus pro salute dumtaxat prædestinatorum mortuus sit: impiam, blasphemam, contumeliosam, divinæ pietati derogantem, et hæreticam declaramus, et uti talem damnamus." So that the sentence on the fifth proposition was the most severe, and that on the first next to it in severity.—*Mur.*

[2] *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansénistes*, tome i. p. 219, tome ii. p. 7, &c.

to enjoy this consolation long; for the pertinacious hatred of the adverse party drove Alexander VII. the successor of Clement to such a height of imprudence, that he not only declared in a new bull of the 16th of October, 1656, that the condemned propositions were those of Jansenius and were to be found in his book, but he moreover in the year 1665 sent into France the formula of an oath which was to be subscribed by all who would enjoy any office in the church, and which affirmed that the five condemned propositions were actually to be found in Jansenius' book in the very sense in which they had been condemned by the church.[1] This imprudent step, which was viewed as intolerable not only by the Jansenists but likewise by the better part of the French clergy, was followed by immense commotions and contests. The Jansenists immediately contended that the pontiff might err, especially when pronouncing an opinion without the presence of a council, in all questions of fact; and therefore that they were not under obligation to subscribe to that formula which required that they should swear to a matter of fact. The Jesuits on the contrary had the boldness to maintain publicly in the city of Paris, that the pope's infallibility was equally certain and divine in matters of fact as in contested points of ecclesiastical law. Some of the Jansenists said they would neither condemn nor approve the formula, but they promised by observing silence to show respect to the authority of the head of the church. Others appeared ready to subscribe with some explanation or distinction, oral or written, annexed, but by no means without qualification. Others attempted other modes of evasion.[2] But none of these courses would satisfy the impassioned mind of the Jesuits; and therefore the recusants were miserably harassed with banishments, imprisonments, and other vexations, for the Jesuits had the control and guidance of the measures of the court.[3]

44. In consequence of the lenity or the prudence of Clement IX. the persecuted party, who to their own loss and injury defended Augustine, had some respite in the year 1669. This was procured by four French bishops—those of Angers, Beauvais, Pamiers, and Alet, who courageously declared that they could not conscientiously subscribe to the prescribed oath without adding some explanation. And when the Romish court threatened them with punishment, nineteen other bishops espoused their cause and addressed letters in their behalf both to the king and to the pontiff. These were also joined by Anne Geneviève de Bourbon, a lady of great heroism, and after her renunciation of the pleasures and allurements of the world a warm friend of the Jansenists, who very urgently besought Clement IX. to assume more moderation. Influenced by entreaties and arguments so numerous and of so much weight, Clement consented that those who chose might subscribe the oath above mentioned, annexing an exposition of their own views. Upon this liberty being allowed the former tranquillity returned, and the friends of Jansenius, now freed from all fear, lived securely in their own country. This celebrated event is usually called the Peace of Clement IX. But it was not of long continuance.[4] For the king of France, at the instigation of the Jesuits, disturbed it by his edict of 1676, in which he represented it as granted only for a time and in condescension to the weak consciences of certain persons, and on the death of Anne de Bourbon in 1679 it was wholly subverted. From this time the Augustinian party were harassed with the same injuries and persecutions as before. Some avoided them by a voluntary exile, others endured them with fortitude and

[1] This bull also, together with various documents, is in D'Argentre's *Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus*, tom. iii. par. ii. p. 281—288, 306. The formula of the oath by Alexander VII. occurs *Ibid.* p. 314, together with the ordinance of the king and other papers.

[2] See Du Mas, *Histoire des Cinq Propositions*, p. 158, &c.; Gerberon, *Histoire Générale du Jansénisme*, part ii. p. 516, and many others.

[3] On the whole of this Jansenian controversy see the chapter entitled, *Historia Jansenismi*, in Welsmann's *Memorabilia Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 138, &c.; Ranke's *Popes of Rome*, vol. iii. p. 143, &c.; and Hallam's *Intro. to the Literature of Europe*, vol. iv. p. 138, &c. In Germany it has not long ago been fully treated in Reuchlin's *Geschichte von Port-Royal*, Hamb. 1839, only the first volume of which, tracing the history down to the year 1661, has, I believe, yet appeared.—*R.*

[4] The transactions relative to this subject under the pontificate of Clement IX. are fully narrated by cardinal Rospigliosi in his Commentaries, which D'Argentre has subjoined to his *Elementa Theologica*, Paris, 1716, 8vo, and which are also extant in the *Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus*, tom. iii. par. ii. p. 336, where likewise are the letters of Clement IX. Among the Jansenists, the history of the peace of Clement IX. has been expressly written by Varet, the vicar of the archbishop of Sens (for the *Catéchisme Historique sur les Contestations de l'Eglise*, tome i. p. 352, testifies that Varet wrote this anonymous history), viz. *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans l'affaire de la Paix de l'Eglise sous le Pape Clément IX.* 1706, 12mo, and by Quesnel (whom Colonia among others, *Biblioth. Janséniste*, p. 314, declares to have been the author) in his book, *La Paix de Clément IX.; ou Démonstration des deux Fausses et Capitales avancés dans l'Histoire des Cinq Propositions contre la Foi des Disciples de S. Augustin*, Chamberry, or rather Brussels, 1701, 2 vols. 12mo. The following work, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans l'affaire de la Paix de l'Eglise sous le Pape Clément IX. avec les Lettres, Actes, Mémoires, et autres pièces qui y ont rapport*, without mention of the place, 1706, 2 vols. 8vo, is an accurately written history. The part which Anne de Bourbon took in this business is elegantly narrated by Villefort in his *Vie d'Anne Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville*, tome ii. livr. vi. p. 89, edited Amsterd. 1739, 8vo, which is much fuller than the Paris edition.

magnanimity, and others warded them off by such means as they could. The head and leader of the sect, Anthony Arnauld,[1] to avoid the fury of his enemies, fled in the year 1679 into the Low Countries, to the great injury of the Jesuits. For this man, possessing extraordinary eloquence and acuteness of mind, instilled his doctrines into the minds of the greatest part of the Belgians, and also induced that portion of the Romish church which existed among the Dutch to join the Jansenist party, through the influence of John Neercassel, bishop of Castorie, and Peter Codde, archbishop of Sebaste. This Dutch [Catholic] church remains to the present day firmly fixed in its purpose, and being safe under the powerful protection of the Dutch government, it despises the indignation of the pontiffs which it incurs in a very high degree.

45. The Jansenists, or Augustinians as they choose to be called, were so very odious to the Jesuits, not merely on account of their doctrine respecting Divine grace (which was in reality the Augustinian doctrine and almost identical with that of the followers of Calvin) when freed from the glosses with which it is usually disguised, but there were many other things in them which the defenders of the Romish church cannot approve and tolerate. For it was under Jansenist leaders that all those contests in the Romish church which we have mentioned above originated, and have been continued down to our times in countless publications printed in the Low Countries and in France.[2] But there is hardly anything in them which the Jesuits and the loyal subjects of the Roman pontiffs regard as more intolerable than the system of morals and of practical piety which they inculcate. For in the view of the Jansenists there is nothing entirely sound and uncorrupted in the practice and institutions of the Romish church. In the first place, they complain that the whole body of the clergy have forsaken altogether the duties of their office. They moreover assert that the monks are really apostates, and they would have them brought back to their pristine sanctity and to that strict course of life which the founders of the several orders prescribed. They would also have the people well instructed in the knowledge of religion and Christian piety. They contend that the sacred volume and the books containing the forms of public worship should be put into the hands of the people in the vernacular tongue of each nation, and should be diligently read and studied by all. And lastly, they assert that all the people should be carefully taught that true piety towards God does not consist in external acts and rites, but in purity of heart and divine love. No one can censure these things considered in a general view, unless he is himself depraved or a stranger to the principles of Christianity. But if we descend to particulars and inquire how they trained their people for heaven, it will appear that Jansenian piety leaned greatly towards insupportable superstition and the harsh and fanatical opinions of the so-called Mystics; and therefore that it is not altogether without reason when they were branded by their adversaries with the title of Rigorists.[3] Their doctrine

[1] For an account of this great man see Bayle, *Dictionnaire* [art. *Arnauld*], tome i. p. 337, and *Histoire Abrégée de la Vie et des Ouvrages de M. Arnaud*, Cologne, 1695, 8vo. On the transition of the Dutch church to the Jansenist party, see Lafitau, *Vie de Clément IX.* tome i. p. 123, &c. Respecting Codde, Neercassel, Varlet, and other defenders of the Jansenist cause in Holland, see *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansénistes*, tome i. p. 48, 121, 353; tome ii. p. 406; tome iv. p. 119, &c. and in many other places.

[2] See above, Century xvi. *History of the Romish Church*, sec. 32, &c. [p. 562, above.—*R.*

[3] Those who wish for a fuller knowledge of that gloomy piety which the Jansenists commonly prescribed to their people, and which was indeed coincident with the patterns set by those who anciently inhabited the desert parts of Egypt, Lybia, and Syria, but was equally remote from the injunctions of Christ and of right reason, may read only the Letters and the other writings of the abbot of St. Cyran, whom the Jansenists regard almost as an oracle. He may be called a frank, ingenuous man, sincere in his intercourse with God, superior to most teachers of piety among the Romanists; he may also be called a learned man, and very well acquainted with the opinions and the affairs of the ancients; but to declare him, as the Jansenists do, to be the greatest and best, the perfect pattern of holiness and the most correct teacher of true piety, is what no one can do, unless he affixes new meanings to these terms and meanings unknown in the sacred writings. That we may not seem to do injustice to so great a man, we will confirm these remarks by some specimens of his wisdom and virtue. This honest man undertook in a long work to confute the heretics, that is, the Protestants. And for this purpose it was necessary for him to examine the books written by this wicked class of men. But before he proceeded to read any of them with Martin de Barcos his nephew, a man very like to his uncle, he was accustomed to expel the devil out of them by the sign of the cross. What weakness did this manifest? This very holy man forsooth was persuaded that the enemy of mankind had taken up his residence in these writings of the heretics; but it is difficult to tell where he supposed the arch-fiend to lie concealed, whether in the paper or in the letters, or between the leaves, or lastly in the sentiments themselves. Let us hear Lancelot, in his *Mémoires touchant la Vie de M. l'Abbé de S. Cyran*, tome i. p. 226. He says:—"Il lisoit ces livres avec tant de piété, qu'en les prenant il les exorcisoit toujours en faisant le signe de la croix dessus, ne doutant point que le Démon n'y résidoit actuellement." He was so charmed with Augustine as to receive for divine all his sentiments without discrimination, and even those which all good men among the Catholics themselves regard as faults in that father. Among others may be mentioned that dangerous doctrine, that the saints are the legitimate proprietors of the whole world, and that the wicked unjustly possess according to the divine law those things of which they are lawful proprietors according to human laws. Thus, in Fontaine's *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, tome i. p. 201, he says:—"Jésus Christ n'est encore entré dans la possession de son royaume tem-

respecting penitence especially was injurious both to church and state. They made penitence to consist principally in voluntary punishments, which a sinner should inflict on himself in proportion to his offences. For they maintained that since man is by nature most corrupt and most wretched, he ought to retire from the world and from business, and to expiate as it were his inherent corruption by continual hardships and tortures of the body, by fasting, by hard labour, by prayer, and by meditation; and the more depravity any one has, either by nature or contracted by habit, the more distress and anguish of body he should impose on himself. And in this matter they were so extravagant that they did not hesitate to call those the greatest saints and the sacred victims of penitence consumed by the fire of divine love, who intentionally pined away and died under these various kinds of sufferings and hardships; nay, they taught that this class of suicides were able to appease the wrath of God, and to merit much for the church and for their friends before God, by means of their pains and sufferings. This appears from numerous examples, but especially from that of Francis de Paris [or the Abbé de Paris], the worker of so many miracles in the Jansenist school, who brought on himself a most cruel death in order to appease the wrath of God.[1]

46. A striking example of this gloomy and extravagant devotion was exhibited in the celebrated female convent called Port-Royal-in-the-Fields [Port-Royal des Champs], situated in a deep and narrow valley not far from Paris. King Henry IV. in the very commencement of this century gave the superintendence of it to Jacqueline (one of the daughters of the celebrated jurist, Anthony Arnauld), who afterwards bore the name of Maria Angelica de S. Magdalena. She at first led a very dissolute life, such as was common at that time in the French nunneries; but in the year 1609 the fear of God came upon her, and she entered upon a very different course of life; and afterwards becoming intimate first with Francis de Sales and then in 1623 with the abbot of St. Cyran, she conformed both herself and her convent to their views and injunctions. The consequence was, that this religious house for nearly a century excited in the Jesuits the highest disgust, and in the Jansenists the highest admiration; and its fame spread over all Europe. The consecrated virgins inhabiting it followed with the utmost strictness the ancient, severe, and almost everywhere abrogated rule of the Cistercians; nay, they imposed on themselves more rigours and burdens than even that rule prescribed.[2] A great proportion of

porel et des biens du monde, qui luy appartiennent, que par cette petite portion qu'en tient l'Eglise par les bénéfices de ses Clercs, qui ne sont que les fermiers et les dépositaires de Jésus Christ." So then, if we believe him, a golden age is coming in which Jesus Christ will dethrone all kings and princes, and seizing upon the whole world will transfer it entire to his church, of which the leaders are the priests and monks. Will the Jansenists now come forth and proclaim that they make it their greatest care to secure civil governments against the machinations of the Roman pontiffs? Respecting prayer, he philosophises entirely in the spirit of those who are called Mystics. For he denies that those who would pray should consider beforehand what they would ask of God, because prayer does not consist in the thoughts and conceptions of the mind but in a sort of blind impulse of divine love. Lancelot, *Memoires touchant la Vie de M. l' Abbé de S. Cyran*, tome ii. p. 44, says:—"Il ne croyoit pas, que l'on dût faire quelque effort pour s'appliquer à quelque point ou à quelque pensée particuliere—par ce que la véritable prière est plutôt un attrait de son amour qui emporte nôtre cœur vers lui et nous enleve comme hors de nous-mêmes, que non pas une occupation de nôtre Esprit qui se remplisse de l'idée de quelque objet quoique divin." He therefore prays best who asks for nothing, and excludes all thoughts from his mind. Jesus Christ and his disciples knew nothing of this sublime philosophy, for he directs us to pray in a set form of words; and the apostles frequently acquaint us with the subject matter of their prayers. But of all his errors this unquestionably was the worst, that he had no doubt he was an instrument of God by which the Divine Being operates and works, and that he held generally that a pious man should follow the impulses of his mind, suspending all exercise of his judgment. And the opinion was most deeply fixed in the minds of all the Jansenists, that God himself acts and operates on the mind and reveals to it his pleasure, when all movements of the understanding and the will are restrained and hushed. Hence, whatever thoughts, opinions, or purposes occur to them in that state of quietude, they unhesitatingly regard as oracular manifestations and instructions from God. See *Mémoires de Port-Royal*, tome iii. p. 246, &c.

[1] See Morin's *Comment. de Pœnitentia*, Præf. p. iii. &c. in which there is a tacit censure of the Jansenian notions of penitence. On the other hand, see the Abbé de S. Cyran, in the *Mémoires de Port-Royal*, tome iii. p. 483. The Jansenists reckon the restoration of true penance among the principal merits of S. Cyran, and they call him the second father of the doctrine of penance. See *Mémoires de Port-Royal*, tome iii p. 445, 504, &c. Yet this very penitence of his was not the least of the causes for which he was thrown into prison by order of cardinal Richelieu. See *Ibid.* tome i. p. 233, &c. 452, &c.

[2] There are extant a multitude of books of various kinds in which the Jansenists describe and deplore the fortunes, the holiness, the regulations, and the destruction of this celebrated seat. We shall mention only those which are at hand, and more recent as well as more full than the others. First, the Benedictines of St. Maur present a correct but dry history of the convent in their *Gallia Christiana*, tom. viii. p. 910, &c. A much neater and more pleasing history, though imperfect and somewhat chargeable with partiality, is that of the noted French poet, Racine, *Abrégé de l' Histoire de Port-Royal*, which is printed among the works of his son, Lewis Racine, sixth edition, Amsterd. 1750, 6 vols. 8vo, and is in vol. ii. p. 275-366. The external state and form of this convent are formally described by Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 234. To these add Fontaine's *Mémoires pour servir à l' Histoire de Port-Royal*, Cologne, (that is, Utrecht), 1738, 2 vols. 8vo; Du Fossé's *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, Cologne, 1739, 8vo; *Recueil de plusieurs pièces pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, Utrecht, 1740, 8vo. The editor of these papers promises in his preface more collections of the same nature; and he affords no slight indication that from these and other documents some one may compose a perfect history of the Port-Royal, which so many Jan-

the Jansenist penitents of both sexes and all ranks built for themselves cottages without the precincts of this cloister; and there they led a life not unlike that which we read of in the fourth and fifth centuries, as led by those austere recluses called Fathers of the Desert who lived in the desert parts of Egypt and Syria. For it was the object of them all to efface from their souls the stains which were either innate or acquired by habits of sinning, by means of voluntary pains and sufferings inflicted on themselves, by silence, by hunger and thirst, by praying, labouring, watching, and enduring pain.[1] Yet they did not all pursue the same species of labour. The more learned applied themselves to writing books, and not a few of them did great service to the cause of both sacred and profane learning. Others instructed youth in the elements of languages and the arts. But most of them exhausted the powers of both mind and body amid rustic and servile labours, and wore themselves out, as it were, by a slow and lingering death. And many of these were illustrious personages and noblemen, who had before obtained the highest honours both in the cabinet and in the field, but who were not ashamed now to assume the place and perform the duties of the lowest servants. This celebrated retreat of Jansenian penitence experienced vicissitudes throughout this century; at one time it flourished very highly, at another time it was nearly broken up. At last, as the nuns refused to subscribe the oath proposed by Alexander VII. which has been mentioned, and as considerable injury to the commonwealth and much disgrace to distinguished families were supposed to arise from this convent and its regulations, Lewis XIV. in the year 1709, by the instigation of the Jesuits, ordered the edifice to be pulled down and entirely demolished, and the nuns to be transferred to Paris; and two years after, that nothing might remain to nourish superstition, he ordered the bodies which were buried there to be disinterred and removed to other places.

47. The other commotions which disturbed the tranquillity of the Romish church were but light clouds compared with this tempest. The old quarrel between the Dominicans and the Franciscans, whether the mother of Jesus Christ was conceived without sin or depravity (which the Dominicans denied and the Franciscans affirmed), gave considerable trouble to Paul V. Gregory XV. and Alexander VII. Not long after the commencement of the century, it began to disturb Spain very considerably and to produce parties. Therefore the kings of Spain, Philip III. and IV. sent some envoys to Rome, urgently soliciting the pontiffs to decide the question by a public decree. But the pontiffs deemed it more important to act with prudence than to gratify requests from so high an authority. For on the one hand, the splendour of the Spanish throne which inclined to the opinion of the Franciscans, and on the other, the credit and influence of the Dominican family, alarmed and distracted them. Nothing therefore could be obtained by repeated supplications, except that the pontiffs by words and by ordinances determined that the cause of the Franciscans was very plausible, and forbade the Dominicans to assail it in public; while at the same time they would not allow the Franciscans and others to charge error upon the opinion of the Dominicans.[2] In a king or

senists regarded as the gate of heaven. Lancelot has also much that relates to this subject in his *Mémoires touchant la Vie de M. l'Abbé de S. Cyran.* These and other works describe only the external state and the various fortunes of this celebrated convent. The internal state, the mode of life, and numberless events which occurred among the nuns themselves and among their neighbours are described in the *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal et à la Vie de Marie Angélique d'Arnaud*, Utrecht, 1742, 5 vols. 8vo; *Vies Intéressantes et Edifiantes des Réligieuses de Port-Royal et des plusieurs Personnes qui leur étoient attachées.* Of this work, four volumes have already been published; the first appeared, Utrecht, 1750, 8vo. They all contain various documents of no inconsiderable value. The last fortunes and overthrow of the convent are described especially in the *Mémoires sur la Destruction de l'Abbaye de Port-Royal des Champs*, without place, 1711, 8vo. If I do not wholly mistake, these writers add much less to the reputation and glory of this noted convent than the Jansenists suppose. When I read their writings, Anthony Arnauld, Tillemont, Nicole, Isaac le Maitre, and the many others who are known by the name of the Authors of Port-Royal, appear to me great and extraordinary men. But when I lay aside their books, and turn to those just mentioned in which the private lives of these great men are described, they appear to me to be men of little minds, fanatics, and unworthy of their high reputation. I readily give to Isaac le Maitre, commonly called Sacy, the praise of a most polished genius, while reading his orations or his other lucubrations; but when I meet him at Port-Royal, with a sickle in his hand, in company with rustics cutting down the corn, he makes a comical figure and seems not altogether in his right mind. [See also Reuchlin, *Geschichte von Port-Royal*, &c.—*R.*

[1] The first who retired to Port-Royal in 1637 in order to purge away his sins was the very eloquent and highly-celebrated Parisian advocate, Isaac le Maitre, whose retirement brought much odium upon the Abbot St. Cyran. See *Mémoires pour l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, tome i. p. 233, &c. He was followed by many others of various classes and ranks, among whom were men of the noblest birth. See *Vies des Réligieuses de Port-Royal*, tome i. p. 141, &c.

[2] See Calixtus, *Historia Immaculatæ Conceptionis B. Virginis Mariæ*, Helmst. 1696, 4to. Add Hornbeck's *Comment. ad Bullam Urbani VIII. de Diebus Festis*, p. 250; Launoi, *Præscriptiones de Conceptu Virginis Mariæ*, *Opp.* tom. i. par. i. p. 9, &c. Clement XI. a long time after this, namely in the year 1708, proceeded somewhat farther, and by a special bull commanded all Catholics to observe a festival in memory of the conception of St. Mary, a stranger to all sin. See *Mémoires de Trevoux*, for the year 1709, A. xxxviii. p. 814. But

magistrate such reluctance to pass judgment would be commendable; but whether it was suitable in a man who claims to be the divinely constituted judge of all religious causes, and placed beyond all danger of erring by the immediate power and guidance of the Holy Spirit, those may answer who support the reputation and honour of the pontiffs.

48. Towards the close of this century, the Mystics, whose reputation and influence were formerly so great, were exposed to very severe treatment. The first sufferer was Michael de Molinos, a Spanish priest resident at Rome, in high reputation for sanctity and therefore attended by numerous disciples of both sexes. In the year 1681, he published at Rome his Way or Guide to what the Mystics call a spiritual or contemplative life,[1] that is, Institutes of Mystic Theology; in which he was thought to recall from the lower world the principal errors of the old Beghards and Beguins, and to open the door for all iniquity and wickedness. The substance of his system, which his friends interpret in one way and his enemies in another, amounted to this; that all religion consists in a certain quietude of the soul, withdrawn from external and finite objects and turned towards God, and loving him sincerely and without any hope of reward; or what if I mistake not amounts to the same thing, that the mind of a person in pursuit of the supreme good must be entirely withdrawn from intercourse with the world around him or from corporeal objects; and the efforts of the understanding and the will being all hushed, the mind must be merged wholly in God from whom it originated. Hence his followers were called Quietists; though the common appellation of Mystics would have been more proper. For the doctrine of Molinos was accounted new, only because he expressed himself in new phraseology which was not become trite by common use, and because he arranged and digested in a better form what the ancients stated confusedly. The Jesuits and others who watched for the interests of the Romish cause readily perceived that Molino's system tacitly accused the Romish church of a departure from true religion; for that church, as is well known, makes piety to consist chiefly in ceremonies and external works. But it was the French ambassador, especially, and his friends who prosecuted the man. And from this and other circumstances, it has been plausibly inferred that political considerations as well as religious had their influence in this controversy; and that this Spaniard had opposed the wishes and the projects of the French king in some difficult negotiations.[2] However this may be, Molinos, though he had a vast number of friends and though the pontiff himself Innocent XI. was partial to him, was thrown into prison in 1685; and after publicly renouncing the errors charged upon him, in 1687 he was delivered over to perpetual imprisonment, in which situation he died at an advanced age in 1696.[3] Every honest and impartial man will be ready to grant, that the opinions of Molinos were greatly distorted and misrepresented by his enemies, the Jesuits and the French, for whose interest it was that he should be put out of the way; and that he was charged with consequences from his principles which he neither admitted nor even thought of. On the other hand, I

the Dominicans most firmly deny, that the obligations of this law extend to them; and they persevere in defending their old opinion, though with more modesty than formerly. And when we consider that this opinion is by no means condemned by the pontiff, and that the Dominicans are not molested though they do not celebrate that festival, it is evident that the language of the Romish edict is to be construed in the most liberal manner, and that the decree does not contradict the earlier decrees of the pontiffs. See Lamindus Pritanius, or Muratori, *De Ingeniorum Moderatione in Religionis negotio*, p. 254, &c.

[1] This book was written in Spanish and first published in 1675, supported by the recommendations of the greatest and most respectable men. In 1681, it was published at Rome in Italian, though it had appeared in this language some time before in other places. Afterwards it was translated into the Dutch, French, and Latin languages; and was very often printed in Holland, France, and Italy. The Latin translation, under the title of *Manuductio Spiritualis*, was published by Francke, Halle, 1687, 8vo. In Italian, it bore the title of *Guida Spirituale*. Annexed to it is another tract of Molinos, *De Communione Quotidiana*, which was also condemned. See *Recueil de diverses pièces concernant le Quiétisme et les Quiétistes; ou Molinos, ses Sentimens et ses Disciples*, Amsterd. 1688, 8vo. In this work, the first piece is Molinos' book in the French translation, and then various epistles relating to his affairs and his sentiments.

[2] Yet perhaps the whole may be ascribed to the power of the Jesuits over the French court, who had Father La Chaise, confessor to Louis XIV. on their side; and he controlled Madame Maintenon, and through her the superstitious Louis. And a king, who two years before had been induced to sacrifice to his own bigotry some millions of his loyal and industrious subjects, might easily be persuaded, from a lust for spiritual conquests, to persecute a single man who was a stranger, and to oblige the pope also to abandon for a time a man whom he loved and honoured, and to whom he had assigned a residence near his own palace, and especially as the Inquisition were suspicious of the pontiff's own soundness in the faith.—*Schl.*

[3] He was born in the vicinity of Saragossa, in 1627; according to the testimony of Colonia, in the *Bibliothèque Janseniste*, p. 469. See, on this whole subject, the Narrative respecting Quietism which is subjoined to the German translation of Gilbert Burnet's *Travels*; Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, part iii. chap. vii. p. 176; Jäger's *Historia Eccles. et Polit. Sæcul.* xvii. decenn. ix. p. 26, &c.; D'Argentre's *Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus*, tom. iii. par. ii. 357, where the papal bulls are given. [The documents of the whole proceedings of the Inquisition and of the pontiff against Molinos are given us by Nicholas Terzagus, bishop of Narni in Italy, in his *Theologia Historico-Mystica adv. Vet. et Novos Pseudo-Mysticos, quorum Historia texitur, et Errores confutantur*, Venice, 1764, fol. p. 8, &c.—*Mur.*

think it obvious that his system included most of the faults which are justly chargeable upon the Mystics; and that it was well suited to the disposition of those who obtrude upon others, as divine and oracular communications, the suggestions of their own heated imaginations, uncontrolled by reason and judgment.[1]

49. It would have been very strange if a man of such a character had not had disciples and followers. It is said that a considerable portion of the inhabitants of Spain, France, and the Netherlands, eagerly entered upon the way of salvation which he pointed out. Nor will this appear incredible, if it be considered that in all the Catholic countries there is a large number of persons who have discernment enough to see that outward ceremonies and bodily mortifications cannot be the whole of religion, and yet have not light enough to be able to arrive at the truth by their own efforts and without a guide. But these nascent commotions were suppressed by the church in their commencement, in some places by threatenings and punishments, and in others by blandishments and promises; and Molinos himself being put out of the way, his disciples and friends did not appear formidable. Among the friends and avowers of Quietistic sentiments, the following persons especially have been often mentioned, namely, Peter Matthew Petrucci, a pious man and one of the Romish cardinals, Francis de la Combe, a Barnabite and instructor of Madame Guyon, who is soon to be mentioned, Francis Malavalle, Berniere de Louvigni, and some others of less note. These differed from each other and from Molinos in many particulars, as is common with Mystics who are governed more by the visions of their own minds than by fixed rules and principles. Yet if we disregard words and look only at their import, we shall find that they all set out from the same principles, and tended to the same results.[2]

50. In France, the Quietistic doctrine was supposed to be disseminated by the writings of Jane Maria Bouvieres de la Mothe Guyon, a lady of distinction, of no bad intentions, and exemplary in her life, but of a fickle temper and one whose feelings measured and controlled her religious belief; than which nothing can be more fallacious.[3] As her religious opinions gave offence to many, they were in the year 1687 submitted to the examination of several great and dignified men, and were finally pronounced erroneous and unsound; and in 1697 they were formally confuted by Bossuet, the bishop of Meaux. From this contest arose a greater one between the two men who at that time, as all are agreed, stood first among the French for genius and eloquence: that is, the abovenamed Bossuet, and Francis Salignac de Fénélon, bishop of Cambray and highly renowned throughout Europe. Bossuet asked Fénélon to approve and recommend his book against the errors of Madame Guyon. Fénélon on the contrary not only maintained that this pious lady was groundlessly taxed by her adversary with many faults, but also, in a book which he published in 1697,[4] himself adopted some of her opinions, and especially that mystical precept, that we ought to love God purely [or simply for what he is], and without the

[1] What can be said in defence of Molinos has been collected by Weismann, in his *Memorabilia Hist. Eccles. Sæcul.* xvii. p. 555.

[2] The writings of these persons are enumerated, with remarks upon them, by Colonia, in his *Bibliotheca Quietistica*, subjoined to his *Biblioth. Janseniana*, p. 455, 488; Arnold, *Historia et Descriptio Theol. Mysticæ*, p. 364, and Poiret, *Bibliotheca Mysticorum*, Amsterd. 1708. 8vo. [Cardinal Petrucci, born in 1636 at Ancona, cardinal 1686, died 1701; wrote *Theologia Contemplativa, Spiritual Letters and Tracts*, on the *Government of the Passions, Mystic Riddle, Apology for the Quietists*, &c. printed collectively, Venice, 1684.—La Combe was a native of Savoy, and a zealous propagator of Quietism in France. He wrote *Analysis Orationis Mentalis*, and was committed to the Bastille in 1687, where he ended his days.—Malavalle was born at Marseilles, 1627, became blind in infancy, yet he composed *Pratique Facile pour élever l'Ame à la Contemplation, Poésies Sacrées*, &c.; and died at Marseilles in 1719.—De Louvigni was king's counsellor and treasurer at Caen, and died 1659. He wrote *Chrétien Intérieur*, and *Œuvres Spirituelles, ou Conduite assurée pour ceux qui tendent à la Perfection.—Mur.*

[3] This lady wrote the history of her own life, which was published in French at Cologne (as the title-page falsely states), 1720, 12mo. Her writings, full of allegories and of not very sound mystic phrases, have been translated into German. There is extant also her Bible with annotations, *La Bible de Mad. Guyon avec des Explications et Reflexions, qui regardent la Vie Intérieure*, Cologne (or rather Amsterdam), 1715, 20 vols. 8vo. From these notes especially, the genius of this lady may be learned, which was indeed prolific, but not very vigorous. See also concerning her, *Lettres de Mad. de Maintenon*, tome i. p. 249, tome ii. p. 45, 47, 49, 51, &c. [She was born in 1648, married at the age of 16, became a widow with three children at 28. Always charitable to the poor and very devotional, she now devoted her whole time to religion. She spent several years with the bishop of Geneva, and then travelled with La Combe in different parts of France, conversing everywhere upon religion. Returning to Paris in 1687, she propagated her religious views not only by conversation, but by a tract on prayer and another on the Canticles. Her persecutions soon commenced, and she was confined in monasteries and prisons much of the time till 1702, when she retired to Blois and lived in obscurity till her death, 1719.—The poet Cowper caused a selection of her poems to be translated and published in English; and her Life, with her short and easy method of prayer and a poem on the nativity, were published, Baltimore, 1812, 12mo.—*Mur.* [It was not till after Cowper's death that his translations from Madame Guyon were published under the title of *Poems, &c. translated from the French, by the late William Cowper; to which are added some Original Poems not inserted in his Works*, Newport-Pagnel, 1801.—*R.*

[4] *Explication des Maximes des Saintes sur la Vie Intérieure*, Paris, 1697, 12mo. It is also extant in a Latin translation.

expectation of any reward; and he confirmed the principle by the suffrages of the most eminent saints. Provoked by this dissent from him, Bossuet, in whose view glory was the highest good, did not cease importuning Lewis XIV. and Innocent XII. till the pontiff in 1699 by a public decree branded as erroneous Fénélon's book, and especially twenty-three propositions extracted from it, but without mentioning the author's name. Fénélon was induced either by his timidity or prudence to approve the sentence pronounced against himself, without any exceptions, and to recommend it himself to the churches under his care.[1] Many contend that this was the magnanimous deed of a great mind, docile and disposed to prefer the peace of the church to personal honour; but others allege that it was the mark of either a pusillanimous or a treacherous man, who deems it lawful to profess with his lips what he disbelieves in his heart. Few indeed, if any, will doubt that Fénélon continued to the end of his life in those sentiments which at the command of the pontiff he had publicly rejected and condemned.

51. Besides these authors of great commotions, there were others who more slightly disturbed the public tranquillity of the Romish church by their novel and singular opinions. Of this description were the following:—Isaac la Peyrere (Peyrerius), who published two small works in 1655, in which he maintained that Moses has not recorded the origin of the human race, but only that of the Jewish nation; and that other races of men inhabited our world long before Adam the father of the Jews. Although he was not a Roman Catholic when he promulgated this opinion, yet the Romish church deemed it their duty to punish an offence against religion in general; and therefore in the year 1656 cast him into prison at Brussels. And he would perhaps have been burned at the stake, had he not embraced the Romish religion and renounced that of the Reformed in which he had been educated, and also publicly confessed his error.[2] Thomas Albius [White] or Blacklo, better known by the name of Thomas Anglus from his native country, published numerous tracts about the middle of the century, by which he acquired much notoriety in the Netherlands, France, Portugal, and England, and not a little hatred in his own church. He undoubtedly was acute and ingenious; but relying on the principles of the Peripatetic philosophy, to which he was extravagantly devoted, he ventured to explain and elucidate by them certain articles of the Romish faith. This confidence in Aristotle betrayed him into opinions which were novel and strange to Romish ears; and his books were prohibited and condemned by the congregation of the Index at Rome, and in some other places. He is said to have died in England, and to have founded a sect among his countrymen which time has destroyed.[3] Joseph Francis Burrhi or Borrhus, a Milanese knight and deeply read in chemistry and medicine, if what is reported of him be true, was not so much an errorist as a delirious man. For the ravings attributed to him concerning the Virgin Mary, the Holy Spirit, the new celestial city which he was to found, and the destruction of the Roman pontiff, are so absurd and ridiculous, that no one can suppose him to have been of a sane mind without evincing that he himself is not so. His conduct in one place and another shows abundantly that he had a great deal of vanity, levity, and deception, but very

[1] The history of this controversy is given at large and with sufficient fairness by Toussaints du Plessis, a Benedictine, in his *Histoire de l'Eglise de Meaux*, livr. v. tome i. p. 485–523. There is more partiality in Ramsay's *Histoire de la Vie de Messire F. S. de la Mothe Fénélon*, Hague, 1723, 12mo, yet it is worth reading. See also Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* tome ii. p. 301. The public Acts are given by D'Argentre, *Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus*, tom. iii. par. ii. p. 402, &c. [also in Terzagus, *Theologia Historico-Mystica*, diss. iii. p. 26, &c. It is the object of this bitter polemic to confute all the Quietists, and especially Molinos and Fénélon. Andrew Michael Ramsay, commonly called the Chevalier Ramsay, was a Scotchman, educated at Edinburgh, who went to Holland, there imbibed some notions of Quietism, went to Cambray to consult Fénélon, and was by him converted to the Catholic faith. After spending much of his life in France, he returned to Scotland in 1725, and died in 1743. He wrote much, chiefly on history and altogether in French. His *Life of Fénélon* betrays the partiality of a particular friend and admirer.—*Mur.*

[2] Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome iii. p. 2215 [art. *Peirere, Isaac*]; Arnold, *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, vol. iii. chap. vii. p. 70; *Menagiana*, published by Monnoye, tom. ii. p. 40. [The writings of Peyrere were, *Præadamitæ, sive Exercitatio super Versibus* 12, 13, 14, cap. v. *Epist. D. Pauli ad Rom.* 1655, 12mo; and *Systema Theolog. ex Præadamitarum Hypothesi, pars* I. His recantation was contained in *Is. Peyrerei Epistola ad Philotimum, qua exponit Rationes, propter quas ejuraverit Sectam Calvini, quam profitebatur, et Librum de Præadamitis, quem ediderat*, Frankf. 1658, 12mo. He afterwards lived retired at Paris among the Fathers of the Oratory, and was supported by the prince of Condé. —*Schl.*

[3] Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome i. p. 236 [art. *Anglus*]; Baillet, *Vie de M. des Cartes*, tome ii. p. 245. [His real name was Thomas White, and he was born of a respectable family of English Catholics; but to disguise himself he assumed various names, as Albius, Candidus, Bianchi, Richworth, &c. He was best known however by the name of Anglus, *i.e.* English. Being a man of genius and an enthusiastic Peripatetic, but possessing little solidity of judgment, he was perpetually advancing new and singular opinions which would not bear examination. He resided in nearly every Catholic country of Europe, found reason often to change his residence, passed through various scenes, and finally died in England. He was much opposed to the philosophy of Des Cartes. See Bayle, *ubi supra*.—*Mur.*

little of sound reason and good sense. He once escaped from the snares of the Inquisition, and roamed as an exile over a considerable part of Europe, pretending to be a second Esculapius and an adept in the great mysteries of the chemists. But in the year 1672 he again imprudently fell into the hands of the papists, who condemned him to perpetual imprisonment.[1] A book of Cœlestine Sfondrati, in which he attempted to explain and settle in a new way the controversies respecting predestination, disturbed in 1696 a large part of the Romish church; for it did not entirely please either the Jesuits or their adversaries. And although he had been made a cardinal in 1646 on account of his erudition, five French bishops of the highest respectability accused him before Innoent XII. of several errors, among which was contempt for the opinions of St. Augustine. But this rising contest was nipped in the bud. The pontiff indeed promised the French that he would submit the cause to the examination of eminent theologians, and then would determine it. But, as was the Romish custom, he violated his promise and did not venture to decide the cause.[3]

52. As there is little to be said of the changes or enlargement of the Romish ceremonies in this century, except that Urban VIII. published a bull in 1643 for diminishing the number of feast-days,[4] I shall conclude the chapter with a list of those who were canonized or enrolled among the tutelar divinities, by the decision of the sovereign pontiffs, during the century. Clement VIII. in 1601 pronounced worthy of this highest honour Raymund of Pennafort, the noted collector of the Decretals; also in 1608, Francisca de Pontianis, a Benedictine nun; and in 1610, Charles Borromeo, a very illustrious bishop of Milan. Gregory XV. in the year 1622, gave Theresia, a Carmelite nun of Avila in Spain, a place in this society. By the authority of Urban VIII. in 1623, Philipo Neri, founder of the Fathers of the Oratory in Italy, Ignatius Loyola, the father of the Jesuits, and Francis Xavier, one of Loyola's first disciples and the apostle of the Indies, were elevated to this high rank. Alexander VII. in 1658, added Thomas de Vilanueva, a Spanish Augustinian; and in 1665, Francis de Sales, bishop of Geneva, to the intercessors with God. Clement X. joined with them in 1670, Peter de Alcantara, a Franciscan, and Maria Magdalena de Pactiis, a Florentine Carmelitess; and the next year, 1671, Rose, an American nun of the third order of Dominicians, and Lewis Bertrand, a Spanish Dominican, who had been a missionary in America; and death alone prevented his adding to these, Cajetan Thienæus, a Regular Clerk of Vicenza. He was therefore enrolled among the celestial attendants in 1691 by Innocent XII. who also in the same year publicly decreed similar honours to John of Leon in Spain, an Eremite of St. Augustine, to Paschal Baylonius, a Franciscan monk of Aragon, and to John de Dieu (de Deo), a Portuguese and one of the Brethren of Hospitality, for all of whom this honour had been designed before by Alexander VIII.[5]

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE GREEK AND ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

1. MANY things probably occur among the Greek and other Oriental Christians which are neither uninteresting nor unimportant; but the transactions in those countries are

[1] Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome i. p. 609 [art. *Borri*]; Arnold, *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, part iii. chap. xviii. p. 193, and others.

[2] They were Pellier, archbishop of Rheims, Noailles, archbishop of Paris, Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, Guy de Seve, bishop of Arras, and Feydeau, bishop of Amiens. —*Mur.*

[3] The book was entitled *Nodus Prædestinationis dissolutus*, Rome, 1696, 4to. The letter of the French bishops and the answer of the pontiff are given by D'Argentre, *Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus*, tom. iii. par. ii. p. 894, &c. and by Natalis Alexander, *Theologia Dogmatica et Moralis*, p. 877, &c. The letter of the bishops is remarkable, as containing censures of the Jesuits and their doctrines, and not merely of their doctrine of philosophical sin but also of their procedure in China; indeed, they say that Sfondrati had taught worse doctrine than even the Molinists. The opinions of Sfondrati are succinctly stated and compared with those of Augustine by Basnage, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, livr. xii. chap. iii. sec. xi. p. 713, &c. [He taught, 1. That God sincerely and strongly desires the salvation of all men. 2. That he gives to all men gracious aid, not only sufficient but even more than sufficient for its attainment. 3. That God does not withhold his grace from the worst and most obstinate sinners, but sets before them incipient aid, by using which they might easily obtain the more powerful grace of God. 4. That still there remains something dark and unfathomable in the doctrine of election.—*Schl.*

[4] This memorable bull of Urban is extant in the *Nouvelle Bibliothèque*, tome xv. p. 88, &c. [and in the *Bullarium Magnum Cherubini*, tom. v. p. 378, dated on the Ides of September, 1642.—*Mur.*

[5] The bulls of the pontiffs by which these men and women were enrolled in the College of the Divi are mentioned and retailed in their order by Fontaninus, in the *Codex Constitutionum, quas Summi Pontifices ediderunt in Solemni Canonizatione Sanctorum*, p. 260, &c. Rome, 1729, fol. [And all of them, except that of Alexander VII. for the canonization of Francis de Sales, are given at large in the *Bullarium Magnum Cherubini*, tom. iii. p. 126, 262, 287, 465, tom. iv. p. 12, and Append. p. 1, tom. vi. p. 76, 288, 347, and Append. p. 3, 17, tom. vii. p. 115, 120, 125, tom. xi. p. 1, tom xii. p. 78.—*Mur.*] As they recite the grounds on which the persons were judged worthy of canonization, these bulls afford very ample matter for discussion to any intelligent person. Nor would it be a vain or useless labour for such a one to examine, without superstition yet with candour, into the justice, the piety, and the truth of those grounds.

rarely reported to us, and still more rarely are they reported truly, undisguised either with the colourings of party feelings or the fabulous tales of the vulgar. We have therefore not much to say here. The Greeks in this century, as in the preceding, were in a miserable state, oppressed, illiterate, and destitute of the means of acquiring a sound knowledge of religious subjects. This however is true only of the Greeks in general. For who will have the folly to deny that among an immense multitude of people, some of whom often visit Sicily, Venice, Rome, England, Holland, and Germany, and many carry on a successful commerce, and several are advanced to the highest employments in the Turkish court, there can be found individuals here and there who are neither poor, nor stupid, nor wholly illiterate, nor destitute of refinement, nor in fine sunk in superstition, vice, and profligacy?[1] Their inveterate hatred of the Latins could in no way be expelled from their minds nor even be moderated; although the Roman pontiffs and their numerous missionaries to the Greeks spared neither skill nor treasure to gain the confidence and affections of that people.[2] The Latin teachers have indeed collected some poor and small congregations in certain islands in the archipelago; but neither the Greeks nor their masters the Turks will allow the Latins to attempt anything more.

2. In the pontificate of Urban VIII. the Latins conceived great hopes, that they should find the Greek and Oriental Christians more tractable in future.[3] The pontiff made it one of his most anxious cares to effect the difficult design of subjecting the Oriental Christians, and especially the Greeks, to the dominion of the Romish see; and he called in the aid of men who were best acquainted with the opinions of the Greeks and the eastern Christians, to point out to him the plainest and shortest method of accomplishing the object. The wisest of these were of opinion that those Christians should be allowed to retain nearly all their long-established peculiarities both of rites and of doctrine, which the Latin doctors had formerly deemed intolerable; for rites, said they, do not appertain to the essence of religion, and their doctrines should be so explained and understood, as to appear to differ as little as possible from the opinions and institutions of the Latins; because those Christians would feel less repugnance to union if they could be persuaded that they had long been Romanists, and that the pontiffs did not require them to abandon the principles of their fathers, but only to understand them correctly. Hence arose those erudite works, composed however with but little candour, published by Leo Allatius, John Morin, Clement Galanus, Lucas Holstenius, Abraham Echellensis,[4] and

[1] This remark is made on account of Alexander Helladius, and others who think with him. There is extant a book of Helladius entitled, *Status Præsens Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, Altorf, 1714, 8vo, in which he bitterly declaims against the most meritorious and learned writers on Grecian affairs; and maintains that his countrymen are much more pious, learned, wise, and happy than is commonly supposed. We by no means envy the Greeks the portion of happiness they may enjoy; nay, we wish them far more than they possess. Yet we could show, if it were necessary, from the very statements Helladius gives us, that the condition of the Greeks is no better than it is generally supposed to be, notwithstanding all persons and places are not equally sunk in barbarism, superstition, and knavery. See the remarks above on the history of the Oriental church in the sixteenth century.

[2] What number of missions there are in Greece and in the other countries subject to the Turkish government, and what is their present condition, is fully stated by the Jesuit Tarillon, in his letter to Ponchartrain, *Sur l' Etat Présent des Missions des Pères Jésuites dans la Gréce*, which is extant in the *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus*, tome i. p. 1125 [and in the *Lettres Edifiantes*, &c. ed. 1819, tome i. p. 1, &c. —*Mur.*] On the state of the Romish religion in the islands of the Archipelago, see Portier, in a letter printed in the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, Ecrites des Missions Etrangères*, tome x. p. 328 [ed. 1819, tome i. p. 283, &c.—*Mur.*] The high colouring of these statements may be easily corrected by the many accounts of the Romish and other writers in our own age respecting the affairs of the Greeks. See, above all others, Simon or Sainiore's *Bibliotheque Critique*, tome i. chap. xxiii. p. 340, who in p. 346 abundantly confirms among other things that which we have observed from Cerri, namely, that none oppose and resist the Latins with more vehemence than the Greeks who have been educated at Rome, or trained in other schools of the Latins. He says: "Ils sont les premiers à crier contre et à médire du Pape et des Latins. Ces pélerins Orienteaux qui viennent chez nous, fourbent et abusent de nôtre crédulité pour acheter un bénéfice et tourmenter les Missionaires Latins," &c. The fullest and most recent testimony to the invincible hatred of the Greeks against the Latins is given by Covell, *Account of the Present Greek Church*, Preface, p. ix. &c.; Cambridge, 1722, fol.

[3] See Morin's Life, prefixed to his *Antiquitates Ecclesiæ Orientalis*, p. 37–46.

[4] The work of Leo Allatius, *De Concordia Ecclesiæ Orientalis et Occidentalis*, is well known, and the most learned men among both the Lutherans and the Reformed, with the greatest justice, charge it with bad faith. He also published his *Græcia Orthodoxa*, Rome, 1652 and 1659, 4to, which contains those tracts of the Greeks which favoured the Latins. From the pen of Holstenius, who was far superior to Allatius in learning and ingenuousness, we have only two Dissertations, *De Ministro et Forma Sacramenti Confirmationis apud Græcos*, which were published after his death, Rome, 1666, 8vo.—The very learned works of John Morin, *De Pœnitentia* and *De Ordinationibus*, are well known by the learned, and every one who peruses them can see that the author aims to evince that there is a wonderful agreement on these subjects between the Christians of the East and the Latins, provided the thorny subtleties of the Scholastics are kept out of sight.—Clemens Galanus, in a prolix and elaborate work published at Rome in 1650 [1690, 2 vols.] fol. laboured to prove that the Armenians differ but little from the Latins.—Abraham Echellensis, both elsewhere and in his Notes to Ebed Jesu's *Catalogus Librorum Chaldæorum*, maintains that all the Christians throughout Asia and Africa coincide with the Latin church. Other writers on this subject are passed over. [Among these are Spanheim's *Diss. de Ecclesiæ Græcæ et Orientalis a Romana Papali Perpetua Dissensione*, in his *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 485, &c. and Elsner's *Latest Account of the Greek Christians in Turkey*, chap. v. (in German).—*Schl.*

others; in which they undertook to prove that there was little or no difference between the religion of the Greeks, Armenians, and Nestorians, and that of the Romans, provided we set aside a few rites and certain unusual words and phrases adopted by those foreign Christians. No one more firmly resisted this project of uniting the Greeks with the Latins than Cyril Lucaris, patriarch of Constantinople, a learned man who had travelled over a great part of Europe. For he signified clearly, indeed more clearly than was prudent, that his mind was inclined towards the religious opinions of the English and the Dutch, and that he contemplated a reformation of the ancient religion of the Greeks. The Jesuits, aided by the influence of the French ambassador and by the knavery of certain perfidious Greeks, vigorously opposed this powerful adversary for a long time and in various ways, and at length vanquished him. For they caused him to be accused before the Turkish emperor of the crimes of treason and rebellion, on which charge he was strangled in the year 1638.[1] This great man was succeeded by one who had been the principal assistant to the Jesuits in his destruction, namely, Cyril of Berrhœa, a man of a malignant and violent temper and as he apostatized to the Romish religion, the union of the Greeks and Latins seemed no longer dubious.[2] But the unhappy fate of Cyril suddenly dissipated this hope. For in a little more than a year, this great friend of the Roman pontiff was put to death in the same manner as his enemy before had been, and Parthenius, who bore the hereditary hostility of his nation to the Latins was placed at the head of the Greek church. From this time onward no good opportunity

[1] There is extant a confession of faith drawn up by Cyril Lucaris and repeatedly published, particularly in Holland, 1645, 8vo, from which it clearly appears that he favoured the Reformed religion more than that of his countrymen. It was published among Aymon's *Monumens Authentiques de la Religion des Grecs*, p. 237. Yet he was not averse from the Lutherans, for he addressed letters about this time to the Swedes, whose friendship he endeavoured to conciliate. See Arkenholz's *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, tome i. p. 486, and tome ii. Append. Documents, 113, &c. The same Aymon has published twenty-seven Letters of this prelate addressed to the Genevans and to others professing the Reformed religion, *ubi supra*, p. 1-199, which more fully exhibit his disposition and his religious opinions. The life and the unhappy death of this in various respects extraordinary man are described by Thomas Smith, an Englishman, in his *Narratio de Vita, Studiis, Gestis, et Martyrio Cyrilli Lucaris*, which is inserted in his *Miscellanea*. London, 1686, 8vo, p. 49-130; also by Hottinger, *Analecta Historico-Theol.* Appendix, diss. viii. p. 550, and by others, whom Fabricius has enumerated, *Bibliotheca Græca*, tom. x. p. 499. [Cyril Lucaris was born in 1572 in Candia, the ancient Crete, then subject to the Venetians. Possessing fine native talents, he first studied at Venice and Padua and then travelled over Italy and other countries. Disgusted with the Romish religion and charmed with that of the Reformed, he resided a while at Geneva. On his return to Greece he connected himself with his countryman Meletius Piga, bishop of Alexandria, who resided much at Constantinople and was often legate to the patriarch. Cyril became his chaplain, and then his Archimandrite. The efforts of the Romanists in 1595 to gain the Russian and Polish Greek churches were resisted at Constantinople, and Cyril was active in opposing the defection. His efforts in this cause exposed him to the resentments of the Polish government, and in 1600 he had to quit that country. He went to Alexandria, was there highly respected, and on the death of Meletius in 1602 he succeeded him in that see. He now kept up a correspondence with several Reformed divines, and among them with George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury. It was at this time that he sent to England the celebrated Alexandrine Codex of the Bible, containing St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians. His aversion to the Romish church drew on him the hatred and persecution of the Jesuits, and of all in the East who favoured the Romish cause. In 1612 he was at Constantinople, and the Romish interest alone prevented his election to the patriarchal chair. He retired to Alexandria, but in 1621 he was elected to the see of Constantinople in spite of the Romish opposition. But his persecutors never ceased to traduce him and to plot against him. He was, moreover, too far in advance of the Greeks to be popular with the multitude; and the Turkish government would at any time depose a patriarch and admit a new one, for a few thousand dollars. In 1622 he was banished to Rhodes, and Gregory of Amasa purchased the office for 20,000 dollars; but not having the money in hand he also was sent away, and Anthimus bishop of Adrianople, having money, purchased the office. But the Greeks would not submit to him, and he was obliged to resign to Cyril, who was restored on paying a large sum for the privilege. The Romanists still plotted against him. He sent a Greek to London to learn the art of printing and to procure a printing press. On its arrival his enemies charged him with employing it for political purposes, and caused him great trouble, though the English and Dutch ambassadors interposed in his behalf. In 1629, having a little respite, he called a council of Greeks to reform that church; and here he proposed his confession of faith which was adopted. In 1633, Cyril Contari, bishop of Berrhœa, the personal enemy of Cyril Lucaris, and supported by the Romish party bargained with the Turks for the patriarchal chair; but being unable to pay the money down, he was exiled to Tenedos and Lucaris retained the office. The next year Athanasius of Thessalonica paid the Turks 60,000 dollars for the office, and Lucaris was again banished. But at the end of a month he was recalled and reinstated on his paying 10,000 dollars. But now Cyril Contari had raised his 50,000 dollars, and Cyril Lucaris was banished to Rhodes to make way for him. After six months his friends purchased his restoration. But in 1638 he was falsely accused of treason in the absence of the emperor, who upon the representation of his vizier gave orders for his death. He was seized, conveyed on board a ship as if for banishment, and as soon as the vessel was at sea he was strangled and thrown overboard. His body drifted ashore and was buried by his friends. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. v. p. 394, &c. and *Unpartheyische Kirchenhistorie*, Jena, 1735, vol. ii. p. 255, &c.—*Mur.* [There is a very full and valuable account of Cyril Lucaris in Neale's *History of the Holy* [?] *Eastern Church*, vol. ii. p. 356-455, but it is a strangely distorted one. The author, an English minister, is sadly scandalized by the partialities of Cyril towards the Anglican church; he styles him a heretic and an apostate, for expressing his dissatisfaction with the corrupt doctrines of the Greek church, and he rejoices with unmeasured delight at the overthrow of the enlightened patriarch's project for a union between the Greek and the Reformed churches!—*B.*

[2] See Veiel's *Defensio Exercitationis de Ecclesia Græca*, p. 100, &c. in which, p. 103, is a letter of Urban VIII. to this Cyril of Berrhœa, highly commending him for having successfully averted from the Greeks the pernicious errors of Lucaris, and exhorting him to depose the bishops who were opposed to the Latins, with the promise of aid both from Rome and from the Spanish government. This Cyril died a member of the Romish church. Hilarius, in his notes to *Phil. Cypriî Chronicon Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, p. 470.

was found by the Romans either for assailing the Greek patriarchs or for drawing them over to their interests.

3. Yet very many complain, and none more than the Reformed, that the flatteries, the sophistry, and the gold, both of the French ambassadors in Turkey and of the Jesuits, have had so much effect of late upon the ignorance and the poverty of the Greek bishops that they have departed from the religion of their fathers in several respects, and especially on the doctrine of the eucharist, and have adopted among other errors of the Latins the inexplicable doctrine of transubstantiation. And this they say was especially done in the celebrated council of Jerusalem, which Dositheus assembled in the year 1672.[1] This charge, whether it be true or false, was first advanced upon occasion of a dispute between the papists and the Reformed in France. The latter, at the head of whom was the very eloquent and erudite John Claude, maintained that many opinions of the Romanists, and especially that which asserts that the bread and the wine in the eucharist are so changed into the body and blood of Christ as still to leave the external appearance of bread and wine, were wholly unknown in ancient times, and were not found among the Latins themselves before the ninth century; on the contrary, Anthony Arnaud and his associates, in managing the cause, contended that the Romish belief respecting the Lord's Supper had been the received opinion among Christians in every age, and that it was approved by all the sects of Christians in the East, particularly by the Greeks.[2] This controversy required authorities and testimonies. Hence the French envoys at Constantinople, with the Jesuits on the one part and the Dutch and English ministers on the other, laboured indefatigably to collect opinions of the Greeks in favour of their respective sides. It so happened that the Romanists were superior in both the number and weight of their testimonies; but the Reformed contended that all these were of no avail, being either purchased from the starving Greeks with money, or obtained from persons either ignorant on the subject or deceived and ensnared by insidious language.[3] Whoever shall bring to the decision of this controversy a good acquaintance with Greek affairs and a mind unbiassed by prejudice, will judge, I apprehend, that no small part of the Greek church had for many ages possessed some obscure idea of transubstantiation, but that they received more clear and explicit ideas of it in modern times from the Romans.[4]

4. Of the independent Greek churches or those not subject to the Byzantine patriarch, the Russian is the only one which affords any matter for history; the others lie buried in deep ignorance and darkness. About the year 1666 a certain sect showed itself among the Russians and produced no little commotion, which called itself Isbraniki or the Company of the Elect, but by its adversaries it was called Roskolskika, that is, the Seditious Faction.[5] What these sectaries find to censure in the modern Russian church and what opinions and rites they hold is not yet fully known. It appears however in general that they distinguish themselves by a great show of piety, and represent the ancient religion of the Russians as much marred, partly by the negligence and partly by the licentiousness of the bishops.[6] The Russians long assailed

[1] The proceedings of this council were published by Aymon, after an edition by a French Benedictine, in his *Monumens Authentiques de la Religion des Grecs*, tome i. p. 263. See Cuper's *Epistolæ*, p. 404, 407. Notes illustrative of it may be seen, besides other places, in Basnage's *Histoire de la Religion des Eglises Réformées*, period iv. part i. chap. xxxii. &c. p. 452, and in Covell's *Account of the Present Greek Church*, book i. chap. v. p. 136, &c. [See also Ittig's *Heptad. Dissertat.* No. v. *de Synodo Hierosol.*—*Schl.* [The Acts of this council, Gr. and Lat. are in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. xii. p. 179, &c.—*Mur.*

[2] The names and works of the principal writers on this controversy may be learned from Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*, tom. x. p. 443, &c. and Pfaff, *Dissertatio contra Ludovici Rogerii Opus Eucharisticum*, Tubing. 1718, 4to

[3] Here should be consulted, above all others, John Covell, who was resident at Constantinople when this drama was acted, and who saw by what artifices the Greeks were induced to give testimony in favour of the Latins. See his *Account of the Present Greek Church*, pref. p. 2, &c. and book i. chap. v. p. 136, &c.

[4] La Croze, who is well known to have been by no means partial to the Jesuits or to Romish opinions, supposed that the Greeks had long been infected with the doctrine of transubstantiation. See Cuiper's *Epistolæ*, edited by Beyer, p. 37, 44, 48, 51, 65. [See also Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. ix. p. 102.—*Mur.*

[5] Perhaps these are the very persons whom the celebrated Gmelin, in his *Travels in Siberia* (in German, vol. iv. p. 404), calls Sterowerzi. [They doubtless come under this denomination; for Pinkerton (*Present State of the Greek Church in Russia*, Appendix, p. 227) tells us: "The national church in Russia gives the general name of Raskolniks or Schismatics to all the sects which have at different periods renounced her communion; but these separatists uniformly style themselves Starovertsi or Believers of the Old Faith."—*Mur.*

[6] See Bergius, *De Statu Ecclesiæ et Religionis Moscovitiæ*, sec. xi. cap. vii. p. 69. Add sec. ii. cap. xvi. p. 218, and in the Append. p. 270; Helneccius *On the Greek Church* (written in German), part iii. p. 30, &c.; Van Haven's *Travels in Russia*, p. 316 of the German translation. Some Lutheran writers have supposed or suspected that these Isbraniki were a progeny of the ancient Bogomils. [Mosheim's account of the Russian dissenters is very lame. See the whole Appendix to Pinkerton's *Present State of the Greek Church in Russia*, p. 227-276. He tells us it is common to date the origin of sectarians in the Russian church about the middle of the 17th century, in the time of the patriarch Nikon. But according to the Russian annals there existed schismatics in the Russian church two hundred years before the days of Nikon; and the disturbances which took place in his time only proved the means of

this factious multitude with councils, confutations, severe punishments, military force, and flatteries; but the effect of all these remedies was to drive them to more remote regions, and as is usual to render them more pertinacious in consequence of their calamities and sufferings. A milder treatment began to be shown them from the time that Peter I. whose achievements procured him the surname of Great, introduced a material change in both the civil and ecclesiastical government of the empire. But the schism is so far from being healed, that this revolution in the Russian affairs is said rather to have added firmness and stability to it.

5. It will not be improper here to subjoin a few remarks respecting that reformation of the Russian church by Peter I. which we have just mentioned. For though it belongs to the following century, yet the foundations for it were laid in the close of this. That immortal prince suffered the Greek religion, as professed by the Russians, to remain entire; but he took vast pains to have it explained according to sound reason and the Holy Scriptures, to destroy that superstition which was diffused so extensively over the whole nation, and to dispel the amazing ignorance both of the priests and the common people. These were great and noble designs, but exceedingly difficult and such as often require ages for their accomplishment. To effect them the more readily he became the patron of all the arts and sciences, invited learned men from all quarters into the country, established new schools and purged the old ones of their barbarism, laboured to enkindle in his subjects a thirst for learning of all kinds and for literature, abolished the iniquitous practice of persecuting and punishing errorists, and granted to all Christian sects dissenting from the Greeks full liberty to worship according to their own views. Yet in the last particular he was careful to restrain the eagerness of the Romanists for extending the dominion of their pontiff. They had certain places assigned them, in which if they chose to reside among the Russians they might worship in their way. But the Jesuits were prohibited from teaching among the Russian people; and the council which controls all matters of religion was directed to see that Romish opinions were not propagated among the people. All ecclesiastical affairs are managed very differently from what they were formerly. For the emperor suppressed the splendid office of primate, because it was thought prejudicial to the sovereignty of the prince, and made himself sovereign pontiff and head of the Russian church.[1] His vicegerent [in ecclesiastical affairs] is a council established at St. Petersburg called the Holy Synod, over which some archbishop of distinguished prudence and fidelity presides.[2] The first who filled this office was the celebrated Stephen Javorski, well known by his work in the Russian language against heretics.[3] The other ecclesiastical

augmenting their numbers and of bringing them forward into public view. The earliest of these schismatics first appeared in Novogorod early in the 15th century, under the name of Strigolniks. A Jew named Horie preached a mixture of Judaism and Christianity, and proselyted two priests, Denis and Alexie, who gained a vast number of followers. This sect was so numerous that a national council was called towards the close of the 15th century to oppose it. Soon afterwards one Karp, an excommunicated deacon, joined the Strigolniks, and accused the higher clergy of selling the office of priesthood, and of so far corrupting the church that the Holy Ghost was withdrawn from it. He was a very successful propagator of this sect. But numerous as the Strigolniks were, they were few compared with the vast number and variety of sectarians produced by the attempts to correct the copies of the Russian liturgy or books used in the churches, which amount to twenty folio volumes. These having long been preserved by transcription were found to contain numerous mistakes of transcribers, and to differ greatly from each other. The higher clergy and the princes, as early as 1518, attempted to correct these books and bring them all to agreement. And the object was pursued for more than a century amid great opposition, before it was fully accomplished. The great body of the Raskolniks or dissenters, though divided into various sects, yet all agree with one another and with the national church in articles of faith, and generally in rites and modes of worship; but they consider the national church as corrupt, because it has falsified the sacred books and thus subverted religion. There are however some minor sects which differ from the establishment both in faith and worship. Pinkerton divides them into two grand classes: the Popopftschins, or those who admit the national priests that apostatize to them to officiate still as priests without reordination; and the Bezpopftschins, or those who either have no priests or have only such as they themselves ordain. Of the former class he enumerates five sects, and of the latter fifteen. But the history of these sects more properly belongs to the following century. See also Ständlin's *Kirchliche Geographie*, vol. i. p. 289, &c.—*Mur.*

[1] Maclaine very justly criticises the language here used by Mosheim, which implies that the emperor assumed a spiritual office and spiritual power. He only claimed the right as emperor to receive appeals from the ecclesiastical courts, and to give law to priests as well as to the rest of his subjects. He was head of the church in much the same sense as the kings of England and the German princes are, none of whom ever presumed to administer the sacraments or to perform any appropriate functions of a clergyman or priest.—*Mur.*

[2] This is not perfectly correct. In the year 1700, Peter abolished the patriarchal office and appointed an exarch with limited powers, who could do nothing without the consent of the other bishops, and was obliged to refer all affairs of moment to the decision of the Czar himself. Such was Stephen Javorski mentioned in the next sentence. But in 1720 Peter abolished the exarchy also, and in place of it instituted the Holy Legislative Synod, consisting first of twelve, and afterwards of an indefinite number of the higher clergy selected by the emperor. At the head of this synod there is always a layman who is the representative of the Czar, and has a negative upon all its resolutions till they are laid before the emperor. This nobleman is the minister of the crown for the department of religion. See Pinkerton, *ubi supra*, p. 26, &c. and Ständlin's *Kirchliche Geographie*, vol. i. p. 269, &c.—*Mur.*

[3] See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1295.

offices remain as before, but they are deprived of much of the authority formerly annexed to them, and of no small part of their revenues and privileges. At first it was intended to suppress all monasteries whether for men or for women. But from this design the emperor so far departed afterwards, that he himself dedicated a magnificent house of this kind to Alexander Newsky, whom the Russians number among their saints.[1]

6. A part of the Asiatic Monophysites left for a time the religion of their fathers and united themselves with the Romanists. Their prompter to this measure was one Andrew Achigian, who had been educated at Rome, was appointed patriarch by the Roman pontiff, and assumed the name of Ignatius XXIV.[2] At his death, one Peter who took the name of Ignatius XXV. assumed the office; but at the instigation of the legitimate primate of the sect he was banished by the Turks, and the little flock of which he was the head was soon dispersed.[3] Of the African Monophysites, the Copts, notwithstanding their wretchedness, ignorance, and poverty, firmly resisted the persons who so often solicited them with very advantageous offers to become united with the Romans. In what manner the Abyssinians freed themselves from the yoke of the Romish bishop, which they had indiscreetly assumed, and asserted their ancient independence, has already been stated. And it will now be proper to add that in some of the Lutherans a holy desire arose to deliver the Abyssinian nation from the darkness of ignorance and superstition, and to bring them to a better knowledge of religion. Prompted by such motives, Peter Heyling of Lubec, a very pious and learned man, visited them in the year 1634; and after spending many years in Ethiopia and being so prosperous as to become prime minister of state to the emperor, and having accomplished much for the advantage of the people, on his return to Europe he lost his life by means unknown.[4] Afterwards, Ernest, duke of Saxe-Gotha, whose exemplary virtue procured him the surname of Pious, at the suggestion and recommendation of that extraordinary man Job Ludolf, attempted to explore a way for teachers of the Reformed religion to go among those distant Christians, by means of Gregory, an Abyssinian who was then in Europe.[5] But Gregory perishing by shipwreck in 1657, Ernest sent John Michael Wansleben of Erfurth in 1663, with very wise instructions to conciliate if possible the goodwill of the Abyssinians towards the Germans. Wansleben however lingered in Egypt; and upon his return, not being able to account for the moneys he had received, he revolted to the Romish church in 1667 and became a Dominican monk.[6]

[1] On these subjects much information may be obtained from Van Haven's *Travels in Russia*, which are extant in a German translation from the Danish.

[2] From the 15th century onward all the primates of the Monophysite sect chose to bear the name of Ignatius, for no other reason, if I do not mistake, than to indicate by their name that they are successors to Ignatius the bishop of Antioch in the first century, and the legitimate patriarchs of that see. A similar motive has induced the Maronite primates, who also claim the title of patriarchs of Antioch, to assume the name of Peter. For St. Peter is said to have governed the church of Antioch before Ignatius.

[3] See Asseman's *Biblioth. Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, tom. ii. p. 412, and in *Diss. de Monophysitis*, sec. iii. p. 6, 7.

[4] A valuable life of this man was published in German by Michaelis, Halle, 1724, 8vo. Add Möller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 253, &c. [His father was a jeweller of Lubec. After a good education in his native city he went to Paris in 1627, having charge of four noble youths. There he became intimate with Grotius. From Paris he went to Italy and thence to Malta, where he disputed with the Catholic priests. He now assumed the garb of a pilgrim, intending to travel into the East and acquaint himself with Oriental literature. He proceeded to Constantinople, and thence to Palestine and Egypt. He arrived in Egypt in 1634, and so recommended himself to the Copts by his learning and his piety, that they esteemed him highly and gave him the title of Moollah. Meeting with the new primate of Ethiopia, who had come to Alexandria for ordination, he joined him; and on their way to Abyssinia they met Mendez, the Portuguese Jesuit, just banished from that country, whom Heyling encountered and confuted in a public dispute. Mendez wrote to the pope that if this Lutheran should go into Abyssinia he would involve that whole nation in extreme heresy. He arrived there in 1634, and was very popular and useful. But how long he lived and where he died is very uncertain. A letter of his to Grotius, dated at Memphis, August 28, 1634, respecting the disputes between the Melchites and the Jacobites, is extant in Ludolf's *Comment. ad Hist. Æthiop.* lib. iii. cap. viii. See Möller, *ubi supra*.—*Mur.*

[5] See Ludolf's preface to his *Comment. ad Hist. Æthiopicam*, p. 31, &c.; Juncker's *Vita Jobi Ludolfi*, p. 68, &c. [Ludolf became acquainted with this Gregory during his tour to Rome, and invited him into Germany. He resided a while at the court of Gotha, but afterwards was desirous of returning to his country; and on his way, at Alexandretta in Syria, lost his life by shipwreck.—*Schl.*

[6] Concerning this unstable and vicious but learned man, much may be collected from Lobo's *Voyage de l'Abyssinie*, tome i. p. 198, 227, 233, 248; Cyprian's *Catalogus MSS. Bibliothecæ Gothanæ*, p. 64; Renaudot, *Præf. ad Historiam Patriarchar. Alexandrinorum*; Echard and Quetif, *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicat.* tom. ii. p. 693. We have his *Historia Ecclesiæ Alexandrinæ*, and other works, which are not without merit. [The patriarch of Alexandria persuaded him not to prosecute his journey into Abyssinia. After changing his religion at Rome, he went to Paris, whence Colbert in the year 1672 sent him again to Egypt, to procure a fuller account of the state of that country and to purchase rare manuscripts for the king's library. But Colbert seemed dissatisfied with his proceedings. For Wansleben was not in the least respected at Paris; and from vexation he assumed in 1678 the vicarage of a village not far from Fontainbleau, and died in 1679 in the curacy of Bouron, where he was also vicar. Before his journey to Egypt, at Ludolf's request he went to London, to superintend there the printing of the first edition of his Ethiopic Grammar and Lexicon in 1661; and there he aided Edmund Castell in the preparation of his *Lexicon Heptaglosson*. After his return from the East, he wrote his *Relatione dello Stato Presente dell' Egitto*; and in 1677 his *Nouvelle Relation en forme de Journal de son Voyage faite en Egypte*. His *History*

Thus the designs of this excellent duke were frustrated; yet they were attended with this advantage, that Job Ludolf by his very learned and elaborate works threw much light upon the history, the sentiments, and the literature of the Abyssinians, which before had been but little known among the Europeans.

7. A considerable change took place in the affairs of the Armenians, not long after the commencement of this century, originating from Abbas I. the king of Persia, who for his achievements was surnamed the Great. For he nearly laid waste all that part of Armenia which was contiguous to Persia, with a view to prevent the Turks from invading his territories; and he caused most of its inhabitants to migrate and settle in Persia. For what the Europeans endeavour to accomplish by erecting castles and fortresses along their borders, the kings of the East prefer to effect by depopulating the frontier parts and provinces of their kingdoms. The richest and best of these Armenians removed to Ispahan, the capital of the kingdom, and resided in the splendid suburb which the king called Julfa, where they have their own bishop. So long as Abbas lived, who was a magnanimous prince and much attached to his people, these exiles enjoyed great prosperity; but after his death they were involved in calamities and persecutions.[1] And hence not a few of them have apostatized to Mohammedanism, and it is to be feared that this portion of the Armenian church will become wholly extinct. On the other hand, the Asiatic Armenians have undoubtedly derived no little advantage from the permanent settlement of very many of their nation during this century, for commercial purposes, in most of the countries of Europe, as at Marseilles in France, and in London, Amsterdam, and Venice.[2] For, not to mention other things, this has afforded them an opportunity to print the Bible and many other books especially religious ones, in the Armenian character, in Holland particularly and in England; and these books, being sent to the Armenians living under the Persians and Turks, doubtless tend to prevent the nation, which is rude and inclined to superstition, from losing all knowledge of the Christian religion.

8. The disunion among the Nestorians, which rent that church in the preceding century, could not be healed at all in this. Among the patriarchs of Mosul, Elias II. sent his envoy to Rome in the year 1607, and again in the year 1610, to obtain the friendship of the pontiff; and in a letter to Paul V. he avowed himself ready to sanction a union between the Nestorians and the Romans.[3] Elias III. though at first extremely averse to the Romish rites, yet in the year 1657 addressed a letter to the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, signifying his willingness to join the Romish church, provided the pontiffs would grant to the Nestorians a place of worship at Rome, and would not corrupt or disturb at all the tenets of the sect.[4] But the Romans doubtless perceived that a union formed on the terms here stated would be of no use or advantage to their cause; for we have no information that the Nestorians were at that time received into the Romish communion, or that the prelates of Mosul were again solicitous to conciliate the Roman pontiff. The Nestorian patriarchs of Ormus, who all bore the name of Simeon, likewise made two proposals in 1619 and 1653, for renewing their former alliance with the Roman pontiffs, and sent to Rome a tract explanatory of their religious sentiments. But either these prelates did not offer satisfactory terms to the Romans,[5] or on account of their poverty and very slender power they were despised at Rome; for it appears that from the year 1617, the prelates at Ormus were in a very low state, and no longer excited the envy of those at Mosul.[6] There was however a small and poor congregation of Roman Catholics formed among the Nestorians about the middle of this century, whose bishops or patriarchs reside in the city of Amida or Diarbekir, and all bear the name of Joseph.[7] The Nestorians inhabiting the coast of Malabar and who are called Christians of St. Thomas, so long as the Portuguese possessed those regions, were miserably harassed by the Romish priests, especially by the Jesuits; and yet neither vexations,

of the Church of Alexandria was also published in French.—*Schl.*

[1] See Chardin, *Voyage en Perse*, tome ii. p. 106, &c. Gabr. du Chinon, *Nouvelle Relation du Levant*, p. 206, &c.

[2] Of the Armenians residing at Marseilles and the books they have printed there, see Simon's *Lettres Choisies*, tome ii. p. 137. Of their Bible printed in Holland he likewise treats, *Ibid.* tome iv. p. 160. So also does Schræder. in his *Thesaurus Linguæ Armenicæ*, or rather in the *Diss. de Lingua Armenica*, which is prefixed to this *Thesaurus*, cap. iv. p. 60. The other Armenian books printed at Venice, Lemburg, and especially at Amsterdam, are enumerated by this very learned man, *ubi supra*, cap. ii. sec. xxv. &c. p. 48. &c.

[3] Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Clement. Vaticana*, tom. i. p. 543; tom. ii. p. 457; tom. iii. par. i. p. 650.

[4] Asseman, *ubi supra*, tom. iii. par. ii. p. cml.

[5] Asseman, *ubi supra*, tom. i. p. 531; tom. ii. p. 457; tom. iii. par. i. p. 622.

[6] Strozza, *Præfatio ad Librum de Chaldæorum Dogmatibus.*

[7] See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 1078.

menaces, nor artifices, could bring them to prefer the Romish worship before that of their fathers.[1] But when Cochin was conquered by the Dutch in 1663, and the Portuguese were expelled from these regions,[2] their former liberty of worshipping God in the manner of their ancestors was restored to that oppressed people, and they continue to enjoy it to the present time. At the same time, the Dutch give no trouble to those among them who choose to continue in the Romish religion, provided they will treat kindly and peacefully those who differ from them.

PART II.

THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

1. THE evils and calamities which the Roman pontiffs or the Austrians (often too obsequious to the pleasure of the pontiffs in things pertaining to religion) either brought or endeavoured to bring upon the Lutherans in various ways during this century, have been already narrated in the history of the Romish church. We shall therefore now mention only some other things, by which the Lutheran church lost something of its splendour and amplitude. Maurice, landgrave of Hesse, of the Cassel family, a very learned prince, seceded from the Lutheran church, and he not only himself went over to the Reformed, but also in the year 1624 and onward, both at the university of Marpurg and throughout his province, he displaced the Lutheran teachers who firmly resisted his purpose, and commanded the people to be thoroughly taught the Reformed doctrines, and public worship to be conducted in the Genevan manner. This design was prosecuted with the greatest firmness in the year 1619, when he ordered select theologians to proceed to the Dutch council of Dort, and commanded the decrees there made to be publicly assented to by his church. The Reformed maintained formerly that nothing was done in this affair which was inconsistent with equity and the highest moderation. But perhaps all impartial men in our day will admit without difficulty, that many things would have been ordered somewhat differently if that excellent prince had been less disposed to gratify his own will and pleasure, and more attentive to those precepts which the wisest of the Reformed themselves inculcate respecting duty towards those who differ from us in matters of religion.[3]

2. Not long after, in the year 1614, John Sigismund also, the elector of Brandenburg, left the communion of the Lutherans and went over to the Reformed, yet with different views from those of Maurice, and with different results. For he did not embrace all the doctrines by which the followers of Calvin are distinguished from the Lutherans; but in addi-

[1] Of these La Croze treats largely, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, livr. v. p. 344, &c.

[2] Schouten, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, tome i. p. 319, &c. p. 456, &c.

[3] See Garth's *Historischer Bericht von dem Religionswesen im Fürstenthum Hessen*, 1606, 4to; Cyprian's *Unterricht von kirchlicher Vereinigung der Protestanten*, p. 263, and in the *Appendix of Documents*, p. 103, and the public Acts, which were published in the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A.D. 1749, p. 25, &c. Here should be consulted especially the public official writings which passed between the divines of Cassel and Darmstadt, Cassel, 1633, fol.; Marpurg, 1636, fol.; Giess. 1647, fol.; of which Salig treats, in his *Historie der Augsburg. Confession*, vol. i. book iv. chap. ii. p. 756, &c. [Even from the time of the Reformation onward, there were individuals in Hesse who were inclined towards the doctrines of the Reformed, but the outward tranquillity was not thereby destroyed. Philip the Magnanimous and his successors, some of whom were well known to be favourable to the Reformed opinions, used all care to preserve this harmony. When the Formula of Concord produced so much disturbance in Saxony and Upper Germany, and threatened to destroy the peace which Hesse had hitherto enjoyed, the Hessian princes published an edict in 1572, by which they endeavoured to preserve the union. Also in the general Synods of Treysa in 1577, of Marpurg in 1578, and of Cassel in 1579, the Hessian clergy were required to subscribe certain articles designed to preserve the union. But under the landgrave Maurice the state of things changed. He had been drawn over to the side of the Reformed by some French Reformed noblemen's sons, whom his father had procured through Beza to be his son's associates; and after the death of his father's brother, the landgrave Lewis, at Marpurg in 1604, he endeavoured to introduce the Reformed religion by means of a Catechism; and in the year 1605, he dismissed all the teachers at Marpurg and in half the upper principality of Hesse (which had fallen to the house of Cassel), because they would not subscribe the result of the Synod without some limitation; and he established Reformed teachers in their place. The dismissed teachers, among whom the famous Balthazar Menzer was the most distinguished, were afterwards received by Lewis the landgrave of Darmstadt; and a part of them were established in the newly-erected university of Giessen, and the rest were beneficed elsewhere. As is generally the case when human passions become enlisted in religious contests, there were faults on both sides which no impartial man at the present day will approve. The Lutherans adhered too strenuously and too wilfully to certain subtle doctrines of the schools, and to external rites which are not of the essence of Christianity; and the Reformed, who had the court on their side, misused the power which was in their hands, to the injury of the ancient rights of a community whose brethren they pretended to be. — *Schl.*

tion to the Genevan form of worship, he considered only the Reformed doctrines respecting the person of Christ and the presence of his body and blood in the eucharist as more correct and tenable than the Lutheran views; but what they inculcate respecting the nature and order of divine grace and the decrees of God he did not adopt. And hence he would neither send deputies to the synod of Dort, nor permit their decrees respecting these difficult points to be received. The same sentiments were so far retained by the sovereign princes of Brandenburg who reigned after him, that they never required Calvin's doctrine of absolute decrees to be taught in the Reformed churches of their dominions as the public and received doctrine. It is also justly accounted an honour to John Sigismund, that he gave his subjects full liberty either to follow the example of their prince or to deviate from it; nor did he exclude from posts of honour and power those who deemed it wrong to abandon the religion of their fathers. Yet this moderation was not satisfactory to the violent temper of that age, which was in many respects too rigid; for not a few thought it intolerable and provoking that the prince should ordain, that the professors of both religions should enjoy equal rank and rights, that odious terms and comparisons should be abstained from in disputation, that religious controversies should be either wholly omitted or explained very modestly in public discourses to the people, and lastly, that those who disagreed should live together as friends and should interchange kind offices. And from these views originated not only bitter contests, but also at times rash and seditious commotions in the state, in allaying which many years were consumed in vain. The neighbouring divines of Saxony, and particularly those of Wittemberg, undertook to defend the side of the Lutherans in these tumults, and undoubtedly with sincere and upright intentions, but, according to the customs of the times, in a style too coarse and not sufficiently temperate. And hence, not only was the *Formula of Concord* excluded from a place among the books by which the public religion of the Lutherans is regulated in the Brandenburg territories, but likewise the citizens of Brandenburg were forbidden to study theology in the university of Wittemberg.

[1] The laws and edicts both of John Sigismund and his successors in relation to this famous affair have been sometimes printed together. There are likewise extant a great number of books and pamphlets, from which a knowledge of these proceedings may be derived, and of which I would rather refer others to for a full catalogue than give an imperfect one myself. Such a catalogue is extant in the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A.D. 1745, p. 34, &c. and A.D. 1746, p. 326. See also Köcher, *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolica*, p. 312, &c. Those who wish to understand and form an estimate of the whole transaction may consult Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie*, part ii. book xvii. chap. vii. p. 965; Cyprian's *Unterricht von der Vereinigung der Protestanten*, p. 75, and the *Appendix of Documents*, p. 225; the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A.D. 1727, p. 1069, and A.D. 1732, p. 715. Those who would persuade us that the hope of extending his power and influence was not the least motive with the prince for this change, conjecture rather than demonstrate and prove; for they do not support their opinion with valid arguments. Yet it must be confessed by those who carefully inspect the history of those times, that their conjecture is not altogether without reason and plausibility.

3. So many evils resulting from the discords of the Lutherans and Reformed, who with equal sincerity and fortitude had renounced papal servitude, may have induced some of the principal men and the most famous theologians of both parties to look about them anxiously for some means of uniting in bonds of mutual affection the communities rent asunder and severed by their religious sentiments. No wise man could be so ignorant of human nature as to expect that all difference of opinion between them could be removed, or that either party would go over to the sentiments of the other. And therefore those who undertook this business agreed that their only aim should be to persuade the disputants that there was little or nothing of any importance to true religion and piety in all the points controverted between the parties, that the fundamental truths on which the plan of salvation rests are safe on both sides, and that their controversies related partly to things recondite and inexplicable, and partly to things indifferent and far removed from the supreme object of a Christian. Those who could admit these things to be true must also admit that the existing difference of sentiment was no just impediment to fraternal intercourse between the dissentients. And in fact most of the Reformed were readily brought to concede that the Lutherans erred but moderately and lightly, or did not greatly corrupt any one of the primary doctrines of Christianity; but most of the Lutherans perseveringly maintained that they had the most weighty reasons for not judging in the same manner of the Reformed, and that a great part of the dispute related to the groundwork of all religion and piety. It is not strange that the opposite party should brand this perseverance of the Lutherans with the odious names of moroseness, superciliousness, arrogance, and the like. But those who were taxed with these faults brought as many charges against their accusers. For they complained that they

were not treated ingenuously, that the real character of the Reformed principles was disguised under ambiguous phraseology, and that their adversaries, though cautious and guarded, evinced too plainly that the chief ground of their great inclination for peace was not so much a desire of the public good as of their private advantage.

4. Among the public transactions relative to this business of a union, we may justly give the first place to the project of James I. the king of Great Britain, who in the year 1615 attempted a reconciliation of the Lutherans and Reformed, through the instrumentality of Peter du Moulin, a very celebrated divine among the French Reformed.[1] The next place is due to the celebrated decree of the Reformed church of France passed in the synod of Charenton, A D. 1631, by which the Lutheran religion was declared harmless, holy, and free from all gross errors, and a way was opened for all the professors of it to hold sacred and civil communion with the Reformed.[2] Whatever may have been the motives for this decree, its consequences were unimportant, because few of the Lutherans were disposed to use the liberty thus generously offered them. In the same year certain Saxon theologians, Matthias Hoe, Polycarp Lyser, and Henry Höpfner, were ordered to hold a conference at Leipsic with certain Hessian and Brandenburg doctors of the first class, in order that the sentiments of both parties being properly explained and compared, the number and nature of the difficulties which were in the way of the much-desired union might be better understood. This deliberation was conducted without any intemperate love for disputation and controversy, but at the same time not with that mutual confidence and freedom from jealousy which would secure harmony in the result. For though the speakers on the side of the Reformed explained in the best manner the views of their church, and cheerfully conceded not a few things which the Lutherans hardly expected, yet the suspicions of the latter lest they should be entrapped so intimidated them, that they would not acknowledge themselves satisfied. Hence the disputants separated without accomplishing anything.[3] Whoever wishes to learn the motives for these deliberations for peace must inspect and examine the civil history of those times.

5. The conference at Thorn in 1645, appointed by Uladislaus IV. king of Poland, for the purpose of uniting if possible not only the Reformed with the Lutherans but both also with the papists, was likewise unsuccessful. For those who were called together to make efforts, if not to terminate yet at least to diminish the existing enmities, separated more enraged than when they came together. With more success, by order of William VI. the landgrave of Hesse, Peter Musæus and John Henichius of the university of Rinteln, and Sebastian Curtius and John Heinius, doctors of Marpurg, the two former Lutherans and the latter Reformed, when directed by the landgrave to enter into a friendly discussion, compared their sentiments at Cassel in the year 1661. For having investigated the importance of the controversies which separated the two communities, they mutually shook hands, affirmed that it was far less than was commonly supposed, and ought not to prevent fraternal affection and harmony. But the divines of Rinteln were so utterly unable to persuade their Lutheran brethren to believe as they did, that on the contrary their only reward was almost universal hatred, and they were assailed with bitterness in numerous publications.[4]

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[1] See Le Vassor's *Histoire de Louis XIII.* tome ii. part ii. p. 21, &c. [and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reform.* vol. v. p. 198.—*Mur.*

[2] Benoit's *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, tome ii. p. 524; Aymon's *Actes des Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Réformées de France*, tome ii. p. 500, &c.; Ittig's *Diss. de Synodi Carentoniensis Indulgentia erga Lutheranos*, Lips. 1705, 4to. [Quick's *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, vol. ii. p. 297. The words of the decree were these: "The province of Burgundy demanding whether the faithful of the Augustane (Augsburg) Confession might be permitted to contract marriages in our churches and to present children in our churches unto baptism, without a precedaneous abjuration of those opinions held by them contrary to the belief of our churches, this Synod declareth that, inasmuch as the churches of the Confession of Augsburg do agree with the other Reformed churches in the principal and fundamental points of the true religion, and that there is neither superstition nor idolatry in their worship, the faithful of the said Confession who with a spirit of love and peaceableness do join themselves to the communion of our churches in this kingdom, may be, without any abjuration at all made by them, admitted unto the Lord's table with us, and as sureties may present children unto baptism, they promising the Consistory that they will never sollcit them, either directly or indirectly, to transgress the doctrine believed and professed in our churches, but will be content to instruct and educate them in those points and articles which are in common between us and them, and wherein both the Lutherans and we are unanimously agreed."—*Mur.*

[3] See Gesselius, *Historia Sacra et Ecclesiastica*, par. ii. the *Addenda*, p. 597-613, where the Acts themselves are given; Jäger's *Historia Sæcul.* xvii. decenn. iv. p. 497, &c. [The Reformed divines were John Bergius, court preacher at Berlin, John Crocius, professor at Marpurg, and Theophilus Neuberger, superintendent at Cassel. They discussed all the articles of the Augsburg Confession to which the Reformed were ready to subscribe, and also set forth a formula of union or rather an exposition of the articles in controversy, which was not expected from them.—*Schl.*

[4] The writers who treat of the conferences at Thorn and Cassel are enumerated by Sagittarius, *Introduct. ad Historiam Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. p. 1604. Add Jäger's *Historia Sæcul.* xvii. decenn. v. p. 689, where the Acts of the conference of Thorn, and decenn. vii. p. 160, where those of the conference at Cassel, are extant; Turretine, *Nubes Testium pro moderato in Rebus Theo-*

How much labour and effort the Brandenburg heroes, Frederick William and his son Frederick, afterwards expended in reconciling the differences of Protestants in general, and particularly in Prussia[1] and their other provinces, and what difficulties opposed and withstood those efforts, are too well known to need a long rehearsal.

6. Of those who as private individuals assumed the office of arbiters of the contests among the Protestants, a vast number might be mentioned; but many more assumed this character among the Reformed than among the Lutherans. The most noted among the Reformed, it is universally admitted, was John Duræus [or Dury], a Scotchman, who was certainly an honest man and both pious and learned, but more distinguished for genius and memory than for the power of nice discrimination and sound judgment, as might be evinced by satisfactory proofs if this were the proper place. For more than forty years, or from 1631 to 1674, he laboured with incredible fortitude and patience, by writing, persuading, admonishing, in short in every way that could be thought of, to attain the happiness of putting an end to the contests among the Protestants. Nor did he, like others, attempt this vast enterprise shut up in his study; but he travelled into nearly all the countries of Europe in which a purer religion flourished, and personally addressed and conferred with all the theologians of both parties who were of much note and influence, and made great exertions to engage in his enterprise kings, princes, and magistrates, and their friends, by displaying the importance and utility of his object. Most persons commended his designs and treated him with kindness, yet very few were found willing to help forward his plans by their personal efforts and counsels. Some persons suspecting that so great eagerness as Dury manifested must proceed from sinister designs, and that he was secretly labouring to draw the Lutherans into a snare, assailed him in writings full of acrimony, nor did all of them abstain from personal invectives and abuse. At last, neglected by his own party and repelled and rejected by ours, and discouraged by a thousand hardships, insults, and troubles, he learned that this task exceeded the power of individual efforts, and he consumed the remainder of his life in obscurity and neglect at Cassel.[2] This honest man, though sometimes not sufficiently explicit and ingenuous, laid for the foundation of his scheme certain principles according to which, if they should be approved, not only Lutherans and the Reformed but Christians of all sects whatever might easily become associated. For first, he contended that what is called the Apostles' Creed embraced all the doctrines necessary to be believed, and the ten commandments all the laws of conduct to be observed, and the Lord's Prayer all the promises of God; and if this were true, then all Christians might unite in one family. In the next place, as appears from adequate proof, he endeavoured to attain his object by means of mystical or Quakerish sentiments. For he placed all religion in the elevation of the soul to God, or in eliciting that internal divine spark or word which dwells in the human mind; from which it would follow, that difference of opinion on divine subjects has no connexion with religion.

7. The principal Lutherans who engaged in this business were John Matthiæ, a Swede, bishop of Stregnas and formerly preceptor to queen Christina, whom Dury had warmed with zeal for a coalition, and George Calixtus, a divine of Helmstadt, who had few equals in that age either in learning, genius, or probity; but neither of these met with the success he desired. The Olive Branches of the former (for such was the title of his pamphlets on the subject) were publicly condemned, and by a royal edict were excluded from the territories of Sweden. And he himself at last,

logicis Judicio, p. 178; Möller, in his Life of Musæus in *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 566, &c. treats professedly of the conference at Cassel; and in p. 568 gives an accurate catalogue of all the writings published both by the friends and the enemies of that conference.

[1] Hartknoch's *Preussische Kirchenhistorie*, p. 599; *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A.D. 1731, p. 1010, &c.

[2] See Coler's *Historia Joh. Duræi*, Wittemb. 1716, 4to, to which however very much might be added from documents both printed and manuscript. Some documents of this kind were published by Hasæus, in the *Bibliotheca Bremens. Theologico-Philologica*, tom. i. p. 911, &c. and tom. iv. p. 683. A great number are given by Gessellus, in the *Addenda Irenica*, in his *Hist. Sac. et Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 614. His transactions with the Marpurgers are in Von Schenck's *Vitæ Professorum Theol. Marpurgensium*, p. 202, &c. What he attempted in Holstein may be learned from the Epistles which Lackmann has published along with the Epistles of Lossius, p. 245. How he managed in Prussia and Poland we are informed by Jablonski, *Historia Consensus Sendomiriensis*, p. 127. His proceedings in Denmark are stated by Von Elswich, fasciculus i. *Epistolar. Familiarum Theologicar.* p. 147. His acts in the Palatinate are in Von Seelen's *Deliciæ Epistolicæ*, p. 353. His proceedings in Switzerland are illustrated by the Acts and Epistles published in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. iii. iv. v. p. 602, &c. Many things on this subject are also brought forward by Jäger, *Historia Sæcul.* xvii. decenn. vii. p. 172, and elsewhere. In general, respecting Duræus the reader may consult Böhm's *Englische Reformationshistorie*, p. 944, and the Dissertation, derived very much from unpublished documents, which Benzel exhibited at Helmstadt under my auspices in 1744, entitled *De Joh. Duræo, maxime de Actis ejus Suecanis*. [See also Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Dureus*; Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, part ii. book xvii. chap. xi. sec. xxiii. &c. p. 152, &c. and Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 369, &c.—*Mur.*

in order to appease in some measure his enemies, had to relinquish his office and retire to a private life.[1] Calixtus, while he dissuaded others from contention, drew on himself an immense load of accusations and conflicts; and while he endeavoured to free the church from all sects, was thought by great numbers of his brethren to be the father and author of a new sect, that of the Syncretists; that is, the sect which pursued peace and union at the expense of divine truth.[2] We shall find hereafter a more convenient place for speaking of the fortunes and the opinions of this great man; for he was charged with many other offences besides that of being zealous for peace with the Reformed; and the attacks made upon him threw the whole Lutheran community into commotion.[3]

8. To say something of the external prosperity of the Lutheran church, the most important circumstance is, that this church, though beset with the numberless machinations and oppressions of its enemies, could nowhere be entirely extirpated and obliterated. There are to this day and it may justly excite our wonder, very many Lutherans even in those countries in which Lutheran worship is prohibited; nay (as appears from the recent emigration of the Saltsburgers,[4] which deserves to be told to all future ages), in those countries in which even a silent and most cautious dissent from the established religion is a capital crime, there lie concealed vast numbers who regard all superstition with abhorrence, and who observe in the best manner they can the great precepts of a pure religion. The countries which are inhabited by persons of different religions yet are under the spiritual dominion of the Roman pontiff, afford us numerous examples of cruelty, inhumanity, and injustice, which the Romanists think perfectly justifiable against those who dissent from them, and whom they regard as seditious citizens; yet nowhere could either violence or fraud wrest from the Lutherans all their rights and liberties. It may be added that the Lutheran religion was transplanted by merchants and other emigrants to America, Asia, and Africa, and was introduced into various places of Europe where it was before unknown.

9. The internal condition of the Lutheran church in this century presents indeed many things to be commended, but not a few things also which deformed it. First, it was honourable to the Lutherans that they cultivated everywhere with diligence, not only sacred learning, but also every branch of human knowledge; and that they enlarged and illustrated both literature and theology with many and important accessions. This is so generally known that we need not go into a prolix enumeration of the revolutions and improvements of the several sciences. From most of them religion derived some benefit; but some of them were abused by injudicious or ill-designing men—such is the common lot of all human affairs—to corrupt and to explain away that religion which the Bible reveals. In the first part of the century those branches of learning in which intellect is chiefly concerned were the most taught in the schools, and in a method not very alluring and pleasant; but in the latter part of it more attention was paid to the branches which depend on genius and memory, and which afford more entertainment and pleasure, such as history, civil, literary, and natural, antiquities, criticism, eloquence, and the like. Moreover, both kinds of learning were treated in a more convenient, neat, and elegant manner. Yet it was unhappily the fact that while human knowledge was advanced and polished, the estimation in which learning and learned men were held was gradually lessened; which, among other causes inexpedient to mention, may be ascribed to the multitude of those who applied themselves to study, without possessing natural talents and a taste for learning.

10. During the greater part of the century no other rule of philosophising flourished in the schools except the Aristotelico-Scholastic; and for a long time those who thought

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[1] See Scheffer's *Suecia Literata*, p. 123, and Möller's *Hypomnemata* upon it, p. 387; Archenholz, *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, tome i. p. 320, p. 505, &c.; tome ii. p. 63. [Matthiæ published two works which gave offence to the Swedes, namely, *Idea boni ordinis in Ecclesia Christi*, and *Ramus Olivæ Septentrionalis*. The last was published in ten parts, Strengnas, 1661, 1662, 12mo, and in the latter year it was placed in the list of forbidden books.—*Mur.*

[2] The views of this excellent man which many have stated incorrectly, may be learned from his tract often printed, entitled *Judicium de Controversiis Theologicis inter Lutheranos et Reformatos, et de Mutua partium Fraternitate et Tolerantia.*

[3] These various attempts at union, whether by the authority of public bodies or by the benevolent zeal of individuals, are more fully but not so impartially treated by Tabaraud, in his *Histoire des Projets pour la Réunion des Communions Chrétiennes*, especially in chapters ii. and x.—*R.*

[4] There was an emigration of above one thousand Saltsburgers in the years 1684, 1685, 1686; but the great emigration was in the years 1731 and onward, amounting to between 30,000 and 40,000 persons.—*Mur.* [Guericke in his *Handbuch der Kirchengesch.* vol. ii. p. 349, refers to the following, among other authorities, for an account of this emigration, which was caused by the severe measures of the archbishop of Saltsburg against the Protestants; Schelhorn, *De Relig. Evang. in Provincia Salzburgi Ortu et Fatis*, 1732; Panse, *Gesch. der Auswanderung der evang. Salzburger*, Leip. 1827. The reader will see, from a reference by Ranke to the persecuting measures of an earlier archbishop in 1588, with what difficulties Protestantism had to contend from the very outset in that unfortunate district. *Popes of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 137.—*R.*

Aristotle should either be given up or amended, were considered as threatening as much danger to the church as if they had undertaken to falsify some portion of the Bible. In this zeal for the Peripatetic philosophy, the doctors of Leipsic, Tubingen, Helmstadt, and Altorf, went beyond almost all others. Many indeed envied the Aristotelians their high prosperity. In the first place, there were certain wise and honest men among the theologians who admitted that it was proper to philosophise though sparingly, but who complained that the name of philosophy was attached to words and distinctions void of all meaning.[1] Next came the disciples of Peter Ramus, who with great diligence inculcated their master's precepts (which were of greater practical utility) in many both of the higher and inferior schools, to the exclusion of the Aristotelians.[2] Lastly, there were those who either condemned all philosophy, as being injurious to religion and to the community (which Daniel Hoffmann did no less unskilfully than contemptuously at Helmstadt), or who, with Robert Fludd, Jacob Böhme, and the Rosecrucians already mentioned,[3] boasted of having discovered, by means of fire and divine illumination, an admirable and celestial mode of philosophising. But if there had been as much harmony among these sects as there was dissension and disagreement, they had far less power than was necessary to overthrow the empire of Aristotle, now confirmed by time and strong in the multitude of its defenders.

11. But more danger impended over Aristotle from Des Cartes and Gassendi, whose lucid and well-arranged treatises, as early as the middle of the century, pleased many of our theologians better than the many huge volumes of the Peripatetics, which exhibited the stale and insipid wisdom of the schools without taste or elegance. The Aristotelians first endeavoured to repel these new teachers of philosophy by arguments of an invidious nature, by fully exhibiting the great danger which this new mode of philosophising portended to religion and to true piety; but afterwards, when they saw these weapons unsuccessful, they drew back and defended only the citadel of their cause, abandoning the outworks. For some of them coupled elegance of diction and polite literature with their precepts; nor did they deny that though Aristotle was the prince of philosophers, there were some blemishes and faults in him, which a wise man might lawfully amend. But this very prudence made their adversaries more bold and daring; for they now contended that they had obliged them to confess guilt, and therefore they opened all their batteries upon the whole school of the Stagyrite, which the others had conceded to need amendment only in part. After Hugo Grotius, who was but a timid opposer of the Stagyrite, Samuel Puffendorf first pointed out, freely and openly, a new and very different course from the Peripatetic on the law of nature and the science of morals. He was followed with still greater zeal (although nearly overwhelmed by the multitude of his enemies) by Christian Thomasius, a jurist first of Leipsic and then at Halle; who was not indeed a man to whose protection the interests of philosophy might be intrusted with entire confidence, yet he possessed a fearless mind and very superior genius. He attempted a reformation not of a single science only, but of every branch of philosophy; and both by precept and example continually urged his fellow-citizens to burst asunder the bonds of Aristotle, whom however he had neither understood nor even read. The particular mode of philosophising which he substituted in place of that which had prevailed, was not very favourably received and soon fell into neglect. But the spirit of innovation which he diffused made so great a progress in a short time, that he may be justly accounted the subduer of philosophic tyranny or of sectarian philosophy, especially among the Germans.[4] The Frederician university at Halle in Saxony where he taught, was the

[1] Such was Wenzel Schilling, with his associates (concerning whom, see Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, part ii. book xvii. chap. vi. p. 499), and likewise others of our best theologians.

See Von Elswich, *De varia Aristotelis in Protestant. Scholis fortuna*, sec. xxi. p. 54, &c. and Walch's *Historia Logices*, lib. ii. cap. i. sec. iii. sec. v. in his *Parerga Academica*, p. 613, &c.

[2] See above, in the chapter on the General History of the Church, sec. 30, &c. p. 732, &c.

[4] Concerning Christian Thomasius, see Brucker's *Historia Crit. Philosophiæ*, tom. v. and his *Append. Hist. Crit. Philos.* p. 859, &c. Yet Mosheim judged more correctly of this memorable man than Brucker did, who unjustly accounted him a reformer of philosophy. Thomasius was not properly a reformer of philosophy, though he was the occasion of a reform in it; for he improved the philosophical genius of the Germans just as Holberg did that of the Danes, without being himself a great discoverer in philosophy. Thomasius introduced more freedom of thinking. And this freedom under his guidance spread itself not only over philosophy, but likewise over ecclesiastical law. He often went too far in this matter, and his views were not always the best. The abuse he received from the divines of Leipsic inflamed him with hatred against the whole clerical order. At the same time, he must have the credit of abolishing the punishment of heretics, trials for witchcraft, and certain false principles respecting marriage and divorce, &c. See Schroeckh's *Allgem. Biographie*, vol. v. p. 266, &c.—*Schl.* [See a brief notice of him and his works in Tennemann's *Manual of the Hist. of Philosophy*, by Johnston, p. 363, 4.—*R.*

first to fall in with his views; afterwards the other schools in Germany adopted them, one after another; and from these, the same liberty of thinking extended to the other nations that professed the Lutheran religion. Towards the end of the century therefore all among us became possessed, not by any law but in the course of events and as it were accidentally, of the liberty of philosophising, each according to his own judgment and not another man's, and of exhibiting in public those principles of philosophy which each one thought to be true and certain. This liberty was so used by the majority, that in the manner of the ancient Eclectics, they selected and combined the better and more probable dogmas of the various schools; yet there were some (among whom Godfrey William Leibnitz was undoubtedly the greatest man) who endeavoured to search for the truth by their own efforts, and to elicit from fixed and immoveable principles a new and imperishable philosophy.[1] In this conflict with Aristotle and his friends, so great was the odium against the routed foe among the Lutherans, that the science of metaphysics, which the Stagyrite regarded as the primary science and the source of all the rest, was degraded and nearly stripped of all its honours; nor could the otherwise great influence of Des Cartes, who like Aristotle commenced all his philosophy with it, afford to it any great protection. But after the first commotions had a little subsided, principally at the recommendation of Leibnitz, it was not only recalled from exile but was again honoured with the splendid title and rank of the Queen of Sciences.

12. Many persons, who have formed such an idea of the Christian church as no wise man will ever expect to see realized, are wonderfully prolix in enumerating and exaggerating the defects of the Lutheran clergy of this age. In the higher class of them, they specify arrogance, a contentious spirit, disregard of Christian simplicity, lust of domination, a carping disposition, intolerable bigotry, extreme hatred of pious and good men who may honestly deviate at all from the established rule of faith, and I know not what other things no better than these. In the lower class of ministers, they mention ignorance, an insufficient mode of teaching, and neglect of their most sacred duties; and in both classes, avarice, the want of piety, indolence, and habits unbecoming the character of ministers of Christ. One who has leisure and the means of examining the manners and condition of those times will readily grant, that there was not a small number of persons presiding over the Lutheran churches, who lacked either the ability or the disposition to point out the way of truth and salvation wisely and well. But those who are acquainted with the history of our world know that this has been a common evil in all ages. And on the other hand, no one will deny,—unless he is ignorant and ill-informed or is affected by some disease of the mind,—that there were very many learned, grave, wise, and holy men intermingled among these improper clergymen. And perhaps, if one should raise this question—whether in the time of our fathers, there were more preachers in our churches unworthy of this office than in our own time, when many think the ancient sanctity of the clergy is generally revived?—a difficult controversy would arise, in which a person of any genius might easily find arguments on both sides. Besides, many of the faults so invidiously charged upon the clergy of this age, if the subject be duly examined, will be found to be not so much the faults of the men as of the times, arising from the public calamities, from the Thirty Years' War (that fruitful source of innumerable evils to Germany), from a bad education also, and sometimes from the conduct of the supreme magistrates.

13. This last remark will be better understood if we notice some particular facts. We do not deny what many allege, that during a great part of the century the people were not well instructed, either from the pulpit or in the schools; nor shall we much resist those who maintain, that the sacred eloquence of many places was the art of declaiming boisterously by the hour, on subjects little understood or comprehended. For though the doctrines and precepts of religion were generally brought forward, yet by most preachers they were dressed out in puerile ornaments, very foreign from the spirit of divine wisdom, and thus were in a great measure deprived of their native force and beauty. Yet who can greatly wonder that those men should have amplified their discourses with adventitious matter, who had but very few examples of good speaking before them, and who brought to the sacred office heads full of philosophical terms and distinctions and quibbles, but deficient in those things which are of most use for moving the souls of men? We acknowledge that in the universities more time was spent in the study of polemic theology, and in stating and clearing the doctrines of theology with subtlety and art,

[1] No one will better illustrate these facts than Brucker, the man best informed on all these subjects, in his *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*.

than in explaining the Holy Scriptures, in unfolding the principles of morals, in imbuing the mind with pious emotions, and in other things necessary in a minister of religion. Yet this fault I think will be censured with less severity by one who has learned, from the history of those times, with what zeal and subtlety numerous adversaries attacked the Lutheran cause, and to what dangers it was exposed from those adversaries, especially from the papists. When war rages on every side, the art of war and of defending one's country, it is well known, is commonly regarded as the most valuable of all arts. I wish they had shown more mildness towards great numbers who from excessive curiosity, from ignorance, or the ardour of their imaginations, fell into errors, yet did not disturb the public peace with their opinions. But from education and from their earliest impressions (which are well known to have boundless influence), our ancestors derived the sentiment, that corrupters of divine truth ought to be restrained. And the more simplicity and attachment to the divine glory they possessed, the more difficult was it for them to discard the maxim, transfused into their minds from the ecclesiastical law of the papists, that whoever is adjudged an enemy of God should be adjudged an enemy of his country.

14. In the form of church government, the mode of worship, and other external regulations of our church, little or no change was made in most places. Yet many and great changes would have been made, if the princes had deemed it for the public good to regulate ecclesiastical matters according to the prescriptions of certain great and excellent men, who near the close of the century, led on by Christian Thomasius, attempted a reformation of our system of ecclesiastical law. These famous jurists, in the first place, set up a new fundamental principle of church polity, namely, the supreme authority and power of the civil magistrate; and then, after establishing with great care and subtlety this basis, they founded upon it a great mass of precepts, which in the judgment of many were considered, and not without reason, as tending to this point, that the sovereign of a country is also sovereign of the religion of its citizens, or is their supreme pontiff; and that the ministers of religion are not to be accounted ambassadors of God, but vicegerents of the chief magistrates. They also weakened not a little the few remaining prerogatives and advantages which were left of the vast number formerly possessed by the clergy; and maintained, that many of the maxims and regulations of our church which had come down from our fathers, were relics of popish superstition. This afforded matter for long and pernicious feuds and contests between our theologians and our jurists. I leave others to inquire with what temper and designs and with what success, these contests were managed on both sides. It will be sufficient for us to observe, what is abundantly attested, that they diminished much in various places the respect for the clergy, the reverence for religion, and the security and prosperity of the Lutheran church. And hence most unfortunately, such is the state of things among us, that those of honourable birth, or who are distinguished for strength of genius, or for noble and ingenuous feelings, look upon the study of theology as beneath them, there being neither honour nor much emolument attached to it; and every day the number of wise and erudite theologians is becoming less. This is lamented by those who see in what a perilous state the Lutheran cause now is; and perhaps those who come after us will have cause to lament it still more.

15. With the names of celebrated men among the Lutherans, whose writings have promoted their own reputations and the interests of the church, we might fill up several pages. It will be sufficient for the young theologian to acquaint himself well with the merits and the labours of the following:—Ægidius and Nicholas Hunnius, Leonard Hutter, John and John Ernest Gerhard, George and Frederick Ulric Calixtus, the Mentzers, the Oleariuses, Frederick Baldwin, Albrecht Grauer, Matthias Hoe, the Carpzovs, John and Paul Tarnovius, John Affelmann, Eilh. Lubin, the Lysers, both the Michael Walthers, Joachim Hildebrand, John Val. Andreæ, Solomon Glassius, Abraham Calovius, Theodore Hackspann, John Hulsemann, James Weller, the brothers Peter and John Musæus, John Conrad Dannhauer, John George Dorschæus, John Arndt, Martin Geyer, John Adam Schertzer, Balthazar and John Meisner, Augustus Pfeiffer, Henry and John Muller, Justus Christopher Schomer, Sebastian Schmidt, Christian Kortholt, the Osianders, Philip James Spener, Gebhard Theodore Meyer, Friedemann Bechmann, and others.[1]

[1] For the lives and writings of these men, see besides the common writers of literary history, Witte, in his *Memoriæ Theologorum*, and his *Diarium Biographicum*; Pipping and Götze, in their *Memoriæ Theologorum*, and others. [The following brief notices are abridged from Schlegel and Von Einem:—Æg. Hunnius, born 1550, professor of theology at Marpurg, 1576, and at Wittemberg, 1592, where he died, 1603, was a great

16. No violence was publicly offered to the fundamental articles of religion as professed by the Lutheran church, nor would any one easily have found toleration among the Lutheran doctors if he had ventured to forsake or to invalidate the doctrines clearly defined and explained in what are called the Symbolical books. But in more modern times, from various causes, the high authority once possessed by those rules of faith and doctrine has in many places been much weakened and diminished. And hence

polemic divine. His Latin works, 5 vols. folio were printed 1607-1609. His son of the same name, superintendent at Altenburg, died 1642.—Nicholas Hunnius, professor at Wittemberg and superintendent at Lubec, died 1643. He wrote against the Catholics and a plan for terminating religious controversies.—Hutter died a professor at Wittemberg in 1616. He was a bitter polemic against the Reformed.—John Gerhard, born 1582, professor at Coburg and Jena, died 1637. His *Loci Communes*, enlarged by Cotta, are still in repute. His *Confessio Catholica* confutes the Catholic theology by the fathers, councils, and schoolmen.—His son, John Ernst Gerhard, professor of theology at Jena, died 1668, and his grandson of the same name, professor of theology at Giessen, died 1707.—George Calixtus, an elegant scholar and a learned theologian, professor at Helmstadt, died 1656. His conflicts are afterwards mentioned by Mosheim.—His son, George Ulric Calixtus trod in the steps of his father, but possessed less talent.—Balthazar Mentzer, the father, professor at Marpurg and Giessen, famous as a violent polemic against the Reformed, died 1627.—Balthazar Mentzer, the son, was professor at Marpurg, Rinteln, and Giessen, and died 1679.—John Olearius (or Œlschlager) who died 1623, professor of Hebrew at Helmstadt and superintendent at Halle, was the parent of the others.—John Godfr. Olearius, his son, succeeded his father at Halle.—John Olearius, the grandson of John, was professor of Greek at Leipsic, wrote *De Stylo N. Test.* and died 1713.—Godfrey Olearius, son of the last and great-grandson of the first John, was professor of theology at Leipsic, and died 1715.—Fred. Baldwin was professor of theology at Wittemberg, wrote a commentary on Paul's Epistles, Cases of Conscience, &c. and died 1627.—Grauer, professor at Jena, and general superintendent at Welmar, an angry polemic and denominated the Shield and Sword of Lutheranism, died 1617.—Hoe was nobly born at Vienna, was a court preacher, and a strenuous adversary of the Reformed, and died in 1645. John Bened. Carpzov, professor of theology at Leipsic, wrote *Isagoge in Libros Symbol.* and died 1657. His son, John Bened. Carpzov, also professor of theology at Leipsic and famed for his Rabbinic learning, died 1699. His brother, Samuel Bened. Carpzov, court preacher at Dresden, died 1707.—John Tarnovius, professor of theology at Rostock, a good interpreter, died 1629.—Paul Tarnovius, a kinsman of the former and a professor at Rostock, also a biblical interpreter, died in 1633.—Affelmann (or Von Affeln) was an acute but angry disputant, professor of theology at Rostock, and died 1624.—Lubin, professor first of poetry and then of theology at Rostock, was an elegant scholar and a good interpreter of Paul's epistles, died 1621.—Polycarp Lyser, professor of theology at Wittemberg, a zealous defender of Lutheranism, died 1610.—His son, Polycarp, professor of theology at Leipsic, also an acute polemic, died 1633.—The brother of the last, William Lyser, was professor of theology at Wittemberg, died in 1649.—Walther, the father, professor of theology at Helmstadt, and then general superintendent of East Friesland, died at Zelle, 1662.—Walther, the son, was professor of mathematics and then of theology at Wittemberg, and died 1692.—Hildebrand, professor of theology and ecclesiastical antiquities at Helmstadt, and then upper superintendent in Luneburg, died 1671.—J. V. Andreæ, the son of John, and grandson of the famous chancellor James Andreæ of Tubingen, sustained various offices, court preacher, consistorial counsellor, &c. He was a great satirical genius as well as profoundly learned, and was supposed to be the author of the Rosecrucian comedy, died 1654, aged 68.—Solomon Glass, author of *Philologia Sacra*, was born 1593, became professor of Hebrew and Greek, and then of theology at Jena, and lastly general superintendent at Gotha where he died 1656. He was very learned and pious.—Calovius, professor at Königsberg, rector at Dantzig, and professor of theology at Wittemberg died 1686, aged 74. He was a learned dogmatic theologian, and severe against dissentients from Lutheranism.—Hackspann, a learned Orientalist, professor of the Oriental languages and then of theology at Altorf, died 1659, aged 52.—Hülsemann, a scholastic divine, was professor of theology, first at Wittemberg and then at Leipsic, where he died 1661, aged 59. He strenuously opposed all union with the Reformed.—Weller, author of a famous Greek Grammar, was a good teacher of the Oriental languages and theology at Wittemberg, and then court preacher at Dresden; died 1664, aged 62.—Peter Musæus, a learned and moderate man, professor of theology at Rinteln, Helmstadt, and Kiel, where he died 1674, aged 54.—John Musæus, a judicious divine, first a professor of history and poetry and then of theology at Jena, died 1681, aged 68. Both these brothers were liberal-minded men.—Dannhauer, a poet and professor of theology at Strasburg, died 1666, aged 63.—Dorschæus of Strasburg, a professor of theology there, and at Rostock, where he died in 1659, aged 62, was very learned.—Arndt, after various changes and persecutions, died general superintendent of Zelle, in 1621, aged 66, a very pious man, though mystical. (See above, p. 642, note 5).—Geyer, a preacher and professor at Leipsic and court preacher at Dresden, a devout man, a commentator on some books of the Old Testament, died 1680, aged 66.—Schertzer, professor of theology at Leipsic, a disciple of Hülsemann, author of a system of theology, died 1683, aged 55.—Balthazar Meisner of Dresden, professor of theology at Wittemberg, a modest and liberal-minded man, died 1626, aged 39.—John Meisner, professor of theology at Wittemberg, much opposed by Calovius for his liberal views, died 1681, aged 66.—Pfeiffer, a good Orientalist and expositor, author of *Dubia Vexata* and *Critica Sacra*, was professor of Oriental languages and of theology, first at Wittemberg and then at Leipsic, and superintendent at Lubec, where he died 1698, aged 58.—Henry Müller, a friend of Spener, preacher and professor at Rostock, known by his practical writings, died 1675, aged 44.—John Müller, a preacher at Hamburg, and bitter opposer of Henry Müller and Jacob Böhmen, died 1672, aged 74.—Schomer of Lubec, professor of theology at Rostock, died 1693, aged 45, and was a man of general knowledge.—Schmidt, a native of Alsace and professor at Strasburg, was learned in the Oriental languages and distinguished as a biblical interpreter. His Latin translation of the Bible and commentaries on several books did him much credit; he died 1696, aged 79.—Kortholt was professor of theology at Rostock and then at Kiel, where he was vice-chancellor, and died 1694, aged 61. He advanced church history, and promoted piety and religious knowledge in the country around him.—Lucas Osiander, senior (son of Andrew Osiander, senior), was court preacher and consistorial counsellor at Stutgard, and employed in promoting the reception of the Formula of Concord. He abridged and continued the Magdeburg centuries, and died 1604, aged 73.—Andrew Osiander (son of the former) became chancellor at Tubingen, and died 1617, aged 55. He published a Latin Bible with notes.—Lucas Osiander, junior (son of Lucas Osiander, senior), professor of theology and chancellor at Tubingen, a violent polemic and particularly hostile to Menzer and Arndt, died 1638, aged 67.—John Adam Osiander (son of John Balthazar Osiander, superintendent of Vaihingen), was court preacher at Stutgard, professor of Greek and then of theology, and finally chancellor at Tubingen, a polemic divine, died 1697, aged 75.—Philip James Spener, of Upper Alsace, preacher at Strasburg, Frankfort, and at the court of Dresden, and provost of Berlin, where he died 1705, aged 76. He was learned and eloquent and a great promoter of piety, and will be noticed hereafter.—Meyer, well read in ecclesiastical antiquities, was professor of theology at Helmstadt, where he died 1693. He wrote *Commentaria de recondita Veteris Eccles. Theologia*, and published Justell's *Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Universæ*.—Bechmann was professor at Jena, and died in 1703.—*Mur.*

arises the liberty, enjoyed by those who are not professed teachers in the church, of dissenting from the symbolical books, and of expressing that dissent at pleasure both orally and in their writings. Formerly, those who opposed any article of the public religion or disseminated new opinions among the people were judicially arraigned, and they could seldom escape without some loss of honour and emoluments, unless they would abjure their opinions. But no one feared anything of this kind, after the principle which the Arminians first zealously propagated had gradually made its way among the Lutheran churches in the latter part of the seventeenth century; namely, that every man is accountable to God only for his religious opinions, and that it is wrong for the state to punish any man for his erroneous faith, provided he does nothing to disturb the public tranquillity. It were to be wished that this liberty of opinion (which every one will approve in proportion to his equity and his confidence in his own virtue) had not degenerated into the unbridled licentiousness of treating everything sacred and salutary with utter contempt, and of attacking with amazing wantonness the honour both of religion and its ministers.

17. The study of the sacred Scriptures was never intermitted among the Lutherans, nor were they at any time without skilful interpreters of the Bible and trusty guides of those interpreters. To say nothing of Tarnovius, Gerhard, Hackspann, Calixtus, Erasmus Schmidt, and the many other famous expounders of the divine books, there was published, at the very time which some tax with the greatest neglect of this kind of studies, the immortal work of Solomon Glassius entitled *Philologia Sacra*, than which nothing can be a more useful help for understanding the language of the sacred Scriptures. Still it must be confessed that during a large part of the century, most of the doctors in the universities were more occupied in explaining and defending with subtlety the dogmas and tenets of the church, than in expounding that volume whence all solid knowledge of them must be derived. Yet if in this there was anything reprehensible, the subsequent theologians caused the interests of the Lutheran religion to derive little injury from it. For as soon as the commotions produced by the wars and controversies, particularly with the papists, had begun to subside, great numbers applied themselves to the exposition of the Scriptures, to which they were excited and quickened very much, if I do not mistake, by the industry of those Dutch theologians who followed after Cocceius. At the head of these later interpreters may be placed perhaps Sebastian Schmidt, whom no one has exceeded, at least in the number of his productions. Next to him, Abraham Calovius, Martin Geyer, Schomer, and some others, most deserve to be mentioned.[1] The Pietistic controversies, though otherwise most lamentable, were at last attended with this among other consequences, that greater numbers than before applied themselves to the careful reading of the Holy Scriptures and to meditation on their contents. The merits of these expositors, as is usual, were unequal. Some investigated merely the import of the words and the sense of the text. Others besides this encountered opponents, and either confuted their false expositions or applied the true interpretation to the subversion of their erroneous opinions. Others, after exhibiting briefly the sense of an [inspired] writer, applied it to morals and to instruction in Christian duty. Some are represented and perhaps not unjustly as having, by assiduously reading the books of the Cocceians, fallen into some of their faults, and as inconsiderately turning the sacred histories into allegories, by searching after recondite and remote senses rather than the obvious sense of the words.

18. The principal divines of this century at first presented the doctrines of religion derived from the Scriptures in a loose and unconnected form, after the manner of Melancthon—that is, arranged under general heads (*Loci Communes*); yet this did not prevent them from employing in the explanation and statement of particular doctrines the terms, distinctions, and definitions of the then reigning and admired Peripatetic philosophy. Afterwards, George Calixtus, who was himself addicted to the Aristotelian philosophy, first clothed theology in a philosophic dress; that is, reduced it to the form of a science or a system of truths; but he was censured by many, not so much for doing such a thing, as because he did not give to this most sacred science a suitable form. For he divided the whole science into three parts—the object, the subject, and the means; which, though accordant with the precepts of Aristotle, to whom he was exclusively attached, was in the opinion of some an unsuitable distribution.[2] A number of the best teachers

[1] The reader may here consult Buddeus, *Isagoge in Theologiam*, llb. ii. cap. viii. p. 1686, &c.

[2] This distribution into the object, subject, and means in theology, may be understood by considering what parts of theology he placed under each of these heads. Under the first, he considered man's supreme good, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection, the last judgment, eternal blessedness and damnation.

however eagerly adopted that arrangement, and even in our time there are some who commend and practise it. Some arranged religious doctrines in a different manner, but they had not many imitators. Nevertheless, there were many respectable and pious men throughout the century, who were very much displeased at this mode of teaching theology philosophically, or of combining sacred truths with the dictates of philosophy. They earnestly desired to see all human subtilties and and sophistries laid aside, and theology exhibited just as God exhibits it in the Holy Scriptures; that is, in a simple, perspicuous, popular form, free and entirely liberated from any philosophical fetters. As the century drew to a close, these persons were gratified to some extent when Philip James Spener and not a few others, animated by his exhortations and example, began to treat religious subjects with more freedom and clearness, and when the Eclectics drove the Peripatetic philosophy from the schools. Spener could not indeed persuade all to follow his method, yet he influenced a great many. Nor can there be any doubt that, from this time onward, theology acquired a more noble and agreeable aspect. Polemic theology experienced much the same fortune as dogmatic. For it was for the most part destitute of all elegance and perspicuity so long as Aristotle had dominion in the theological schools; but after his banishment, it gradually received some degree of light and polish. Yet we must acknowledge with regret that the common faults of disputants were not effaced even after those times. For if we turn over the pages of the earlier or the later religious controversialists of this century, we find few whom we can truly pronounce desirous of nothing but the advancement of truth, or not deceived and led away by their passions.

19. Our theologians were tardy in cultivating moral theology. If we except a few eminent men such as John Arndt and John Gerhard, and others who treated in a popular way of the adaptation of the soul to the true and internal worship of God and of the duties of men, there was not a single excellent and accurate writer on the science of morals in all the first part of the century. And hence those who laboured to elucidate what are called cases of conscience were much esteemed, although they could not avoid falling into very frequent mistakes, as the first and fundamental principles of morals were not yet accurately laid down. George Calixtus, whose merits are so great in regard to all other branches of theology, first separated the science of morals from that of dogmatics, and gave it the form of an independent science. He was not indeed allowed to complete the design, which all admired in its commencement; but his disciples applied the materials they got from him to construct, not unsuccessfully, a proper system of moral theology. Scarcely anything, in process of time, impeded their labours more than the Peripatetic dress with which Calixtus chose to invest also this part of divine truth. Hence the moderns have torn off this dress, and calling in the aid of the law of nature, which Pufendorf and others had purified and illustrated, and collating it carefully with the sacred Scriptures, have not only more clearly laid open the sources of Christian duties, and more correctly ascertained the import of the divine laws, but have digested and arranged this whole science in a much better manner.

20. During this entire century, the Lutheran church was greatly agitated, partly by controversies among the principal doctors, to the great injury of the whole community, and partly by the extravagant zeal and plans of certain persons, who disseminated new and strange opinions, uttered prophecies, and attempted to change all our doctrines and institutions. The controversies which drew the doctors into parties may be fitly divided into the greater and the less; the former such as disturbed the whole church, and the latter such as disquieted only some part of it. Of the first kind, there were two which occupied the greatest part of the century—the Syncretistic, which from the place whence it arose was called the Helmstadian controversy, and from the man chiefly concerned in it, the Calixtine controversy; and the Pietistic, which some call the Hallensian controversy, from the university with which it was waged. Both were occasioned by principles than which nothing is more holy and lovely; the former by the love of peace and Christian forbearance, so highly commended by our Saviour; and the latter by the desire of restoring and advancing fallen piety, which every good man admits should be among the first cares of a Christian teacher. Against these two great virtues, zeal for maintaining the truth and for preserving it from all mixture of error, which is likewise an excellent and very useful virtue, engaged in open war. For so fickle and

Under the second, he considered the doctrines concerning God, creation, man's state of innocence and apostacy with its consequences. Under the third, he considered the doctrines concerning the grace of God, the merits of Christ, his person and offices, faith and justification, the word of God, the sacraments, conversion, good works, &c.—*Mur.*

deceitful is human nature, that from the best things as their source pernicious contentions may flow, if turbulent passions obtain possession of the mind.

21. George Calixtus of Sleswick, a theologian who had few equals in this century either for learning or genius, while teaching in that university which from its first establishment granted proper liberty of thought to its professors, early intimated that in his view there were some defects in the commonly received opinions of theologians. Afterwards he went farther, and showed in various ways that he had a strong desire, not so much to establish peace and harmony among dissentient Christians, as to diminish their anger and implacable hatred to each other. Nor did his colleagues differ much from him in this matter, which will the less surprise those who know that all who are created doctors of theology in the university of Helmstadt are accustomed to make oath, that they will endeavour, according to their ability, to reconcile and settle the controversies among Christians. The first avowed attack upon them was made in 1639 by Statius Buscher, a minister of St. Giles' church in Hanover, an indiscreet man of the Ramist school, and hostile to [the prevailing] philosophy; who was much displeased because Calixtus and his associates preferred the Peripatetic philosophy before that of the sect he had embraced. He made the attack in a very malignant book entitled, *Crypto-Papismus Novæ Theologiæ Helmstadiensis*,[1] in which he accused Calixtus especially of numerous errors. Though Buscher made some impression on the minds of individuals, he would perhaps have incurred the reproach of being a rash and unjust accuser, if he had only led Calixtus to be more cautious. But the latter, possessing a generous spirit which disdained all dissimulation, with his colleague, Conrad Horneius, not only persevered in confidently asserting and defending the things which Buscher had brought many to regard as novelties and dangerous, but likewise in the conference at Thorn in 1645, he incurred the indignation and enmity of the Saxon divines who were present. Frederick William, the elector of Brandenburg, had made him colleague and assistant to the divines whom he sent from Königsberg to that conference, and the Saxon deputies thought it shameful that a Lutheran divine should afford any aid to the Reformed. This first cause of offence at the conference was followed by others, which occasioned the Saxons to accuse Calixtus of being too friendly to the Reformed. The story is too long to be fully stated here. But after the conference broke up, the Saxon divines, John Hülsemann, James Weller, John Scharf, Abraham Calovius, and others, attacked Calixtus in their public writings, maintaining that he had apostatised from the Lutheran doctrines to the sentiments of the Reformed and the papists. These their attacks he repelled with great vigour and uncommon erudition, being profoundly versed in philosophy and all antiquity, until the year 1656, when he passed from these scenes of discord to heavenly rest.[2]

[1] That is, The Disguised Popery of the New Theology at Helmstadt.—*Mur.*

[2] Whoever wishes to know merely the series of events in this controversy, the titles of the books published, the doctrines which were controverted, and similar things, may find writers enough to consult; such as Walch, *Introduction to the Controversies in Our Church* (in German); Weismann [*Historia Eccles. Sæcul.* xvii. p. 1194]; Arnold [*Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, part ii. book xvii. chap. xi. sec. i. &c.] and many others; but especially Möller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 121, where he treats largely of the life, fortunes, and writings of Calixtus. But whoever wishes to understand the internal character of this controversy, the causes of the several events, the characters of the disputants, the arguments on both sides—in short, the things which are of the highest importance in the controversy—will find no writer to whose fidelity he can safely trust. This history requires a man of candour, of extensive knowledge of the world, well furnished with documents which are in a great measure not yet published, and also not a novice in court policy. And I am not certain whether even in this age, if a man could be found competent to do it, all that is important to the history of this controversy could be published to the world without exciting odium and producing harm. [The translator (says Schlegel who was a pupil of Mosheim) may be allowed here to insert the judgment of Mosheim, which he brought forward in his lectures, in which he communicated with his hearers more freely than he usually does in his writings with his readers. Calixtus by his travels became acquainted with people of various creeds, and particularly with Roman Catholics and the Reformed; and by this intercourse he acquired a kind of moderation in his judgments respecting persons of other denominations. In particular, he had resided long in England, and contracted intimacy with several bishops. Here he imbibed the fundamental principles of the English Reformation, and his partiality for the ancient churches. And hence he assumed the consent of the church in the five first centuries, as a second source of a true knowledge of the Christian faith; and was of opinion that we had gone too far in the Reformation, and that we should have done better if we had regulated the church according to the pattern of the early churches. From this source afterwards followed all his peculiarities of sentiment. Hence his attachment to ecclesiastical antiquity, hence his desire for the union of all classes of Christians, hence his inclination towards the Romish church which cannot be denied, though he acknowledged and exposed numerous faults and abuses in that church. And hence also it arose that he had a particular respect for the English church as retaining more of the usages of the ancient church, and that many of his pupils went over, some to the Romish and others to the English church. Calixtus became renowned in early life. A young lord of Klenck had been prepossessed in favour of the Catholic religion by the Jesuit, Augustine Turrianus of Hildesheim. The mother, wishing to prevent his apostacy, invited Cornelius Martini, a professor at Helmstadt and the strongest metaphysician of his age, to come to her castle at Hildesheim and dispute with the Jesuit in the presence of her son. Martini denied himself this honour, and recommended to it his pupil, the young Calixtus. He on the first day drove the Jesuit into such straits

22. After the death of Calixtus and the decease of those also by whom he had been most opposed, the flames of this war raged far worse than before. The Saxons, and especially Calovius, continued most bitterly to insult the dead lion; nay, they proceeded to pave the way imprudently (as many of the best men, who were by no means Calixtinians, believed), for an open schism in the Lutheran church. For a new book was drawn up, entitled Renewed Consent to the True Lutheran Faith (*Consensus Repetitus Fidei Vere Lutheranæ*); which was to be added to those we call Symbolical books and to be consented to under oath by all public teachers, and by which Calixtus with his followers and friends was pronounced unworthy of the Lutheran community, and therefore also of the benefits of the peace granted to the Lutherans. The memory or reputation of Calixtus was modestly defended by Gerhard Titius, Joachim Hildebrand, and other theologians

that he could say nothing, and the next morning he secretly decamped. The history of this transaction may be found in the *Summa Colloquii Hemelschenburgensis*. This remarkable victory led the duke of Brunswick to raise him from a master in philosophy to the rank of professor in theology. While only a master, he had published fifteen *Disputationes de Præcipuis Religionis Christianæ Capitibus*, in which he intimated pretty clearly that he did not believe all that was generally believed in our church, and particularly he explained the doctrine of the transfer of attributes (*communicatio idiomatum*) differently from the common explanation. Likewise to his *Epitome Theologiæ*, published in 1619, Balthazar Menzer of Giessen and Henry Höpfner of Leipsic made many exceptions. For he mixed his scholastic philosophy with theology, and taught among other things that God was the accidental cause of sin—a proposition which was liable to be very ill interpreted, and which he afterwards recalled on account of its liability to misinterpretation. Thus he was involved in contentions from the commencement of his professorship; and they were increased in 1634, when he published the first part of his *Epitome Theologiæ Moralis*, and subjoined to it a Digression, *De Nova Arte*, in opposition to Barthold Nihusen. In particular, the Ramists were his mortal enemies because he was an Aristotelian. One of these Ramists, Statius Buscher (who had read lectures at Helmstadt as a master before Calixtus did), being prompted to it by some enemies of Calixtus, published his *Crypto-Papismus Novæ Theologiæ Helmstadiensis*, to which Calixtus and Horneius made answer. The honest Buscher was summoned before the consistory, but he chose not to appear personally, and defended himself in writing. He gave up his office, retired to Stade, where he died of grief in 1641. Thus this contest faded away. Buscher's accusations were ill founded, and his patrons were afraid to expose themselves. But four years after, a very different conflict arose which lasted as long as Calixtus lived. The king of Poland, Ladislav IV. appointed the Charitable Conference (*Colloquium Charitativum*) at Thorn, in which all religious parties were to appear and confer together on religion and come to an agreement. To this conference, on the side of the Lutherans, some Saxon divines of Wittemberg especially were invited from Germany, for they were regarded as standing at the head of all the German theologians. The great elector of Brandenburg, prince Frederick William, invited Calixtus of Brunswick to accompany and assist the Königsberg divines; and Calixtus not only complied, but also committed the error of going previously to Berlin and thence travelling in company with the Reformed divines to Thorn, lodging in the same house, eating at the same table, and in general having the greatest familiarity with them. As the Königsberg divines had not yet arrived, and as Calixtus had consequently nothing to do in the Conference, the magistrates of Elbing and Thorn invited him to assist them, which he engaged to do. But the Saxon and Dantzic divines (among the latter of whom Calovius was the most violent) threw in their remonstrance, alleging that he could not be admitted as a speaker in behalf of the divines of these cities, because he belonged to a university which did not embrace the *Formula of Concord*, and because he had rendered himself suspected by his intimacy with the Reformed. This remonstrance induced the senate of Elbing to desist from the measure. Though Calixtus could not in this way be brought to take an active part, another occurrence afforded him something to do. The Polish Reformed and the Bohemian Brethren, when they saw that the Dantzic divines would not tolerate him among the Lutheran speakers, invited him to be their speaker which he consented to, yet with the restriction that he should maintain with them only the points on which Protestants were at issue with the Catholics. He afterwards printed some notes on the Creed which were laid before the Conference, in which he made it appear that he did not in all points agree with the Reformed. But all this was insufficient to quiet the suspicions against him. The rumour spread everywhere that Calixtus was an apostate. The disaffection towards him was increased, as the Polish Roman Catholic lords of Thorn

treated him with more attention than they did the other divines, and associated more frequently with him. If Calixtus had possessed more prudence and foresight and his opposers more candour and justice, things would not have come to such a pass. While these events were going on, the Königsberg divines arrived. But now a contest arose between them and the divines of Dantzic respecting precedence. The former claimed precedence as being envoys of the great electoral prince, and the latter because they had previously arrived and had taken their seats. In such contests the whole three months allotted to the Conference passed away, and the deputies returned home having accomplished nothing. The context with Calixtus now became warm. The Saxon divines were obliged to justify their conduct towards him at the Conference; and they found it necessary to charge him with being a corrupter of religion, a concealed Calvinist, and a wicked heretic. Calixtus himself gave occasion for increasing the strife by a disputation on the mystery of the Trinity which Dr. Jo. Latermann wrote and defended under him in 1645, in which it was maintained that the doctrine of the Trinity was not made known to the fathers under the Old Testament, and that it was a created angel and not the Son of God who appeared to the patriarchs. On this point he was assailed, although he had so explained himself as ought to have given satisfaction. Our whole church was, by this contest, wrought into a flame which it was difficult to extinguish. Solomon Glassius, by order of Ernesti, duke of Gotha, published his *Thoughts*, which aimed to restore peace and in many points did justice to Calixtus.—But the effort was fruitless. Duke Ernesti went farther; he wrote to the electoral court of Saxony and to the court of Brunswick, and urged them to lend their aid to allay these angry disputes. But the minds of men were so embittered that they could not think of peace. At length, as the Saxon divines, and particularly Calovius (who had previously been invited to Wittemberg) urged the setting forth a new symbolical book, the princes of electoral Saxony so vividly depicted the mischiefs which would thence result to our church, that in view of these representations the proposed introduction of what was called the *Consensus Repetitus* was laid aside. Yet the conflicts went on, and were conducted with so much bitterness and acrimony that one party commenced an action against the other for abuse, and Calovius wrote his bitter *Historia Syncretistica*, which was confiscated by the elector of Saxony. Finally, as the Pietistic contest commenced soon after this, so the Calixtine contest was dropped. For the Wittembergers engaged in a new controversy with Spener, and as they were afraid that the Calixtians would all join with Spener, so they made a compromise with the divines of Helmstadt.—*Schl.* [See a brief notice of Calixtus in Hallam's *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 67, &c. and in Tabaraud, *Hist. des Projets pour la Réunion des Commun. Chrét.* p. 323, &c.—*R.*

of a temperate character. And the most discerning men demonstrated that the *Consensus Repetitus* would be a firebrand, the cause of perpetual dissension, and ruinous to the Lutheran cause, and by their efforts it was prevented from ever obtaining the least authority. It was opposed, besides others of less note, by Frederick Ulrich Calixtus, the son of George, a man not unlearned yet much inferior to his father in genius, taste, and erudition. In favour of the *Consensus*, appeared and fought especially Abraham Calovius and Ægidius Strauchius. An immense number of books and disputes were produced by the zeal of the two parties, in which, alas! are so many invectives, reproaches, and personal abuses, as to make it manifest that the disputants contended less for the cause of truth and of Christ Jesus than for personal glory and revenge. After long-continued altercation, the enfeebled age of those who led the two parties, the abolition of the *Consensus Repetitus* (which would have afforded aliment for ruinous war), the rise of new controversies among us, with some other causes, near the end of the century silently put an end to the contest.

23. The principal of all the charges so odiously alleged against Calixtus was, his zeal for bringing the three larger communities of European Christians, not to unite together and become one body as his opposers interpreted him to mean, but to abstain from their mutual hatred and enmity, and to cultivate mutual love and good-will. And this it was which was generally condemned under the name of Syncretism.[1] The opinions which, in addition to this purpose, were charged upon him as faults and amplified according to the custom of prosecutors, respected the less clear knowledge of the doctrine of the Trinity in the time of the Old Testament, the necessity of good works to salvation, God's being accidentally the cause of sin, the visible appearances of the Son of God under the ancient dispensation, and some few others, which were such, that if he really held them, they were of no great consequence, according to the acknowledgment of those whom no one will pronounce unfit judges of such questions; nor did they vitiate the marrow (so to speak) of divine truth. But in order to recommend that harmony among disagreeing Christians which he had in view, this excellent man had to assume two things, which appeared even worse than the design which they were intended to subserve. The first was, that the groundwork of Christianity, or those first and elementary principles from which all the other truths flow, remained sound and uncontaminated in all the three denominations of Christians. This groundwork, he supposed, was contained in that ancient formula called the Apostles' Creed. The second assumption was, that whatever is supported by the constant and uniform consent and authority of the ancient Christian fathers, who were ornaments to the first five centuries, must be regarded as equally true and certain with what we find recorded in the Holy Scriptures. The first of these was the pillar which sustained the whole project he had in view; the second was of use to excuse certain papal institutions and opinions which were very dis-

[1] I do not espouse the cause of Calixtus, nor maintain that all he wrote and taught was faultless; but the love of truth admonishes me to say that this excellent man fell into the hands of bad interpreters, and that even those who thought they understood his meaning better than others, erred egregiously. He is commonly represented as advising to a union with the Romish pontiff and his adherents, but entirely without grounds. For he declared publicly that with the Romish church, such as it now is, we cannot possibly associate and be in harmony; and that if formerly there was any hope of healing the breach, that hope was wholly extinguished and annihilated by the denunciations of the council of Trent. He is said also to have approved or excused all the errors and superstitions which deform the Romish church, or at least very many of them. But here, not only the numerous writings in which he refutes the doctrines and opinions of the papists, but also the papists themselves, clear him of fault; for they acknowledge that Calixtus assailed their church more learnedly and ingeniously than all the other Protestant doctors. To mention no other, hear Bossuet, who in his *Traité de la Communion sous les deux Espèces*, part i. sec. ii. p. 12, writes thus of him: "Le fameux George Calixte, le plus habile des Lutheriens de nôtre tems, qui a écrit le plus doctement contre nous." Calixtus taught indeed that as to the foundation of the faith, there was no dissension between us and the papists; and I wish he had omitted this altogether, or had expressed it in more fit and suitable terms. But he most constantly maintained that, upon the foundation of religion, the pontiffs and their adherents had based very many things which no wise and good man should receive. And how much this should deduct from the odium and turpitude of that opinion, is manifest. I omit other aspersions of the memory of this great man, by those who think they ought to listen rather to his accusers than to the accused himself. What then, you will say, did he mean? First, this—that if it could be that the Romish church should be recovered to the state in which it was in the first five centuries after Christ, the Protestants could then have no just grounds for refusing communion with it; and secondly, this—that among the adherents to the Roman pontiff, though as a body they were polluted with many and intolerable errors, those individuals should not be excluded from all hope of salvation nor be ranked with heretics, who honestly have imbibed what their fathers and their teachers have taught them, and who are prevented from seeing the truth either in consequence of their ignorance or their education or by their early prepossessions, provided they believe with simplicity whatever is contained in the Apostles' Creed, and study to conform their lives to the precepts of Christ. As I have already said, I do not stand forth as the patron of these opinions, they have patrons enough at the present day; but this I suppose all will concede, that these views are much more tolerable than those with which he is commonly charged.

agreeable to Lutherans, and to establish harmony among disagreeing Christians.

24. These commotions and contests involved, though in different ways, the divines of Rinteln, Königsberg, and Jena, to say nothing of some others. The divines of Rinteln, especially John Henichius and Peter Musæus, gave proof by many things, but most clearly in the conference at Cassel already mentioned, that they approved of the plan of Calixtus for terminating the contests among Christians, and especially among Protestants. And hence they too were attacked in various publications by the Saxon divines and those who sided with them.[1] At Königsberg, Christian Dreyer, a very learned man, John Latermann and Michael Behm, all pupils of Calixtus, signified pretty clearly that they favoured the opinions of their instructor. Against them hostility was declared, not only by their colleagues, John Behm and Celestine Mislenta, but likewise by the whole body of ministers at Königsberg. And the contest was protracted many years, in such a manner as brought honour to neither party in the view of posterity. This intestine war being extinguished, partly by the authority of the supreme magistrate and partly by the death of Behm and Mislenta, Dreyer and his associates had to sustain another and a more permanent one with those foreign divines who viewed the Calixtine opinions as pernicious, and the defenders of them as enemies to the church; nor can this foreign contest be commended either for its equity or its moderation.[2]

25. In these commotions, the divines of Jena manifested uncommon prudence and moderation. For while they ingenuously confessed that all the opinions of Calixtus could not easily be admitted and tolerated without injury to the truth, they judged that most of his doctrines were not so very bad as the Saxons supposed them to be, and that several of them might be tolerated without the least hazard. Solomon Glassius, a man of great mildness, by order of Ernesti the Pious, duke of Saxe-Gotha, most equitably examined the importance of the several controverted points in a work expressly on the subject.[3] John Musæus, a man of superior learning and uncommon acuteness, first determined that it was allowable to say, with Calixtus and Horneius, that in a certain sense good works are necessary to salvation; afterwards he maintained among his intimate friends, that little or no importance was attached to some of the other questions. These persons, therefore, the Calixtine divines would not perhaps have refused as arbiters. But this moderation was so offensive to the Saxon divines, that they arraigned the school of Jena on suspicion of many errors, and declared that John Musæus in particular had departed in not a few things from the orthodox faith.[4]

26. These contests were succeeded and extinguished by what are called the Pietistic controversies. These originated from those who, undoubtedly with the best intentions, undertook to aid the cause of languishing piety, and to cure the faults both of the public teachers and of the multitude. But, as often happens, these contests were extended and aggravated by various sorts of persons, whose ill-informed understanding or heated imagination or some wrong bias of mind, led them to excite horrible commotions in one place and another, by their singular opinions, their pretended visions, their harsh and unintelligible rules for Christian conduct, and their very imprudent clamours about a total change of the forms and regulations of the church. The minds of slumbering Christians and also of those who bemoaned in secret the progress of irreligion, were first aroused by Philip James Spener, an excellent minister and very highly esteemed both for his great piety and his extensive learning, when he set up private meetings at Frankfort, for the purpose of exhorting and training the people to piety; and afterwards when he set forth in a special treatise his Pious Desires (*Pia Desideria*), that is, his views of the evils existing in our church and their remedies. Both met the approbation of very many who had good and upright dispositions. But as many of them did not apply these remedies for diseased souls with sufficient caution and skill, and as those religious meetings (or Colleges of Piety as they were denominated in terms borrowed from the Dutch), enkindled in the minds of the multitude in several

[1] See Calovius, *Historia Syncretistica*, p. 618, &c.; Walch, *Introduction to the Controversies in the Lutheran Church* [in German], vol. i. p. 286, &c.

[2] Hartknoch's *Preussische Kirchenhistorie*, book ii. chap. x. p. 602, &c. and others; Möller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 150, &c. The Acts and Documents are in the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A.D. 1740, p. 144, A.D. 1742, p. 29, A.D. 1745, p. 91, and elsewhere.

[3] This judgment, drawn up in German, was first published after the death of Glassius in 1662; and again, a few years ago at Jena, in 8vo. It is an example of theological moderation, and most worthy of an attentive perusal.

[4] With what faults the theologians of Jena and especially Musæus were charged, may be best learned from the grave and solid work of Musæus himself, entitled, *Der Jenischen Theologen ausführliche Erklärung über drey und neunzig vermeynte Religionsfragen*, Jena, 1677 and 1704, 4to. Add Walch's *Introduction to the Controversies in the Lutheran church*, [in German], vol. i. p. 405, &c.

places a wild and enthusiastic spirit, rather than true love to God, several complaints were soon heard, that under the pretence of aiding and advancing piety, solid religious knowledge was neglected, and seditious and ill-balanced minds were unduly excited.[1]

27. These first commotions would undoubtedly have gradually subsided, if still more violent ones had not supervened in 1689 at Leipsic. Certain pious and learned men, especially Augustus Hermann Francke,

[1] On these controversies, it is better to go back to the first causes. The long Thirty Years' War produced throughout the whole Lutheran church a very great prostration of order, neglect of discipline, and profligacy; and the preachers were incompetent to meet this disordered state of things, which continued to exist after the return of peace. Some preachers were wholly unfit for it; for the people had to choose such preachers as they could get, and among these, many were of indifferent talents and acquisitions. Others had no lack of native talent, but they had been ill instructed. For education was very differently conducted in the higher schools then, from what it is now. The chief science then taught was the dry and cloudy Aristotelian metaphysics, with which were connected scholastic dogmatics and polemics. Thus our theology was very dark and intricate, and such as was unfit for the pulpit and for common life; the heads of the preachers were full of technical terms and distinctions, and no one understood how to make the truths of Christianity intelligible to the common people. Besides, systematic and polemic theology were studied, but moral theology and biblical interpretation were almost wholly laid aside. Of course the preaching was very poor, as is manifest from the postills of those times. The clergy preached from the lectures in the schools, and therefore explained and proved the doctrines of faith artificially, which the people could not understand; or they ornamented their sermons with quotations from the fathers and from the heathen philosophers. They confuted errors and heresies, the very names of which frequently were unknown to their hearers; but they said little or nothing that was calculated to amend the hearts of their audience; and they could say the less on such subjects, as they themselves often possessed unsanctified minds or hearts in which pride, contentiousness, obstinacy, and a persecuting spirit predominated. Other clergymen who were competent to instruct the people in true godliness, had not power to correct the disorders which had broken in, because the bad habits had become too deeply rooted and the evil too inveterate. Hence there were in our church various devout and upright persons, who sighed over this state of the church, and who wished to see godliness more cultivated, and the mode of teaching both in the schools and from the pulpit reformed. Among these persons, the first and most famous was Spener. He must be ranked among the most learned and the most devout ministers of our church; and together with most of the branches of theological science, he was well versed in history and the auxiliary sciences, and had successively as a preacher at Strasburg, an elder at Frankfort, and first court preacher at Dresden, obtained in all these offices the reputation of a discreet, modest, and peaceable theologian. At Dresden he fell under the displeasure of the electoral prince, John George IV. who was much addicted to drunkenness, and to whom Spener, who was his confessor, as he was going to confession addressed a very respectful letter, containing an earnest dissuasive from this bad habit. Spener next went to Berlin, and his migrations spread wider the Pietistic controversy. If any things are censurable in Spener, they are principally two things:—First, he was not much of a philosopher, at least theoretically; and it is not much to be wondered at that he should have little relish for the dry philosophy of those times. Besides, if he had possessed a taste for it, he would not have accomplished what he did accomplish. Still this deficiency led him sometimes to reason inconclusively, and also not to see clearly the consequences of his propositions. Secondly, he was by nature too compliant and yielding. He could not say a hard thing to any man; and when he saw in a person any marks of piety, he at once recognised him as a brother, although he might hold erroneous doctrines. And this caused him much trouble, and led him to be often deceived by hypocrites. This was manifestly a consequence of his good-natured character, which judged other men by himself; yet in some measure it obscured the greatness of his talents. Still, this weakness will hinder no impartial man from acknowledging that Spener was really a great man, to whom we stand indebted for the improvement of our mode of preaching, for more freedom in the manner of handling theological subjects, for the introduction of toleration towards other religious sects, and towards individuals who deviate from the common creed, and for the advancement of true godliness in our church. This last object he endeavoured to effect especially by his Colleges of Piety, which he set up by the advice of some friends at Frankfort in 1670, first in his own house and afterwards also in the church; partly to produce more cordial friendship among those who were seeking to edify their souls, and partly to render the public preaching of God's word more profitable, by explaining the sermons delivered, by catechising, by lectures on the Holy Scriptures, with prayer and singing. The appellation, Colleges of Piety, was derived from Holland, where there is a party who, from their meetings for worship which they call Collegia, are denominated Collegiants. (See below, chap. vii. sec. 1.) From them the name was derived, though Spener's meetings had no resemblance to the institutions of the Dutch Collegiants. To the establishment of the meetings, must be added a circumstance which caused Spener much trouble. When Arndt's *Postills* were to be republished in 1675, Spener composed a long preface to them; in which, together with his favourite doctrines of better times to come, the previous general conversion of the Jews, and the great downfall of popery, he also described the defects in our own church and proposed some means for their remedy. Among these were, an improved mode of teaching in the higher schools, the better instruction of youth, the dispensing with metaphysics, and a zealous application to biblical interpretation and practical theology. This preface was afterwards printed separately in 1678, and entitled *Pia Desideria*. [The whole title of the book which was written in German was, *Pia Desideria, or Earnest Desires for the Godly Improvement of the True Evangelical Church, with some Christian Proposals for that Object.—Mur.*] It was well received by the majority, and was praised even by some who afterwards became its enemies. But after a while propositions were drawn from it which were charged upon him as errors. The first attack was made by Dilfeld, a deacon at Nordhausen, who assailed the position that a true theologian must be a regenerate man. Greater disturbances arose from the meetings. Many imitated them, but they did not possess Spener's prudence. In some there was no preacher to regulate the meeting, and there, all sorts of irregularity took place. In others, every one was allowed to speak; and of course speeches were often made which contravened the standard evangelical doctrines, and ran into enthusiasm; and now visionaries and enthusiasts actually connected themselves with the followers of Spener. In small villages they went on tolerably well; but in larger places, as Hamburg for example, there were frequent commotions. And there in particular, John Fred. Mayer, a Hamburg doctor, distinguished himself in a very offensive manner, by his carnal zeal against Spener's brother-in-law, John Henry Horbius. See Köhler's *Hist. Münzbelustigungen*, vol. xvii. p. 363, &c. At Erfurth, Dantzic, Wolfenbüttel, Gotha, and even at Halle in Saxony, there were great commotions, which the magistrates had to still. Spener himself, when he saw the disorders which arose from these meetings, suppressed those he had set up. Others followed his example. But in many places the people would not give them up, while yet they did not exercise sufficient prudence. The people frequently began to forsake the public worship and to run only to the meetings; and the blame was cast upon Spener who was entirely innocent in this matter, and who by his preaching and his publications explicitly opposed this wrong conduct.—*Schl.*

John Casper Schade, and Paul Antony, who were disciples and friends of Spener, then sustaining the office of first preacher at the Saxon court, and who were teachers of philosophy, supposed that candidates for the sacred office might be and ought to be better trained for their employment than the practice of the universities allowed, and therefore they undertook to expound in the vernacular language certain books of the Holy Bible, in such a manner as at the same time to infuse a spirit of solid piety into the minds of their hearers. This new and singular course allured great numbers to their lectures, many of whom exhibited the benefits they derived from these exercises, in lives and conduct very remote from the vicious habits of that age. Whether this first fervour of both the teachers and the learners, laudable and excellent in itself, was always kept within due bounds, it is not easy for any one to say; but this is certain, that many, and these also men of great authority, maintain that it was not; and public fame reports that some things were brought forward and transacted in those Biblical Colleges, as they were called, which were in themselves indeed easy to be excused and borne with, if referred to moderate and candid judges, yet not a little opposed to common usage and ordinary prudence. When great discussion arose and the matter was brought to a judicial investigation, the learned men above named were pronounced innocent or not guilty of the errors alleged against them; yet they were ordered to desist from the labours which they had commenced. In these commotions the invidious name of Pietists was first heard of, or at least first publicly used. It was first imposed by some light-minded persons on those who attended these Biblical Colleges, and whose lives accorded with the precepts there inculcated; afterwards it was extended to all those who were supposed either to profess too rigid and austere principles of morals, or neglecting doctrinal truth to refer all religion to mere piety. But as it is apt to be the fortune of names which designate particular sects, this name was not unfrequently applied in familiar discourse to the very best of men, to those who were as careful to advance doctrinal truth as piety; and on the other hand, it was very often applied to those who might more correctly be denominated the flagitious, the delirious, and fanatical.[1]

28. From Leipsic this controversy spread with incredible rapidity throughout Lu-

how to discharge profitably the duties of preachers. Some of these went to Leipsic to teach theology there, in accordance with Spener's directions. Among these were Augustus Hermann Francke, and Paul Antony, both professors afterwards at Halle, John Casper Schade, afterwards a famous preacher at Berlin, and Hermann van der Hart, afterwards professor at Helmstadt. These commenced the Biblical Lectures. In these lectures there was something new, for they were given in German, Luther's translation was here and there amended, and the explanation of the Holy Scriptures was followed by religious exhortations. Concerning these Biblical Lectures, especially as the religious lectures of some of the professors were now more thinly attended, all sorts of rumours soon spread abroad, some of which were groundless and others perhaps had some foundation. It was said that not only students, but also labouring men and women were admitted to them; and that every one present was allowed to teach and to explain the Scriptures. Those who attended these lectures changed their manners and their dress, refrained from the customary amusements, and obtained the name of Pietists, (to which a severe funeral discourse of Carpzov at the interment of a hearer of Francke, and the funeral Ode of Lic. Feller on the same occasion wherein the import of the word and the characteristics of a Pietist were explained, are supposed principally to have contributed). In the year 1689, the court of Dresden appointed a commission to investigate this affair; but the accused masters (especially Francke) obtained the famous Christian Thomasius for their counsellor, who defended them in a published judicial argument, and showed palpably the nullity of the criminal process commenced against them; and they were acquitted of all criminality, though at the same time their biblical lectures were prohibited. But the thing ran like lightning from Leipsic through the whole church. All who loved holiness must have also such Collegia [or Lectures; for the Germans use the word Collegia in Latin and Collegien in German, both for the lectures of professors in a university and for associate bodies of learned men, so that Collegia Biblica may here be best translated Biblical Lectures.—*Mur.*] Thus the learned and the unlearned held meetings, which were called seasons for prayer and for devotion. Into these meetings, fantastical persons and enthusiasts insinuated themselves and talked of the millennial kingdom and the downfall of Babylon, railed against the clergy, and brought forward prophecies, dreams, and visions. Hence there arose in almost all places Pietistic commotions, which the magistrates endeavoured to still by severe laws. During these transactions, Spener was called from Dresden to Berlin; and Thomasius, of whom the Leipsic divines complained as being a heretic and a teacher of error, was obliged to flee to Halle. He it was who projected the establishment of the university of Halle, and Spener supported him. The university was established, and the very masters who had held the biblical lectures at Leipsic were in part appointed the professors of theology in this new university. These commenced reading according to Spener's views, and abolished the old scholastic method of teaching. They spoke disparagingly of philosophy, and said that polemics made the people too disputatious, that the greatest heretic was the old Adam, and that he especially must be combated. In place of polemic theology, they recommended mystic; and nearly all the mystical writings of the French and Italians were translated and printed at the Orphan House in Halle. Persons who on account of their peculiar opinions were not tolerated in other places, were received and provided for at Halle. While these things were going forward, the divines of Wittemberg, (for we pass over the attack of the Leipsic divines), in the year 1695 brought a formal accusation against Spener as a teacher of error, and against this attack Spener defended himself energetically. It is certain that the court of Dresden, in whose eye the university of Halle was a thorn, looked upon this attack with pleasure. From this time onward, our divines were divided into the Orthodox and the Spenerian. The theologians of Halle joined the party of their teachers, and thence arose a disquietude which scarcely has a parallel.—*Schl.*

[1] When Spener was called from Frankfort to Dresden, he had constantly with him a number of theological students, some of whom lodged in his house and others boarded at his table, and whom he instructed

theran Germany, nay, through our whole church. For from this time onward, everywhere in cities, villages, and hamlets, people suddenly started up of all orders and classes, learned and illiterate, males and females, who pretended to be called by some divine impulse to eradicate wickedness, to encourage and to propagate neglected piety, to regulate and govern the church of Christ more wisely; and who showed partly by oral declarations, partly by their writings, and partly by their institutions, what should be done in order to effect these great objects. Nearly all who were animated with this zeal agreed that there was no more powerful and salutary means for imbuing the people with a thorough knowledge of divine things and with the love of holiness, than those private discussions and meetings which they understood were first instituted by Spener and were afterwards held at Leipsic. Meetings therefore of this kind but of a different character, some better and others worse regulated, were opened in numerous places. These unusual and unexpected movements gave the more trouble and perplexity to those who had the oversight of the church and the state; because those upright and well-meaning persons concerned in these meetings were joined by many unsteady and rash individuals, who proclaimed the impending downfall of Babel (so they chose to call the Lutheran church), alarmed and agitated the populace by fictitious visions and divine impulses, arrogated to themselves the authority of prophets of God, and not only obscured religious subjects by a gloomy jargon of I know not whose coinage, but also recalled upon the stage opinions long since condemned; asserted that the reign of a thousand years, mentioned by St. John, was at hand; and in short plotted the overthrow of our best institutions, and demanded that the privilege of teaching should be granted indiscriminately to all. Hence the Lutheran church was miserably rent into parties, to the joy of the papists; the most violent contests everywhere arose; those who disagreed more perhaps in terms and in external and indifferent things than on doctrines of high moment, were arrayed against each other; and finally, in most provinces severe laws were enacted against those denominated Pietists.[9]

29. These restorers of piety were of two classes. Some proposed to advance the cause, and yet leave in full force both the creed of the church as contained in our public formulas, and also its discipline and form of government. But others judged that holiness could not possibly flourish among us, unless both the received doctrines were modified and the whole internal organization and the customs of our church were changed. Philip James Spener who removed from Dresden to Berlin in 1691, is justly considered as standing at the head of the former class. With him agreed especially the theologians of the new university at Halle, among whom were Augustus Hermann Francke and Paul Antony, who had previously fallen under suspicion at Leipsic. The object of this class no one much censured, nor could any one censure it unless he wished to appear a bad man; yet many persons, and especially the theological faculty at Wittemberg, were of opinion that in the prosecution of this object some principles were adopted and plans formed, which were injurious to the truth and adverse to the interests of the church. And this belief led them publicly to accuse of many false and dangerous opinions, first, Spener in the year 1695, and afterwards his associates and friends who defended the reputation of this great man. The vestiges of these contests are still so recent that whoever is disposed may easily learn with what degree of good faith, modesty, and equity they were conducted on both sides.

30. The subject matter of these controversies was manifold, and therefore it cannot be reduced to one grand point or be comprehended under one term. Yet if we consider the aims of those from whom they originated, the principal questions may be brought under certain heads. Those who laboured to advance the cause of piety, in the first place were of opinion, that the most strenuous opposers of their object were the very persons whose office it was to promote piety, namely, the teachers and ministers of the church. Hence they would commence with them, and would make it their especial care that none might become pastors of Christian congregations who were

[9] For the illustration of these facts, in place of all others may be consulted Walch, *Introduction to the Controversies in the Lutheran Church* [in German], vols. ii. and iii. He concisely states the various acts of this tragedy, enumerates the principal disputes subjoining his own opinion, and everywhere mentions the authorities. A full and complete history hardly any one man could compose, the transactions were so numerous and various. It is therefore to be wished that some wise considerate, and impartial persons, well acquainted with human nature and civil affairs and well provided with the necessary documents, would undertake the composition of such a history. If certain persons were to collect from the public records and from various private papers the transactions in particular districts, and then deliver all these over to an individual who should arrange, combine, and impart strength to the whole, the business would thus perhaps be accomplished in the best manner it can be. Such a history written with moderation and discretion, would be exceedingly useful in very many ways.

not properly educated and also sanctified or full of divine love. For this purpose, I. They recommended the reformation of the theological schools. They would have the technical theology of the age, which embraced certain precise and minute questions and was wrapped up in unusual phraseology, to be laid aside; the controversies with other sects to be indeed not wholly neglected, yet less attended to; and the combination and intermixture of philosophy and human wisdom with the truths of revelation to be wholly abolished. On the other hand, they thought that the young men designed for the ministry should be led to read and meditate upon the Holy Scriptures; that a simple knowledge of the Christian religion, derived principally from the sacred volume, should be instilled into them; and that their whole education should be directed more to practical utility and the edification of Christians, and not so much for display and personal glory. As some of them perhaps disputed on these subjects without sufficient precision and prudence, a suspicion arose with many that these patrons of piety despised philosophy and the other branches of learning altogether, that they rejected all solid knowledge in theology, that they disapproved of zeal in the defence of the truth against its corrupters, and that they made theological learning to consist in a crude and vague power of declaiming about morals and practical duties. And hence arose the contests respecting the value of philosophy and human science in religion, the dignity and utility of what is called systematic theology, the necessity of controversial theology, the value of mystical theology, the best method of instructing the people, and other similar questions. II. They taught that equal solicitude should be shown that the future teachers in the churches might consecrate their hearts to God and be living examples of piety, as that they might carry away from the universities minds well fraught with useful knowledge. From this opinion, to which all good men readily assented, originated not only certain regulations suited to restrain the passions of studious youth and to awaken in them holy emotions and resolutions, but likewise that doctrine which produced so much controversy,—namely, that no one can teach others to be pious or guide them to salvation, unless he is himself pious and a friend to God. Many supposed that this doctrine both derogated from the efficacy of God's Word, which cannot be frustrated by the imperfections of its ministers, and also led to the long-exploded errors of the Donatists, especially as it was not stated with equal caution and prudence by all. And here commenced those long and difficult controversies which are not yet terminated, such as—Whether the knowledge of religion which a wicked man may acquire, can be called theology? Whether a vicious man can have a true knowledge of religion? How far may the ministrations of an irreligious minister be efficacious and salutary? Whether illumination is ever given to a bad man whose heart is averse from God? and the like.

31. These restorers of fallen piety, to render the people more obedient to their pious and properly educated teachers and more resolute in opposing their own innate depravity, deemed it necessary I. To suppress certain common expressions in the public instruction which the depravity of men leads them not unfrequently to construe in a way to favour wickedness. Such were the following—that no person can attain in the present life that perfection which the law of God demands, that good works are not necessary to salvation, that in the act of justification faith only is concerned and not also good works. But very many were afraid, if these barriers were removed, the truth would be corrupted or at least would be exposed naked and defenceless to its enemies. II. That stricter rules of conduct than are generally observed should be inculcated; and that many things which foster the internal diseases of the mind, such as dancing, pantomimes, jocular discourse, plays, dramatic exhibitions, the reading of ludicrous books, and certain kinds of amusements, should be removed from the class of indifferent things which are either good or bad according to the spirit and temper of those who engage in them, and should be classed among sinful and unlawful things. But many thought this morality too rigorous. Hence that old controversy of the schools was revived, whether there are certain actions which are neither good nor evil but indifferent, or whether everything men do is either sinful or holy. And on each of the amusements enumerated there were frequent and very warm debates, which were not always conducted with precision, temperance, and gravity. III. That in addition to the public assemblies for religious worship, there should be frequent private meetings for prayer and other religious exercises. But very many judged and experience confirmed the opinion, that these Colleges of Piety, as they were called, were attended with more danger than profit. The minor contests respecting certain terms or plans and which did not originate from these sources, need not be

mentioned.[1] But it is important to add that the indulgence of those who were so earnest to promote piety towards certain persons who were not perhaps bad men, but who either had feeble and uncultivated intellects or were chargeable with no slight errors, exceedingly displeased many of the opposite party, and afforded them no little ground for suspicion that they set a lower value upon truth and the theology contained in the symbolical books than upon practical holiness. But among so great a multitude of combatants, and these too men of various classes and tempers, it is not strange that there should have been many indiscreet persons, some over zealous and others leaning towards the opposite faults to those which they wished to avoid.

32. The other class of Pietists, or those who laboured to promote piety in a way which would lead to a change in the established doctrines of the Lutheran community, and to a modification of the whole form and constitution of the church, were men of various characters. Some of them destitute of a sound understanding, were not so much errorists as men whose reason and judgment were impaired; others modified the fictions which they either derived from the works of others or invented themselves, with some portion of sound doctrine. We shall mention only some of the better sort of them, and those who acquired a high reputation. Godfrey Arnold of Anneberg in Saxony, a man of much reading, of a good understanding, and of natural eloquence, disturbed the close of the century by various writings, but especially by his history of the church and of heresies, which certainly without just grounds he entitled an impartial history.[2] By nature melancholy, gloomy, and austere, he applied himself to the reading of the works of the Mystics whom he greatly resembled, till his mind was so wrought up that he regarded them as the wisest men in the world, made all religion to consist in certain indescribable internal sensations and emotions, had little regard for doctrinal theology, and expended all the powers of his genius in collecting and exaggerating the faults of our own and former times. If, as all admit, it is the first excellence of a historian to afford no ground for a suspicion of either partiality or enmity, no man was ever more unfit to be a historian than Godfrey Arnold. The man must be unable to see or feel at all, who can read his history and yet say that he does not see and feel that it is throughout dictated by passion and strong hatred of the received doctrines and institutions [of our church]. Arnold in his history assumes it as an undeniable fact, that all the evils which have crept into the Christian church since the times of the apostles have originated from the ministers and rulers of the church, who were wicked and ungodly men. On this assumption he supposes that all who made opposition to the priests and ministers of religion and who suffered persecution from them, were pious and holy men; and on the other hand, that those who pleased the clergy were eccentric and adverse to true piety. Hence he defends nearly all the heretics, even those whose doctrines he had not examined and did not well understand; and this has caused his book to give the highest offence. But the longer he lived, the more he saw the errors into which he had been betrayed by his natural temperament and by bad examples; and, as respectable persons affirm, he at last became more friendly to the truth and to moderation.[3]

[1] All these controversies were first collected and arranged, though unduly multiplied, by Schelwig, in his *Synopsis Controversiarum sub Pietatis Prætextu motarum*, first published, Dantzic, 1701, 8vo. But they may be better learned, together with the arguments of both parties, from Lange's *Antibarbarus*, and from his German work, entitled *The Middle Way* (*Die Mittelstrasse*), and also from Löscher's *Timotheus Veterinus* which is extant in two volumes.

[2] Arnold's *Unpartheyische Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, first published, 1699 and 1700, in 2 vols. fol. and then more full and complete at Schaffhausen, 1740, in three very thick vols. fol.—*Mur.*

[3] See Cöller's Life of Arnold, *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. Crit.* tome i. p. 485, &c. [Mosheim does not appear to me to do justice to Arnold as a historian. At least, I have not discovered in his history that malignity and disregard for truth which Mosheim thinks every man who has eyes must see. Arnold was born at Anneberg in 1665. After passing his childhood at school in his native place, he spent three years in the gymnasium at Gera; and then in 1685 entered the University of Wittemberg, where the next year he took his master's degree. Inclined to a retired and noiseless life, he removed to Dresden in 1686, where he became a private tutor and was intimate with Spener. In 1693 he removed to Quedlinburg, and there acted as a private tutor in a family four years, declining repeated offers of a parish. In 1697, he was appointed professor of history at Giessen, but relinquished the office after two years, "because," he said, "no man can serve two masters;" and professors at that day were required to teach in a manner which did not suit his taste. He returned to Quedlinburg in 1698, where he was much admired and followed by the Pietists. In the year 1700, Sophia Charlotte, duchess of Isenach, by recommendation of professor Francke, made him her court preacher. But opposition from the orthodox obliged him to quit the place in 1705, and he was made pastor and inspector of Werben. Two years after, the king of Prussia made him pastor and inspector at Perleberg, where he died in 1713, aged 48. He was of a melancholy temperament, drank deeply into the views of the Mystics and the Pietists, and conceived high disgust with the reigning theology around him. But he appears to have been a perfectly ingenuous and upright man. As a historian he doubtless had strong prejudices which often warped his judgment. But he appears to me very far from being a passionate writer, or from attempting designedly to discolour or misrepresent facts. See the character of him drawn by Walch in his elaborate Preface to Von Einem's translation of Mosheim, vol. i. p. 88–101.—*Mur.* [See also the character recently drawn of him and his work, by Dowling in his *Introduction to the Study of*

33. A much worse man than Arnold was John Conrad Dippel, a Hessian, who assumed the fictitious name of Christian Democritus, and who disquieted the minds of the weak, and excited no inconsiderable commotions in the latter part of this century. This man, in my view arrogant, vainglorious, and formed by nature to be a caviller and a buffoon, did not so much bring forward a new form of religion as labour to overthrow all those which he found established. For during his whole life on nothing was he more intent than on running down every religious community, and especially that of the Lutherans in which he was born, with his sarcastic witticisms, and rendering whatever had long been viewed with reverence as ridiculous as possible by his malignant and low scurrility. If he had any clear conceptions, which I very much doubt, for invention and imagination were by far his most prominent characteristics—if, I say, he had in his own mind any clear and distinct conceptions which he thought were true, he certainly was incompetent to unfold them clearly or to express them in words; for it is only by divination that a man can draw from his various writings any coherent and uniform system of doctrine. Indeed it would seem as if the fire of his laboratory, over which he spent so much time, had produced a fever in his brain. The writings which he composed in a crude, bitter, and sarcastic style, should they be handed down to posterity, will cause people to wonder that so many of their fathers could admit for their religious teacher and guide, one who so audaciously violated every principle of good sense and piety.[1]

34. Of a totally different character was John William Petersen, superintendent at Luneburg, a man of a mild and quiet temper but of a feeble mind, and from the luxuriance of his imagination very liable to deceive both himself and others. In the first place, he contended in the year 1691 that a noble young lady, Rosamond Juliana of Asseburg, whose disordered brain made her the subject of a sort of visions, actually saw God and reported commands which she received from him; and about the same time he publicly defended the obsolete doctrine of Christ's future reign of a thousand years on the earth, for that oracle had confirmed this, among other things, by her authority. This first error, as is usual with those who have no control over their own minds, afterwards produced others. For he with his wife, Joanna Eleanora of Merlau who also professed to have very great spiritual knowledge, predicted a complete future restoration of all things, or the liberation of both wicked men and devils from hell, and their deliverance from all sin and from its punishment; and he assigned to Christ a twofold human nature, the one celestial and assumed before this world was created, and the other derived from his mother since the commencement of time. I pass over other opinions of this pair, equally groundless and very wide of the common belief. Many persons gave assent to these opinions, especially among the laity; but Petersen was also opposed by great numbers, to whom he replied very fully as he had a fruitful genius and abundance of leisure. Being removed from his office in the year 1692, he quietly passed the remainder of his life on his estate near Magdeburg, amusing himself with writing letters and books.[2]

Eccles. Hist. p. 171, &c. which agrees with that given by Mosheim.—*R.*

[1] All his works were printed in 5 vols. 4to, in the year 1747, but without naming the place of publication. For he was respected by many after his death, and regarded as a great teacher of true wisdom. None more readily find readers and patrons than those who abuse everybody else and immoderately extol themselves. Dippel also acquired numerous friends by his attention to chemistry, in which he is said to have been well versed, and by his medical knowledge. For as all men are fond of riches and long life, they readily set a high value on those who professedly show them a sure path to opulence and old age. The death of Dippel is related by numerous writers.

[2] Petersen gave a history of his own life in German, first published in 1717, 8vo, to which his wife added her life in 1718. Those who wish to investigate the spirit, habits, and character of this well-matched pair, will find matter enough for their purpose in these autobiographies. Concerning his movements at Lüneburg, see the documents in the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A.D. 1748, p. 974, A.D. 1749, p. 30, 200, and in many other places. Add Möller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 639, &c. [This pious and amiable enthusiast was born at Osnabruck in 1649. Nature formed him for a poet, as appears from his *Urania* on the mighty works of God, which Leibnitz published with his own amendments. He was made professor of poetry at Rostock in 1677. Afterwards he was superintendent at Lubec, then court preacher at Lutin, and in 1688 superintendent at Lüneburg. He early gave way to a belief in visions and special revelations, which led him to maintain a literal reign of Christ on the earth during the millennium, and to believe in a final restoration of all things. Becoming more and more confirmed in these sentiments, he openly avowed them, both orally and in printed works. In 1692 he was cited before the consistory at Zelle; and as he could not conscientiously refrain from teaching doctrines which he supposed immediately revealed to himself and wife and lady Juliana, he was deprived of his office; and purchasing an estate not far from Magdeburg he there led a retired and religious life, chiefly occupied in defending his principles and in labouring to promote practical piety, till his death in 1727. He was undoubtedly a considerable scholar, and a very sincere and pious man. But his poetic imagination and his belief in dreams and visions led him to embrace very singular opinions. He supposed that prior to the millennium the gospel would be preached over all the world, and that all nations would be converted. The Jews, after becoming Christians, would be restored to their own land. Then the first resurrection, that of the ancient saints and martyrs, would take place; Christ would appear in the clouds of heaven, and living saints would be caught up to meet the Lord in the air and be changed. Thenceforth

35. I know not whether I ought to associate with these, John Caspar Schade and John George Bœsius, good men and earnest to promote the salvation of others, but ignorant of the way to effect it. The former was a minister at Berlin, and among the other crude and ill-digested doctrines which he advanced, in 1697 he most strenuously opposed the confession of sins to priests which is practised among the Lutherans. His zeal on this subject produced considerable commotion both in the church and the state. The latter was a preacher at Sorau [in lower Lusatia], and in order more effectually to overcome the heedlessness and security of men, he denied that God continues to be propitious to those sinners whose obstinacy he eternally foresaw would be incurable to the end of their lives; or, what is the same thing, that beyond a certain limited time fixed from eternity, he would afford them the grace necessary for the attainment of salvation. This opinion was thought by not a few divines to be injurious to the divine mercy which is boundless, and it was therefore combated in many publications. Yet it found a learned vindicator in Adam Rechenberg, a divine of Leipsic, not to mention others of less note.[1]

36. Among the minor controversies in the Lutheran church, I shall assign the first place to that which existed between the divines of Tubingen and those of Giessen from the year 1616 onward. The grand point in debate related to the true nature and circumstances of that state of Christ, which theologians usually call his state of humiliation. The parties agreed that the man Christ Jesus really possessed divine properties and perfections by virtue of the hypostatic union, even while he seemed divested of all glory and majesty and appeared to be a vile servant and malefactor. But they disputed whether he actually divested himself of the use of those perfections while executing the office of high priest, or whether he only concealed his use of them from the view of men. The divines of Tubingen accounted the latter supposition to be the fact, while those of Giessen regarded the former as more probable. To this first and great question others were added, which, if I am correct, were rather curious than necessary, respecting the mode in which God is present throughout the created universe, the origin and ground of this presence, the true cause of the omnipresence of Christ's body, and some others. On the side of the Tubingen divines there appeared and took part, Lucas Osiander, Melchior Nicolai, and Theodore Thummius; and on the side of the divines of Giessen, Balthazar Menzer and Justus Feuerborn; all of whom contended ardently and ingeniously, and I wish I could add, always with dignity and moderation. But those times permitted and sanctioned many things which subsequent times have justly required to be amended. The Saxon theologians in the year 1624, by order of their sovereign, assumed the office of arbiters of the controversy; and this office they so executed as not to approve entirely the sentiments of either party, yet they intimated that the views of the Giessen divines were nearer the truth than those of the other party.[2] The Tubingen divines refused to admit their interference, and perhaps the divines of Giessen would in time have done the same. But the public calamities of Germany put an end to the contest. It was therefore never settled, but each party retained its own views.

37. Not long after the rise of this contest, in the year 1621 Herman Rathmann, a pious and not unlearned minister of the

Christ would reign a thousand years on the earth over a twofold church—the celestial, composed of the risen saints and those changed at his coming, and the terrestrial, embracing all other Christians. Religion would prevail very generally, but not universally. At the end of the thousand years Satan would be let loose, there would be a great apostacy, Christ would come forth and destroy the wicked, a new heaven and a new earth would appear, and gradually all things would be restored to order, and holiness, and happiness. Though Petersen was first led into these doctrines by supposed revelations, and appears always to have founded his own belief chiefly on such grounds, yet he believed that the Scriptures rightly interpreted—that is, mystically explained—were full of these doctrines. And hence, in order to convince others, he argued much from the Bible, particularly from the Apocalypse, and also from the ancient Chiliasts, especially Origen. His writings were voluminous, consisting of mystic interpretations of Scripture, defence of his peculiar sentiments, many letters, and a history of his own life. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformation*, vol. viii. p. 302, &c.; *Unpartheyische Kirchenhistorie*, Jena, 1730, vol. ii. p. 811, &c.—*Mur.*

[1] Those who wish to understand these controversies may consult Walch's *Introduction to the Controversies in the Lutheran Church*, written in German.

[2] Jäger's *Historia Ecclesiast. et Polit. Sæcul.* xvii. decenn. iii. p. 329, &c.; Weismann's *Historia Eccles. Sæcul.* xvii. p. 1178; Walch's *Introduction to the Controversies*, &c. [in German], part i. chap. iv. p. 206, to say nothing of Carolus, Arnold, and a hundred others. [These controversies were natural results of Luther's untenable doctrine of consubstantiation, which supposed Christ's body and blood to be always truly present with the bread and wine of the eucharist. For on that supposition, Christ's body must often be present in a great number of places at the same time, or have a kind of ubiquity. To render this at all plausible, resort was had to the hypostatic union and to a supposed transfer of divine attributes from the superior nature of Christ to the inferior. Thus the attributes of matter and of mind were confounded, and a local or material presence was ascribed to the divine nature. From such absurd doctrines, stiffly maintained by acute and ingenious men, it was unavoidable that they should feel the difficulties besetting them on every side, and therefore should start various theories with the vain hope of extricating themselves from embarrassment.—*Mur.*

gospel at Dantzic, a great friend and a public recommender of John Arndt's work on True Christianity, was thought by John Corvinus his colleague, and by many others, to derogate from the authority and efficacy of the Holy Scriptures. If we may believe his opponents, he published in the year 1621 in a German work on Christ's gracious kingdom, the following sentiment: That the written word of God does not possess inherent power and efficacy to enlighten and regenerate the hearts of men and to convert them to God; that this external word merely points out the way to salvation, but does not draw men into it; that God himself by another and an internal word, so changes the disposition of men that they are enabled to please him. This opinion, Corvinus and his associates contended, was the same which Schwenkfeld formerly held and which the Mystics professed. But whoever shall compare together all the writings of Rathmann on the subject, will perceive that his adversaries either did not understand him or have perverted his meaning. He supposed—I. That the word of God as contained in the Scriptures had indeed the power of converting men to God, and of renewing their hearts. But, II. This power it could not exert at all on the minds of corrupt men who resisted it. Therefore, III. It was necessary that a divine power should either precede or accompany it and prepare the minds of men for its influence, or remove the obstacles which destroyed the efficacy of the external word. And thus, IV. By this power of the Holy Spirit or this internal word, the way was prepared for the external word to enlighten and renovate the souls of men.[1] There is indeed some difference between his views of the efficacy of the divine word and the common views of the Lutheran church; but if I do not greatly deceive myself, whoever shall carefully consider all that he has written on the subject, in his inelegant, nay, often careless manner, will be convinced that this difference is but small; and he will perceive that this honest man had not the power of communicating his thoughts with precision and clearness. The controversy spread through the whole Lutheran church, the majority following the example of the Saxons and condemning Rathmann, but others excusing that pious and good man. But as he died just as the contest was at its height, in the year 1628, these great commotions gradually subsided.

38. The private dissensions of some of the doctors respecting certain propositions and opinions, I do not presume to place in the list of Lutheran controversies, though I perceive some do it; not so much however, if I do not mistake, for the purpose of illustrating and adorning the history of the Lutheran church, as to create a prejudice against it, and to lower the reputation of good men. For no age is so happy and no community so well regulated, but that one individual is sometimes deemed by another to be indiscreet and erroneous. Nor is it estimating human nature correctly, to measure the state of things throughout a whole church by such private opinions of individuals. In the writings of John Tarnovius and John Affelmann of Rostock, in other respects two very meritorious theologians, certain modes of expression and some opinions were censured by their colleagues and others. Nor will this excite much surprise in one who considers, that the latter might misunderstand what was itself well said, and that the former might not have known how to express correctly what they clearly understood.—Joachim Lütkemann, in many respects a man of worth, denied that Christ remained a true man during the three days that he was dead, while others affirmed the contrary. This was a controversy about words, such as we see continually arising and disappearing among men. Of the same kind was the dispute between Henry Boetius, a theologian of Helmstadt, and Frederick Baldwin, a divine of Wittemberg, whether it is in consequence of the merits of Christ that the wicked will be restored to life hereafter.—John Reinboth, superintendent in Holstein, like Calixtus, circumscribed the essentials of religion within narrower limits than usual, and supposed that the Greeks did not err essentially in denying that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son. In both respects many were satisfied with him, but others were not; and especially John Conrad Dannhauer, a very learned divine of Strasburg. Hence a controversy arose between those excellent men, which was more vehement than the nature of the case demanded.[2] But let us not refer disputes of this character to the class of those which show the internal state of our church in this century.

39. Of somewhat greater importance in this respect were some controversies which did not relate so much to things as to per-

[1] See Hartknock's *Preussische Kirchengeschichte*, book iii. chap. viii. p. 812, &c.; Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhist.* part iii. chap. xii. p. 115, &c.; Möller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 559, &c.

[2] See on these controversies generally Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, part ii. book xvii. chap. vi. p. 957, &c. and concerning that of Reinboth in particular, see Möller's *Introduct. ad Historium Chersonesus Cimbricæ*, par. ii. p. 190, &c. and *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 692.

sons, or respected the soundness and correctness of certain teachers. Men who undertake to plead the cause of piety and holiness are often carried, by the fervour which actuates them, to some extravagance, and therefore do not always confine their statements to the rigid rules of theological accuracy as prescribed by learned divines; and they sometimes borrow the strong and splendid, yet figurative and often obscure, words and phrases of those who treat of the genuine worship of God and of practical duties, with good intentions indeed, yet in a rude and uncouth style. Hence scarcely any fall under the suspicion of despising and marring the truth more readily than these do. Many such examples occurred in this century, and particularly in the case of Stephen Prætorius, a preacher at Salswedel, and of that most excellent man, John Arndt. The former had published in the preceding century some tracts calculated to arouse the minds of men to solicitude about their salvation, and these were repeatedly republished in this century and commended by many; yet they were thought by others to abound in expressions and sentiments either directly false or calculated to lead to error. And there certainly are some unsuitable expressions in those tracts which might easily mislead the ignorant, and some also which indicate too great credulity. Yet whoever will read his works with an ingenuous mind will easily believe that the writer wrote nothing deceitfully or with an evil design. The celebrated work of Arndt on True Christianity, the perusal of which affords delight to so many persons even in our own times, was too bitterly taxed by Lucas Osiander, George Rost, and many others, among other faults, with being written in a style that was debased by Weigelian, Paracelsic, and the like phraseology. It is certain that this extraordinary man disliked the philosophy which prevailed in the schools of that age, and on the other hand ascribed much —I had almost said, too much—to the doctrines and pretentions of the chemists; and hence he sometimes used the language of those who tell us that fire throws light on both religion and nature. But he has been absolved from all great errors by the most respectable men, especially by Paul Egard, Daniel Dilger, Melchior Breler, John Gerhard, Dorschæus, and numerous others; and indeed he appears to have derived reputation and renown rather than disgrace from those numerous accusations.[1]

To the class of which we here treat, belongs also Valentine Weigel, minister of Tschopau in Meissen. For though he died in the preceding century, yet a great part of his writings were first published in this, and were attacked by great numbers. I regard him as by no means a corrupt man; but he also was injured by his attachment to the chemistry which at that time hovered about Germany, and by his dislike or neglect of the precepts of sound reason.[2]

40. It remains that we notice the chief persons among the Lutherans who felt themselves strong enough to re-model the whole system of theology, or to draw forth a new one from their own resources. At the head of the list stands Jacob Bœhme, a shoemaker of Gorlitz, famous for his vast number of both friends and foes, and whom his patrons call the German Theosophist. Being naturally inclined to search after abstruse things, and having learned partly from certain books and partly from intercourse with some physicians (Tobias Kober, Balthazar Walther, and others), the doctrines of Robert Fludd and the Rosecrucians, which were then everywhere circulated and talked of, he discovered, by means of fire and with the aid of his imagination, a kind of theology which was more obscure than the numbers of Pythagoras or the characters of Heraclitus. Those who would commend the man for ingenuity, piety, veracity, and honesty, may do it without contradiction from us; but those who would honour him with the title of a man taught by God, or even of a sound and wise philosopher, must themselves lack knowledge; for he so confuses every subject with chemical metaphors and with such a profusion of obscure terms, that it would seem as if he aimed to produce jargon. The heat of his exuberant fancy, if I do not mistake, led him to believe that divine grace operates by the same laws which prevail in the physical world, and that men's souls are purified from their pollution and vices in the same way in which metals are purged from dross. He formerly had, and he still has, a very great number of followers, among whom the most noted and famous in this century were John Lewis Giftheil, John Angelus von Werdenhagen, Abraham von Franckenberg, Theodore von Tzetsch, Paul Felgenhauer, Quirinus Kuhlmann, John James Zimmermann, and others. Some of these were not altogether destitute of

[1] See Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhist.* part ii. book xvii. chap. vi. p. 940, &c.; Weismann's *Historia Eccles. Sæculi* xvii. p. 1174, 1189; Scharf's *Supplementum Hist. litisque Arndianæ*, Wittemb. 1727, 8vo, and very many others.

[2] Arnold treats largely of Weigel, yet as usual not impartially, in his *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, part ii. book xvii. chap. xvii. p. 1068.

modesty and good sense, but others were entirely beside themselves and excited the compassion of intelligent men; as, *e.g.* Kuhlmann, who was burned in Muscovy, A.D. 1684, and afterwards Gichtel; while not one of them managed their affairs so laudably or prudently, as to procure for the sect or its founders any degree of respect and commendation from persons of the slightest discernment.[1]

41. Next after Bœhme it appears should be mentioned those whom disordered minds rendered so presumptuous, that they claimed to be prophets divinely raised up and endued with the power of foretelling future events. A large number of such persons existed in this age, and particularly during the times when the Austrians were contending for supremacy against the Germans, the Swedes, and the French; for long experience shows, that there is never a greater number of diviners or prophets than when great revolutions seem about to take place, or when great and unexpected calamities occur. The most noted of these were, Nicholas Drabiz, Christopher Kotter, and Christina Poniatowsky, who have found an eloquent patron in John Amos Comenius; also Joachim Greulich, Anna Vetteria, Eva Maria Frölich, George Reichard, and some others. But as no one of them was the cause of any great commotions, and as the progress of events very soon divested their predictions of all their authority, it is sufficient to have shown generally, that there were among the Lutherans of this century some disordered minds who affected the honours and the authority of ambassadors of heaven.[2]

42. I would give a somewhat more distinct account of some who were not indeed so wholly beside themselves as to claim to be prophets of God, yet sadly deceived themselves and others by marvellous and strange opinions. Esaias Stiefel and Ezekiel Meth, both of Thuringia, not long after the commencement of the century, expressed themselves so unusually and so improperly that they were thought by many to arrogate to themselves divine glory and majesty, to the great dishonour of God and our Saviour. I can believe that though they greatly lacked sound sense, yet they were not so far beside themselves, and that they only foolishly imitated the lofty and swollen phraseology of the mystical writers. Thus they may serve as examples to show how much cloudiness and folly the constant reading of mystical books may spread over uncultivated and feeble minds.[3] Paul Nagel, a professor at Leipsic, who had some tincture of mathematical knowledge, conjectured from the indications of the stars future occurrences both in church and state; and among other things professed to be certain, from their indications, that a very holy and heavenly kingdom of Christ was to be set up on the earth.[4]

43. Christian Hoburg of Lüneburg, a man of an unstable and restless spirit, under the assumed names of Elias Prætorius and Bernard Baumann, published a vast number of invectives against the whole Lutheran church, and thereby involved himself in various troubles. Yet for a long time, by dissimulation and deception, which he doubtless supposed to be lawful, he led the more charitable to regard him as less culpable than he actually was; and he was accounted an acrimonious assailant, not so much of religion itself as of the licentiousness and vices of those especially who ministered in holy things. At length however he rendered himself universally odious, and went over to the Mennonites.[5] Very similar to him though superior in petulance and acrimony, was Frederick Breckling, who being rejected from the ministry which he first exercised in Holstein and afterwards at Zwoll in Holland, continued to extreme old

[1] It is not necessary here to cite authorities, for the works of Bœhme are in everybody's hands, and the books which confute him are nowhere scarce. What can be said in favour of the man and his followers may be seen in Arnold, who is always most full in extolling and lauding those whom others censure. Concerning Kuhlmann and his execution, see the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A.D. 1748, p. 905, and in many other places.—[Bœhme however had the good fortune to meet, in our days, with a warm advocate and an industrious disciple in the late well-meaning but gloomy and visionary Mr. William Law, who was for many years preparing a new edition and translation of Bœhme's works, which he left behind him ready for the press, and which have been published in two vols, 4to, since his death.—*Mack.* [See also the references in the addition to Note 2, page 733, above.—*R.*

[2] Arnold has done the world service by accurately collecting the visions and acts of these people, in the second and third parts of his *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*. For now those who have occasion to investigate the subject have the ready means of ascertaining with certainty, what was in itself most probable beforehand, that what these persons deemed divine communications were the fictions of their own minds led away by their imaginations. There was an honest, illiterate man at Amsterdam, in the middle of the seventeenth century, Benedict Bahnsen of Holstein, who was so captivated with such writings and prophecies, that he carefully collected and published them all. His *Index Bibliothecæ* was printed after his death, Amsterd. 1670, 4to, embracing a great number of chemical, fanatical, and prophetical writings.

[3] See Thomasius, *Historie der Weisheit und Narrheit*, vol. i. part iii. p. 150; Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, part iii. chap. iv. p. 32.

[4] Arnold, *ubi supra*, part iii. chap. v. p. 53; Carolus, *Memorabilia Eccles. Sæc.* xvii. par. i. lib. iii. cap. iv p. 513.

[5] Arnold, *ubi supra*, part iii. chap. xiii. p. 130; Carolus, *ubi supra*, tom. i. p. 1065; Hornbeck, *Summa Controvers.* p. 535; Möller, *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 337, &c.

age in Holland connected with no religious sect. Several of his tracts are extant which, although they vehemently urge and recommend the cultivation of piety, and display implacable hatred against both vice and the vicious, yet show the writer to have been destitute of the primary virtues of a truly pious man—charity, wisdom, the love of truth, meekness, and patience.[1] It is strange that such vehement and heated declaimers against the defects of the public religion and its ministers, as they profess to be more discerning than all others, should fail of discovering, what the most simple daily learn by common observation, that nothing is more odious and disgusting than an angry reformer, who is always laying about him with sword and dagger; and that they should not perceive that it is scarcely possible for any one successfully to cure in others the faults with which he is himself chargeable. The expectation of the millennial kingdom, which seldom exists in well-informed minds and which generally produces extravagant opinions, was embraced and propagated by George Lawrence Seidenbecher, a preacher in the Saxon region of Eichsfeld, and on this account he was deprived of his office.[2]

44. We shall close the list of this sickly family (for it is not necessary to name a great number, since they all pursued much the same course) with the most odious and the worst of them all, Martin Seidelius, a Silesian of Ohlau, who laboured to establish a sect in Poland and the neighbouring countries, near the close of the preceding century and the commencement of this, but whose extreme absurdities prevented his meeting with success even among the Socinians. This most daring of men supposed that God had indeed promised a Saviour or a Messiah to the Jewish nation, but that this Messiah had never appeared nor ever would appear, because the Jews by their sins had rendered themselves unworthy of so great a deliverer as this, promised of old to their fathers; that of course Christ was erroneously regarded as the Messiah; that it was his only business and office to explain the law of nature, which had been greatly obscured by the fault of men; and therefore, that whoever shall obey this law as expounded by Jesus Christ will fulfil all the religious duties which God requires of him. To render these monstrous opinions more defensible and specious, he audaciously assailed and discarded all the books of the New Testament. The few persons whom he brought over to his views were called Semi-Judaizers.[3] If this rash man had lived at the present day he would have appeared much less odious than he did in that age. For if we except his singular ideas concerning the Messiah, all the rest of his system would be highly approved by many at the present day, among the English, the Dutch, and other nations.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH.

1. THE Reformed church, as has been already remarked, being united not so much by the bonds of a common faith and discipline as by principles of moderation and candour, it will be proper to consider, first, whatever relates to this very extensive community as a whole, and then the events worthy of notice in the several Reformed countries. The principal enlargements of this community in the seventeenth century have already been mentioned in our account of the Hessian and Brandenburg commotions, in the chapter on the Lutheran church. We here add that John Adolphus, duke of Holstein, in the beginning of this century also went over to the side of the Reformed, and much hope was indulged that his subjects would be led gradually to follow his example; but the prince dying in the year 1616, this hope was frustrated.[4] Henry, duke of Saxony, in the year 1688 at Dessau exchanged the Lutheran religion in which he had been educated for that of the Reformed, at the instigation it is said of his wife.[5] In the beginning of the century there were many in Denmark who secretly leaned towards the doctrines of the Reformed, and especially in regard to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper; and who had

[1] Arnold treats of this man in his work so often cited, part iii. chap. xiii. p. 148, &c. and likewise gives us some of his tracts which abundantly show the extreme fertility of his genius, *Ibid.* p. 1110. A formal account of him is given by Möller, *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 72, &c.

[2] He is fully described by Verpoorten, in his *Comment. de Vita et Institutis G. L. Seidenbecheri*, Dantzic, 1739, 4to.

[3] See Zeltner's *Historia Crypto-Socinismi Altorfini*, tom. i. p. 268, 335. [His *Fundamenta Religionis Christianæ* and his *Epistolæ Tres ad Cœtum Unitariorum*, are to be found in the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Unitariorum*. —*Schl.* [A sect still exists in Russia holding much the same doctrines, and bearing the name of Seleznevtschini. See Pinkerton's *Present State of the Greek Church*, p. 273, compare p. 228.—*Mur.*

[4] Möller's *Introduct. ad Historiam Chersonesus Cimbricæ*, par. ii. p. 101, &c.; Pontoppidan's *Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ diplomatici*, tom. iii. p. 691, &c.

[5] See Mœbius, *Selectæ Disputat. Theolog.* p. 1137. This prince published a Confession of his Faith, which being attacked by the Leipsic divines by public authority, Isaac de Beausobre, who was then pastor of the church of Magdeburg, composed a vindication of it, *Défense de la Doctrine des Réformées, et en particulier de la Confession de Foy de S. A. Monseigneur le Duc Henry de Saxe, contre un Livre composé par la Faculté de Théologie de Leipsic*, Magdeb. 1694, 8vo.

received their instruction from Nicholas Hemming and other friends of Melancthon. But this class of persons lost all hope, courage, and influence, after the year 1614, when John Canute, a bishop who had too openly avowed his good-will towards Calvinistic opinions, was deprived of his office.[1] It is well known moreover that the Reformed religion was transplanted by the Dutch and the English into Africa, Asia, and America; and in various parts of those continents very flourishing Reformed churches were established; and among the Lutherans also, in various places, liberty was granted to the French, German, and English Reformed freely to set up their worship.

2. Of all the public calamities which diminished the splendour and the prosperity of the Reformed community, the greatest and most lamentable was the subversion of the French church, renowned for so many distinguished men. From the time of Henry IV. the Reformed church in France constituted a kind of state or commonwealth within the commonwealth, being fortified by great privileges and rights and possessing among other things for its security towns and castles, and especially the very strong fortress of Rochelle, all which places were garrisoned with their own troops. This community was not always under leaders of sufficient foresight and attachment to the crown. Hence sometimes (for the truth should not be concealed), when civil wars or commotions broke out, this community took the side of those who were opposed to the king, engaged at times in enterprises which the king disliked, too openly sought alliance and friendship with the Dutch and the English, and undertook or aimed at other things inconsistent, apparently at least, with the public peace and the supreme authority of the king. Hence king Lewis XIII. from the year 1621, waged war with the Reformed party; and the prime minister of France, cardinal Richelieu, was persuaded that France would never be safe and enjoy peace until this community was prostrated, and deprived of its fortifications, castles, strong towns, and high privileges. Richelieu, after various conflicts and numerous efforts, at last obtained his object. For in the year 1628, after a long and difficult siege, he took Rochelle, the chief fortress of the Reformed community, and reduced it to subjection to the king; and this city being captured, the Reformed community in France was prostrate, and being deprived of its fortresses, could depend upon nothing but the king's clemency and good pleasure.[2] Those who judge of this transaction by the principles of state policy deny that it was a violation of all justice and equity, because such communities in the bosom of a kingdom or state are pernicious and most hazardous to the public peace and safety. And if the French court had stopped here, and had left safe and inviolate to the Reformed their liberties of conscience and religion, purchased with so much blood and by such great achievements, perhaps the Reformed could and would have borne the immense loss of their liberties and rights with equanimity.

3. But the French court was not content with this measure of success; having destroyed that species or form of civil polity which had been annexed to the Reformed church, and which afterwards was deemed adverse to the regal power, the court next attacked the church itself and its religion, contrary to the plighted faith of the kings. At first milder measures were resorted to, promises, caresses, conciliatory expositions of the doctrines most offensive to the Reformed, and similar measures, both with the chief men of the Reformed community and with the more learned and eminent of their ministers; and Richelieu especially spared neither pains nor artifices which he thought might have any influence to draw the Reformed insidiously into the Romish church. But as little or nothing was effected by all these measures, the Catholic bishops especially resorted to sophistry, persecution, the most unrighteous laws, and all the means which either blind passion or ingenious malice could invent, in order gradually to exhaust the people who were so hateful to them, and compel them against their choice reluctantly to join the standard of the Roman pontiff. Many, being overcome by their troubles and their grievous sufferings, yielded, others left the country, but the greatest part firmly persisted in the religion of their fathers.

4. At length under Lewis XIV. after all artifices, snares, and projects had been exhausted in vain, the prelates of the Gallic church and the Jesuits, to whom the king was accustomed to listen, determined that this most resolute body of people must be extirpated by violence and war, and be crushed as it were by a single stroke. Overcome by their arguments and importu-

[1] Pontoppidan's *Annales Eccles. Danicæ*, tom. iii. p. 696, &c.

[2] See Le Clerc's *Vie du Cardinal Richelieu*, tome i. p. 69, 77, 177, 199, 269; Le Vassor's *Histoire de Louis XIII.* tome iii. p. 676, &c.; tome iv. p. 1, &c. and the subsequent volumes. Add the duke of Sully (a friend to Henry IV. himself one of the Reformed, but not disposed to conceal the errors of his church), *Mémoires*, tome iii. iv. v.

nate supplications, Louis, in the year 1685, with the approbation and applause of the Roman pontiff, in violation of all laws human and divine, repealed the edict of Nantes, by which his grandfather had granted to the Reformed the liberty of worshipping God according to their own consciences, and commanded his Reformed subjects to return to the religion of their progenitors. The consequence of this most lamentable decree was that a vast multitude of French people abandoned their country to the immense detriment of France,[1] and sought new residences in various parts of Europe, in which they might freely serve God; and others, whom the extreme vigilance of their enemies prevented from acquiring safety by flight, the soldiers compelled by a thousand modes of torture, vexation, and suffering, to profess with their lips and to exhibit in their outward conduct that Romish religion which they abhorred in their hearts.[2] From this unrighteous act of the king (on other occasions so magnanimous) it may be seen how the Roman pontiffs and their adherents stand affected towards those whom they call heretics; and that they regard no treaty and no oath too sacred and too solemn to be violated, if the safety or the interests of their church demand it.

5. The Waldenses inhabiting the valleys of Piedmont, who have been already mentioned as entering into a union with the church of Geneva, were harassed nearly throughout this century by the very cruel devices and machinations of the instruments of the Roman pontiff; but especially in the years 1655, 1686, and 1696, they were so oppressed and persecuted that with difficulty they escaped being exterminated.[3] Those who survived these frequent butcheries owed their precarious and dubious safety to the assiduous intercessions of the Dutch, the English, and the Swiss, with the duke of Savoy. In Germany the church of the Palatinate, which was once a principal branch of the Reformed community, gradually suffered so much diminution from the year 1685, when the government passed into the hands of a Catholic prince, that from holding the first rank it was depressed to almost the lowest among the Reformed churches of Germany.[4]

6. The distinguished merits of the Reformed in regard to every species of useful knowledge are so well known to all, that we shall not dwell upon them. We shall also omit the names of the great and distinguished authors whose works procured permanent fame for themselves and great advantage to others, because it is difficult amid so great a number to select the best.[5]

[1] See the excellent remarks and observations of Armand de la Chapelle on this subject, in his Life of Isaac de Beausobre, subjoined to the posthumous notes of the latter on the New Testament, p. 259, &c. [The edict of Nantes, which gave free toleration to the Protestants, was drawn up and sanctioned by Henry IV. in the year 1598, and confirmed by Lewis XIII. the year after he assumed the sceptre, A.D. 1613. Its revocation in 1685 was preceded by the despatch of soldiers into all the provinces to compel the Protestants to abandon their religion. Notwithstanding the great pains taken to prevent their escape from the kingdom, some say half a million and others say eight hundred thousand Protestants found their way to foreign countries. Nearly forty thousand are said to have passed over to England, whence many of them came to the United States of America. Vast numbers settled in Holland, and large numbers in the Protestant states of Germany, particularly in Prussia and in Switzerland and Denmark. See Gifford's *History of France*, vol. iv. p. 35, 92, 421, &c.; Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformation*, vol. viii. p. 470, &c.—*Mur.*

[2] No one has illustrated these events more fully than Benoit, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, a noble work, published at Delft, 1693, &c. in 5 vols. 4to. See also Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* tome ii. p. 229. [The first two volumes of Benoit's *Histoire*, &c. have been translated into English. See also Browning's *History of the Huguenots*, chap. 59, 60, and 61; and Smedley's *History of the Reformed Religion in France*, vol. iii. chap. 24 and 25; but especially Rulhière, *Eclaircissements hist. sur les Causes de la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes*, 1788. This valuable work has been translated into English by Mr. D. D. Scott, with additional contributions, under the title of *The Suppression of the Reformation in France*, Lond. 1840.—*E.*

[3] Leger, *Histoire Générale des Eglises Vaudoises*, part ii. chap. vi. p. 72, &c.; Gilles, *Histoire Ecclésiastique des Eglises Vaudoises*, chap. xlix. p. 353, &c. There is extant a particular history of the calamities sustained by the Waldenses, in the year 1686, printed at Rotterdam, 1688, 12mo. [See also an Account of the late persecutions of the Waldenses by the duke of Savoy and the French king, in 1686, printed, Oxford, 1688, 4to; and Boyer's *History of the Vaudois*, chap. xii.-xxi. p. 72, &c.—*Mur.* [Still more useful is the *History of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piedmont*, Lond. 1658, fol. compiled by Sir Samuel Morland, Cromwell's commissioner to the duke of Savoy in behalf of this oppressed people—one of the noblest enterprises of the Protector. For the amount collected for their relief in England and Ireland at this period, see Reid's *Hist. of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 304, note 27.

[4] See Struve's *Pfälzische Kirchenhistorie*, chap. xiii. sec. 23-72. The Palatinate, so long as its princes professed the Reformed religion, was to the Reformed churches what Saxony formerly was to the Lutheran, that is, the bond of their external union; and the Palatine church was the most respectable among the German Reformed, as the Saxon church was among the Lutherans. It kept up a constant intercourse with England and Holland. But after the death of the electoral prince Charles Lewis, when the electoral dignity passed to the Catholic branch of the family, this church lost a great part of its pre-eminence. On the other hand, the Brandenburg church rose in respectability as the power of the house of Brandenburg increased, so that at the present day the church of Brandenburg holds the rank which was once held by that of the Palatinate.—*Schl.*

[5] The list of the eminent divines and men of learning who were ornaments to the Reformed church in the seventeenth century is indeed extremely ample. Among those who adorned Great Britain, we shall always remember with peculiar veneration the immortal names of Newton, Barrow, Cudworth, Boyle, Chillingworth, Ussher, Bedell, Hall, Pocock, Fell, Lightfoot, Hammond, Calamy, Walton, Baxter, Pearson, Stillingfleet, Mede, Parker, Oughtred, Burnet, Tillotson, and many others well known in the literary world. In Germany we find Pareus, Scultetus, Fabricius, Alting, Pelargus, and Bergius. In Switzerland and Geneva, Hospinian, the two Buxtorfs, Hottinger, Heidegger, and Turretin.

In philosophy, Aristotle was everywhere the sole guide and lawgiver for a long time, just as among the Lutherans; still the very same Aristotle that is pourtrayed to us by the Scholastic writers. But his authority gradually became very much diminished from the times of Gassendi and Des Cartes. For many of the French and Dutch adopted the Cartesian philosophy upon its first appearance, and a large part of the English chose Gassendi for their guide and teacher. This was exceedingly offensive to the Aristotelians, who everywhere, but most pugnaciously in Holland, laboured to persuade the people that immense danger to religion and the truth was to be apprehended from the abandonment of Aristotle; nor would they suffer themselves to be ousted from the schools.[1] But the splendour of the increasing light and the influence of liberty compelled the pertinacious sect to yield and be silent, so that the Reformed doctors at the present day philosophise as freely as the Lutherans do. Yet I am not sure that Aristotle does not still exercise a secret sway in the English universities. This at least I could easily prove, that in the times of Charles II. James II. and William III. while the mathematical philosophy prevailed nearly throughout Great Britain, yet at Oxford and Cambridge the old philosophy was in higher repute with some than the new discoveries.

7. The expositors of Scripture among the Reformed who adorned the commencement of the century, all trod in the steps of Calvin; and according to his example, they did not search after recondite meanings and types, but investigated solely the import of the words of the sacred writers. But this uniformity in process of time was done away by the influence of two very distinguished interpreters, Hugo Grotius and John Cocceius. The former, departing but slightly from Calvin's manner, investigates only the literal sense in the books of both the Old Testament and the New, considers the predictions of the ancient prophets as being all fulfilled in events anterior to the coming of Christ, and therefore in the letter of them as not to be applied to Christ; yet he supposes that in some of those prophecies, especially in those which the writers of the New Testament apply to Christ, there is, besides the literal sense, a secret or mystical sense concealed under the persons, events, and things described, which relates to Christ, to his history and mediation. Very different were the principles of Cocceius. He supposed that the whole Old Testament history exhibited as in a kind of mirror the history of Christ and of the Christian church, and that the predictions of the ancient prophets in their literal import treated of Jesus Christ; and that whatever was to occur in the Christian church down to the end of time was all prefigured in the Old Testament, in some places more clearly and in others less so.[2] Each of these men had a multitude of followers and disciples. With the former were, besides the Arminians, those adherents to the old Calvinistic system who, from Gisbert Voet, the principal antagonist of Cocceius, were called Voetians; also many of the English, and a great number of the French. The latter were highly admired by not a few of the Dutch, the Swiss, and the Germans. Yet there are many who stand intermediate between these two classes of interpreters, agreeing with neither throughout but with each in part. Moreover, neither the Grotian interpreters nor the Cocceian are all of the same description, but each class is subdivided into various subordinate classes. No small portion of the English Episcopalians, despising these modern guides, think the first doctors of the primitive church ought to be consulted, and that the sacred books should be expounded just as the Fathers expounded them.

8. The doctrines of Christianity were disfigured among the Reformed, as among the Lutherans, by the colouring of the Peripatetic or rather the Scholastic sects.

In the churches and academies of Holland, we meet with the following learned divines, Drusius, Amama, Gomar, Rivet, Cloppenburg, Vossius, Cocceius, Voetius, Des Marets, Heidan, Momma, Burman, Wittichius, Hornbeck, the Spanheims, Le Moyne, De Mastricht; among the French doctors we may reckon Cameron, Chamier, Du Moulin, Mestrezat, Blondel, Drelincourt, Daillé, Amyraut, the two Cappels, De la Place, Gamstole, Croy, Morus, Le Blanc, Pajon, Bochart, Claude, Alix, Jurieu, Basnage, Abbadie, Beausobre, Lenfant, Martin, Des Vignoles, &c.—*Mack.* [Maclaine has inexcusably omitted here among the English divines, the names of Selden, Owen, Howe, Charnock, and other eminent Nonconformists; while he has not condescended to mention a single Scottish writer, though Rutherford, Baillie, Gillespie, and others among the Presbyterians, and Spottiswood, Leighton, and others among the Episcopalians, were worthy of being noticed.—*R.*

[1] See Baillet, *Vie de M. des Cartes*, in numerous passages.

[2] It is commonly said, Cocceius finds Christ everywhere but Grotius nowhere, in the pages of the Old Testament. The first part of the adage is most true; the last is not so true. For Grotius, as his commentaries fully show, does find Christ in many passages of the Old Testament, though in a different way from Cocceius; that is, not in the words but in the things and the persons. [See on Grotius and Cocceius, as biblical expositors, Conybeare's *Bampton Lectures* for 1824, p. 259, &c.—*R.*

[3] These are expressly refuted by the learned Daniel Whitby, in his *Dissertatio de Scripturarum Interpretatione secundum Patrum Commentarios*, London, 1714, 8vo. [Whitby has here collected the absurd and whimsical expositions of the fathers, and placed them together in their most ridiculous attitude. See Maclaine's note.—*Mur.*

The entire subjugation of these doctrines to the empire of Aristotle, and their reduction to the form of a Peripatetic science, was first resisted by the Arminians, who followed a more simple mode of teaching and inveighed loudly against those divines who subjected the doctrines relating to man's salvation to the artificial distinctions and phraseology of the schools. Next followed the Cartesians and the Cocceians; the former of whom applied the principles of their philosophy to the explication of revealed truth, while the latter supposed that the whole system of theology would appear to the best advantage if dressed up in the form and garb of a divine covenant with men. But grave and wise men among the Reformed were pleased with neither of these. For they objected that the sacred doctrines would be rendered equally obscure and intricate by the Cartesian distinctions and peculiar conceptions, as by the Peripatetic definitions and divisions; and the application of the analogy of a covenant to the whole of theology was productive of this evil among others, which no good man can approve, that it causes the phraseology and the subtle distinctions of the forum to be transferred to the schools of theology, and to produce there vain and futile disputes about things the most sacred. Most of the English and the French would not consent to be thus trammelled, but treated both doctrinal and practical theology freely after the manner of the Arminians.

9. As already observed in another place, William Ames, an Englishman, was the first among the Reformed who attempted to elucidate and arrange the science of morals as distinct from that of dogmatics.[1] But he is dry, and writes more for the schools than for common life. Afterwards the Arminians (who it appears were much more zealous to perfect that part of theology which regulates the life and the heart, than that which informs the understanding) induced great numbers to attempt something more useful and more popular in this department. The French, however, and the English excel the others in facility, acuteness, and solidity. Among the French, to mention no others, Moses Amyraut, a man of distinguished energy and acuteness of mind, first produced in French, though in a style now obsolete, a complete system of moral science, from which those who have more recently obtained much reputation by their writings, John la Placette and Benedict Pictet, appear to have profited not a little.[2] Among the English, during the immense convulsions of the civil wars, the Presbyterians especially and the Independents endeavoured by various works to subserve the cause of piety. Some of these (as the nation is naturally grave and inclined towards austerity) are too rigorous and regardless of man's condition, while others manifestly incline towards the precepts of the Mystics. When Hobbes subjected all religion to the sovereign will of princes, and laboured to subvert altogether the natural distinction between right and wrong, he roused up great and discerning men, Cumberland, Sharrock, Cudworth, and others,[3] to lay open the primary sources of right and justice and to purify them from misrepresentations, by which they contributed very much to the illustration and confirmation of Christian holiness.

10. At the beginning of the century, the Genevan school was in such reputation throughout the Reformed world, that nearly all resorted to it who were not prevented by the narrowness of their worldly circumstances from aspiring after the best education and the highest attainments in theological knowledge.[4] Hence the opinions of Calvin and his pupils respecting the divine decrees and grace readily spread everywhere, and were introduced into all the schools. Yet there was nowhere any public ordinance or test which compelled the religious teachers not to believe or to teach differently from the Genevans.[5] Of course there were many

[1] In his book, *De Conscientia et ejus Jure vel Casibus*, Amsterd. 1630, 4to, 1640 and 1670, 12mo. It was also published in a German translation, by Harsdörfer, Nuremberg, 1654.—*Schl.* [See above, notes 3 and 4, p. 681.—*Mur.*

[2] Amyraut's work entitled *Morale Chrêtienne* was printed in 1652, 6 vols. 8vo. La Placette's work was entitled, *Essais de morale avec la suite*, Hague, 1706, 8 vols. 12mo, and was published in a German translation, Jena, 1719 and 1728. Pictet's work was entitled, *La Morale Chrêtienne, ou l'Art de bien vivre*, Geneva, 1710, 2 vols. 4to. This work was so satisfactory to the Catholics, that the countess of Sporck had it translated into German, omitting the passages offensive to the Catholics, and printed it at her own cost, Prague, 1711.—*Schl.*

[3] See Leland's *View of the Deistical Writers*, vol. i. p. 48.—*Macl.*

[4] The high reputation which the Genevan academy once had, gradually declined, after the establishment of the Dutch republic and the erection of the universities of Leyden, Francker, and Utrecht.

[5] Besides Grotius, who evinces this in his *Apologeticum* already mentioned, see Coornhart, a Hollander, well known by the controversies he produced in his Dutch tracts written near the close of the [preceding] century, in which he assails the doctrine of absolute decrees. I have now before me his *Dolinghen des Catechismi ende der Predicanten*, Utrecht, 1590, 8vo; *Van de totalinghe ende decrete Godes Bedenkinghe, of de heylighe Schrift als Johan Calvin ende Beza dærvan leeren*, Altona, 1572, 8vo; *Orsacken ende middelen van der Menschen saligheid ende Verdœmenisse*, 1603, 8vo. Of this man Arnold treats in the second vol. of his *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, in several places. [Especially part iii. chap. vi. vol. ii. p. 377, &c. ed. 1741, where his life and controversies are stated at length.—*Mur.*] James Arminius, while a minister at Amsterdam, being directed by the Consistory to refute the writings of Coornhart, was converted to his doctrines by the perusal of his writings, and therefore defended them against the Reformed.—*Schl.*

persons living here and there who either disagreed altogether with the Genevans[1] or qualified in some measure their doctrine. And even those who took the side of the Genevans had some dissension among themselves. For while most of them supposed that God only permitted the first man to sin, but did not decree his apostacy, others went farther, and were so daring as to maintain that God from all eternity, in order to place his justice and his free grace in the clearest light, had decreed the lamentable transgression of Adam, and had so disposed everything that our first parents could not avoid or escape the transgression. The latter were called Supralapsarians in distinction from the former, who were called Infralapsarians.

11. Disregarding the points in which they differed, as being of small moment, both laboured with united strength to put down those who maintained that God is most graciously disposed towards all mankind. Hence a great schism arose soon after the commencement of the century, which never could be healed. James Arminius, professor of theology at Leyden, rejected the Genevan views, and embraced the Lutheran doctrine concerning grace, which excludes no one absolutely from eternal salvation. He was joined by many persons in Holland who were distinguished both for learning and the stations they filled. On the other hand, he was most strenuously opposed by Francis Gomarus, his colleague, and by the principal teachers in the universities. The rulers of the commonwealth recommended moderation, and supposed that both opinions might be taught in a free state without injury to religion. After long altercation and violent contests, by order of Maurice, prince of Orange,[2] this controversy was submitted to the judgment of the whole church, and was discussed in a council held at Dort in 1618. There were present in the council, besides the best theologians of Holland, representatives of the English, the Palatines, the Swiss, the Bremensians, and the Hessians. Before this tribunal the Arminians lost their cause and were pronounced corruptors of the true religion, and those among the Genevans who are called Infralapsarians triumphed. The Supralapsarian party indeed had supporters and advocates who were neither few nor inactive, but the moderation and impartiality of the English divines especially, prevented their doctrines from obtaining the sanction of the Synod. The Infralapsarians also would not have obtained all they desired [against the Arminians] if things could have gone according to the wishes of the Bremensian divines, who for weighty reasons did not choose to be at variance with the Lutherans.[3]

12. Whether this victory over the Arminians was on the whole advantageous or detrimental to the doctrinal views of the Genevans and to the Reformed church, may be justly questioned. This is most certain, that after the time of the council of Dort the doctrine of absolute decrees began to decline and to sink more and more; and stern necessity obliged its defenders to recognise as brethren those who either openly coincided with the Arminians, or at least bore a near resemblance to them. The Arminians who were at first condemned, and whose leaders were men of great eloquence and of superior genius as well as learning, being irritated by banishments, legal penalties, and various other injuries, attacked their foes with so much vigour and eloquence that vast numbers became persuaded of the justice of their cause. Among the Dutch themselves, the provinces of Friesland, Zealand, Utrecht, Groningen, and Guelderland, could not be persuaded to receive the decrees of the synod of Dort. And though after the lapse of many years, in 1651 these provinces were at length prevailed upon to declare their pleasure that the Reformed religion, as it was settled at Dort, should be maintained and defended; yet the greatest jurists among the Dutch maintain that this decision cannot have the force of a real and absolute law.[4] England, through the influence especially of William Laud, went over to the side of the Arminians immediately after the synod of Dort; and down to our times, it has not so much neglected as actually despised and contemned the decisions of that council.[5] And

[1] For example, Henry Bullinger, a famous divine at Zurich, who clearly declared in favour of universal grace. See Turretin's Letter to Wake, archbishop of Canterbury, in the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, tome xiii. art. ii. p. 92, &c. and Hildebrand's *Orthodoxa Declaratio Articulorum Trium*, p. 295, &c.; and even in Holland, at the establishment of the university of Leyden, John Holmann, a universalist, was appointed first professor of theology. See Brandt's *History of the Reformation in the Netherlands*, book ix. and the *Histoire Abrégé de la Reformation de Brandt*, tome i. p. 229, &c.—*Schl.*

[2] It was not by the authority of prince Maurice, but by that of the States-general, that the national synod was assembled at Dort. The States were not indeed unanimous; three of the seven provinces protested against the holding of the synod, viz. Holland, Utrecht, and Overyssel.—*Macl.*

[3] The writers on these transactions will be mentioned below in the chapter on the Arminian church.

[4] See the illustrious Von Bynckershœck's *Quæstionum Juris Publici Libri duo*, Leyden, 1737, 4to, lib. ii. cap. xviii.

[5] Lintrup's *Dissert. de Contemptu Concilii Dordraceni in Anglia*, in the *Diss. Theologicæ* of Maslus, tom. i. No. 19. [See king James's injunctions to the bishops, A.D. 1622, in Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. chap. ii. p. 153.—*Mur.*

this was almost a necessary occurrence, since the English wished to conform their church to the institutions, opinions, and rules of the first centuries; and the Fathers, as they are called, before Augustine, assigned no limitation to the grace and goodwill of God. Although the French at first seemed to favour the decisions of Dort, yet because those decisions were very offensive to the papists among whom they lived, they soon after began to think and to teach very diversely from them. Among the Germans, neither the churches of Brandenburg nor those of Bremen would suffer their teachers to be tied down to the opinions of the Dutch. Hence the liberty of free thought respecting grace and predestination, which seemed to be wholly extinguished and suppressed at Dort, rather acquired life and activity from the transactions there; and the Reformed church soon became divided into Universalists and Semi-Universalists, Supralapsarians and Infralapsarians,[1] who, though they dislike each other and sometimes get into contention, yet are prevented by various causes from attacking and overpowering one another by open war. What is very remarkable, we have in our own times seen Geneva itself, the parent, nurse, and guardian of the doctrine of absolute decrees and particular grace, not only become kind and gentle towards the Arminians, but also herself almost an Arminian.[2]

13. The French church while it remained inviolate thought proper to deviate in many particulars from the common rule of the Reformed; and this appears from many proofs to be owing principally to this one cause, that it might in some measure be relieved from a part of the hatred under which it laboured, and from that load of odious consequences which the papists charged upon the Genevan doctrines. Hence the books of the theologians of Sedan and Saumur, which were composed after the synod of Dort, contain many things quite similar and kindred not only to the Lutheran sentiments concerning grace, predestination, the person of Christ, and the efficacy of the sacraments, but also to some opinions of the Romanists. The commencement of this moderation may be traced back, I think, to the year 1615, when the opinion of John Piscator, a divine of Herborn, respecting the obedience of Christ, was tacitly received or at least pronounced void of error[3] in the Synod of the Isle of France, although it had before been rejected and exploded in other French Synods.[4] Piscator supposed that our Saviour did not satisfy the divine law in our stead by his obedience, but that he as a man was bound to obey the divine will, and therefore could not merit anything with God for others by keeping the law. It will be easy for those who understand the papal doctrines to see how much aid this opinion affords to the papists, in confirming the sentiments they commonly inculcate respecting the merit of good works, the power of man to obey the law, and other points.[5]

[1] Universalists are those among the Reformed who teach the universal grace of God towards all apostate men, and consequently also a universal atonement and a call to all men. They are however divided into two classes. Some ascribe to the means of grace which God affords sufficient power to enlighten and sanctify all men, and teach that it depends on the voluntary conduct of men whether the grace of God shall produce its effects on them or not. These, who are sometimes called absolute (unconditional) Universalists, are by Mosheim denominated simply Universalists. Others maintain that God indeed wishes to make all men happy, but only on the condition of their believing; and that this faith originates from the sovereign and irresistible operation of God, or from the free, unconditional, and sovereign election of God. These, who are sometimes called hypothetical (conditional) Universalists, and who scarcely differ except in words from the Infralapsarians, are by Mosheim denominated Semi-Universalists. The Supralapsarians, to which class belonged Beza, Francis Gomarus, and Gisbert Voetius, not only teach unconditional election, but they place this election anterior to the purpose of God to create men and to their apostacy. The Infralapsarians, on the contrary, make this unconditional election to be subsequent to the foreseen apostacy. Both these last are also called [in distinction from the Universalists] Particularists. But it is to be hoped that when sound interpretation shall become prevalent in the Reformed churches, these parties, which are the unhappy offspring of a disputatious spirit and of ignorance of the original languages, will at length entirely cease.—*Schl.*

[2] The Genevan church, which in Mosheim's day had become "almost an Arminian," soon became not almost but altogether Arminian, afterwards Arian, and ultimately Socinian; but from this extreme point of depression a reaction appears to have begun, and she seems not unlikely to revert to the profession of the truth.—*R.*

[3] Aymon, *Actes de tous les Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Réformées de France*, tome ii. p. 275, 276.

[4] See Aymon, *ubi supra*, tome i. p. 301, 400, 457, tome ii. p. 13; Bossuet, *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, livr. xii. tome ii. p. 268. To Bossuet thus tauntingly reproaching, as is his custom, the changeableness of the Reformed, Basnage appears to have made a poor reply in his *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tome ii. p. 1533, &c. [There manifestly was some change in the views of the French divines in regard to Piscator's sentiments; for they repeatedly and expressly condemned them in several of their synods, and afterwards yielded up the point. Hence Basnage could not deny the fact. But was this change of opinion any way reproachful to the French clergy? Bossuet thought it was, but candid men will perhaps judge otherwise.—*Mur.*

[5] Maclaine is much offended with Mosheim for intimating that Piscator's opinions afforded support to the popish doctrines of the merit of good works, man's ability to obey the law, &c. And indeed it would be difficult to maintain the connexion supposed by Mosheim. It is also true, as Maclaine states, that Piscator's doctrine, by denying that even Christ himself could perform any works of supererogation, cut up by the roots the popish doctrine that a vast number of common saints have performed such works, and thus have filled that spiritual treasury from which the pontiffs can dispense pardons and indulgences to an almost unlimited extent. Piscator held that Christ redeemed us only by his death or by his sufferings, and not as was then generally held, by both his active and his passive

This small beginning was followed by other far more important steps, among which some were so irregular that the most modest and the most averse from contention among the French themselves could not approve of them.[1]

14. Two divines of Saumur, first John Cameron and afterwards Moses Amyraut, a man distinguished for perspicacity and erudition, devised a method of reconciling the doctrine of the Genevans respecting the divine decrees as expounded at Dort, with the views of those who hold that the love of God embraces the whole human race. And Amyraut, from about the year 1634, pursued this most difficult of all objects with so much zeal and with so great vigour of genius, that to gain his point he changed a great part of the received system of theology. His plan, which was too extensive to be here fully detailed, was substantially this: That God wishes the salvation of all men whatever, and that no mortal is excluded from the benefits of Christ by any divine decree, but that no one can become a partaker either of the benefits of Christ or of salvation, unless he believes in Christ. And that God, in his boundless goodness, has withheld from no one the power or ability to believe; but he by no means assists all so to use this power as to obtain salvation. Hence it is that so many thousands of men perish through their own fault and not by the fault of God.[2] Those who embraced this scheme were called Hypothetical Universalists, because they believed that God is disposed indeed to show mercy to all, yet only on the condition that they believe in Christ. It is the opinion of many that this doctrine does not differ from that maintained at Dort, except as Hercules' naked club differed from the same when painted and adorned with ribands, that is, very slightly. But I doubt whether such persons have duly considered, both the principles from which it is derived and the consequences to which it leads. After considering and reconsidering it, it appears to me to be Arminianism, or, if you please, Pelagianism artificially dressed up and veiled in ambiguous terms; and in this opinion I feel myself greatly confirmed when I look at the more recent disciples of Amyraut, who express their views more clearly and more boldly than their master.[3] The author of this doctrine was first attacked by some of the French [Protestant] Synods; but when they had examined the cause, they acquitted and dismissed him.[4] He was assailed with greater violence by the celebrated Dutch divines, Andrew Rivet, Frederick Spanheim, Samuel des Marets (Maresius), and others; to whom Amyraut himself and afterwards the leading French divines, John Daillé (Dallæus), David Blondell, and others, made energetic replies.[5] The vehement and long-protracted contest was productive of very little effect. For the opinions of Amyraut infected not only the Huguenot universities in France and nearly all the principal doctors, but also spread first to Geneva, and then with the French exiles through all the Reformed churches. Nor is there any one at the present day who ventures to speak against it.

15. From the same desire of softening certain Reformed doctrines, which afforded to the papists as well as to others much occasion for reproach, originated Joshua de la Place's (Placæus) opinion concerning the imputation of the sin committed by the parents of the human race. This theologian of Saumur, the colleague and intimate friend of Amyraut, in the year 1640, denied the doctrine then generally inculcated in the Reformed schools, that the sin of the first man was imputed to his posterity; and maintained on the contrary, that each person's own inherent defilement and disposi-

obedience. His arguments were, that Christ, as being a man, was bound to obey the will of God perfectly; so that he could not do more than he was under personal obligation to perform. Moreover, that if Christ had perfectly obeyed the law in man's stead, then men would not be under obligation to obey it themselves, because it would be unjust in God to require obedience twice over, once from our representative and then again from us. Besides, if Christ in our stead both obeyed the law and suffered the penalty of its violation, then the law had been doubly satisfied; or God had received the obedience he required, and yet inflicted the penalty for disobedience.—*Mur.*

[1] Maclaine is here out of all patience with Mosheim, and taxes him with bringing a groundless and malignant charge against the whole body of the French Reformed church. But Maclaine appears excited beyond what the occasion required. The five following sections, namely, 14-18, detail the facts, in view of which Mosheim made the assertion contained in the close of this section. Let the reader carefully peruse them, and then judge how far Mosheim deserves rebuke.—*Mur.*

[2] See Jäger's *Historia Eccles. et Politica Sæculi* xvii. decenn. iv. p. 522, &c.

[3] Schlegel expresses much regret that Mosheim, neither here nor in his lectures, more clearly showed how a disguised Pelagianism lies concealed under this scheme of the Hypothetical Universalists. And he refers us to his notes on cent. v. part ii. chap. v. sec. 23 and 26 [note 4, p. 208; and notes 1 and 2, p. 211, above. —*R.*] to show that this scheme of Amyraut was not in reality Pelagianism nor even Semi-pelagianism.—*Mur.* [The student should consult Hagenbach's *Compendium of the Hist. of Doctrines*, Buch's translation, vol. ii. p. 264, &c.—*R.*

[4] See Aymon's *Actes des Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Réformées de France*, tome ii. p. 571, &c. p. 604, &c. [Quick's *Synodicon*, vol. ii. p. 352, &c. 397, &c. 455.—*Mur.*] Blondell's *Actes Authentiques des Eglises Réformées touchant la Paix et la Charité Fraternelle*, p. 19, &c. p. 82, Amsterd. 1655, 4to.

[5] Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome i. art. *Amyraut*, p. 182; art. *Daillé*, tome ii. p. 947, &c.; art. *Blondell*; tome i p. 571, &c.; Pfaff, *De Formula Consensus*, cap. i. p. 4 &c. and others.

tion to sin is attributed to him by God as his crime, or, to use the language of theologians, he contended that original sin is imputed to men, not immediately but only mediately. This opinion was condemned as erroneous in the Synod of Charenton, A.D. 1642, and was confuted by many theologians of great respectability among the Swiss and the Dutch.[1] And De la Place, influenced by the love of peace, did not think proper to offer any public defence of it.[2] But neither his silence nor the condemnation of the synod could prevent this doctrine from commending itself to the minds of very many of the French as being reasonable, or from spreading through them into other countries. In the number of those who were disposed to gratify the papists at the expense of the religion of their fathers, many have placed Lewis Cappel, another divine of Saumur, who in a long and elaborate work[3] attempted to prove that the Hebrew vowel points were not inserted by the inspired writers, but were added in more recent times. This indeed is certain, that his opinion pleased the Romanists, who thought it very useful to weaken the authority of the sacred Scriptures and depress them below the unwritten word [or tradition]. It was therefore the more earnestly and learnedly opposed by great numbers of the best Hebricians, both among the Lutherans and the Reformed.[4]

16. All these divines, though they incurred much odium, yet obtained the approbation of very many, and the candour of subsequent times has pronounced them to be free from censure; but those were less fortunate who have been already mentioned as openly meditating a union of the French Reformed church with that subject to Romish sway, and likewise those who attempted so to explain or shape theology as to render a transition to the Romish party shorter and more easy. To this class belonged Lewis le Blanc, a divine of Sedan, and Claude Pajon, a minister at Orleans, both of whom were eloquent and men of great penetration. The former with great perspicuity so treated various controversies which divide the Protestants from the papists, as to show that some of them were mere contests about words, and that others were of much less importance than was commonly supposed.[5] Hence he is much censured to this day by all those who think great care should be taken, lest by filing down and lessening too much the cause of disagreement, the truth should be exposed to danger.[6] This acute man left behind him a sect, which however being very odious to most persons, either conceals or very cautiously states its real sentiments.

17. Claude Pajon appeared to explain and to adulterate that part of the Reformed religion which treats of the native depravity of man, his power to do good, the grace of God, and the conversion of the soul to God, by the principles and tenets of the Cartesian philosophy which he had thoroughly imbibed. But what his opinions really were, it is very difficult to determine; whether this arises from his intentional concealment of his real sentiments by the use of ambiguous phraseology, or from the negligence or the malice of his adversaries, I cannot readily decide. If we believe his adversaries, he supposed that man has more holiness and more ability to reform himself than is generally apprehended; that what is called original sin cleaves only to the understanding, and consists principally in the obscurity and defectiveness of man's views of religious subjects; that this depravity of the human understanding excites the will to evil inclinations and actions;

[1] Aymon, *Synodes des Eglises Réformées de France*, tome ii. p. 680. [Quick's *Synodicon*, vol. ii. p. 473. He maintained hereditary depravity, which he accounted criminal and a just ground of punishment, but denied the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity.—*Mur.*] La Place advanced his opinion in his *Theses Theologicæ de Statu Hominis Lapsi ante Gratiam*, 1640, which are inserted in the *Syntagma Thesium Theologicar. in Academia Salmuriensi disputatarum*, par. i. p. 205, &c. He was understood by some to deny all imputation of Adam's sin, and was first brought into trouble on the subject in the year 1645, when Antony Garissol, a divine of Montauban, and others accused him before the national synod at Charenton. Amyraut, though he adhered to the common doctrine, defended him, but his opinion was disapproved by the synod. Many censured the decision of the synod as being hasty and unjust, because La Place was condemned uncited and unheard, his opinion being misapprehended and Garissol his accuser being allowed to preside in the synod. La Place himself was so cool, dispassionate, and peaceful, that he defended his assailed reputation by no public writing, but patiently waited for the meeting of a new synod; until at last the unceasing outcry of his opposers in 1655, compelled him to publish a new Disputation, *De Imputatione primi Peccati Adami*, in which he showed that the synod did not understand his doctrine, since he denied merely the immediate imputation of Adam's sin (an imputation arising from the sovereign decree of God) and not the mediate imputation or one naturally consequent on the descent of men from Adam. Yet this explanation did not satisfy his excited opponents. Andrew Rivet, Samuel des Marets, and Francis Turretin did not cease to assail him; and by instigation of the last named, the belief of immediate imputation was settled as an article of faith by the church of Geneva in the year 1675. See Weismann's *Historia Eccles. Sæcul.* xvii. p. 919.—*Schl.*

[2] See Weismann's *Hist. Eccles. Sæcul.* xvii. p. 817.

[3] In his *Arcanum Punctationis Revelatum*, which with his *Vindiciæ* may be found in his works, Amsterd. 1689, fol. and in the *Critica Sacra Vet. Test.* Paris, 1650, fol

[4] See Wolf's *Bibliotheca Hebraica*, par. ii. p. 27, &c.

[5] In his *Theses Theologicæ*, which are well worth reading. The copy before me was printed at London, 1675, fol. but there have been a number of editions of them

[6] See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome i. article *Beaulieu*, p. 458, &c. [His whole name was Lewis le Blanc, Sieur de Beaulieu. See the brief notice of him in note 2, p. 745, above.—*Mur.*

that it is to be cured, not by the powers of nature, but by the influences of the Holy Spirit acting through the medium of the divine word; that this word however does not possess any inherent divine power or any physical or hyperphysical energy, but only a moral influence; that is, it reforms the human understanding in the same manner as human truth does, namely, by exhibiting clear and correct views of religious subjects, and solid arguments which evince the agreement of the truths of Christianity with correct reason and their divinity; and therefore that every man, if his power were not weakened and prostrated by either internal or external impediments, might renew his own mind by the use of his reason and by meditation on revealed truth, without the extraordinary aid of the Holy Spirit.[1] But Pajon himself asserts, that he believed and professed all that is contained in the decisions of Dort and in the other confessions and catechisms of the Reformed. He complains that his opinions were misunderstood; and states that he does not deny all immediate operation of the Holy Spirit on the minds of those who are converted to God, but only such an immediate operation as is unconnected with the word of God; in other words, that he cannot agree with those who think that the word of God is only an external and inoperative sign of an immediate divine operation.[2] This last proposition is manifestly ambiguous and captious. He finally adds, that we ought not to contend about the manner in which the Holy Spirit operates on the minds of men; that it is sufficient if a person holds this one point, that the Holy Spirit is the author of all that is good in us. The sentiments of Pajon, however, were condemned, not only by the principal reformed divines, but also by some synods of the French church in 1677, and by a Dutch synod at Rotterdam in 1686.

18. This controversy, which was in a measure settled and ended by the death of Pajon, was propagated in many books and discourses throughout England, Holland, and Germany, by Isaac Papin, a Frenchman of Blois, and sister's son to Pajon. Throwing off all disguise, he ventured to express himself much more coarsely and harshly than his uncle. He declared that the opinion of his uncle was this:—That man has even more power than is necessary to enable him to understand divine truth; that for the reformation and regeneration of the soul nothing more is required than to remove an unsound state of the body by medical aid, if such a state happens to exist, and then to place before the understanding truth and error, and before the will virtue and vice clearly and distinctly, with their appropriate arguments. This and the other opinions of Papin, Peter Jurieu, among others, a celebrated divine of Rotterdam, confuted with uncommon wrath in the years 1686, 1687, and 1688. They were also condemned by the synod of Bois-le-Duc in 1687, and still more severely by the synod at the Hague in 1688, which also ejected the man from the Reformed church. Provoked by this severity, Papin who in other things manifested fine talents, returned to France in the year 1689, and the next year revolted to the Romish church in which he died in the year 1709.[3] Some think he was treated unjustly, and that his opinions were misrepresented by his mortal adversary, Jurieu; but how true this may be, I cannot say. A defence of the Paionian sentiment was likewise attempted in 1684, in several tracts by Charles le Cène, a French divine of a vigorous mind who has given us a French translation of the Bible.[4] But as he entirely discarded and denied the natural depravity of man, and taught that we can regenerate ourselves by our own power, by attentively listening to divine truth, especially if we enjoy also the advantages of a good education, good examples, &c. hence some contend that his scheme of doctrine differs in many respects from that of Pajon.[5]

19. The English church was agitated with most violent storms and tempests. When James I. king of Scotland, on the death of Elizabeth ascended the throne of England, the Puritans or friends of the Genevan dis-

[1] See Spanheim, *Append. ad Elenchum Controversiarum, Opp.* tom. iii. p. 882, &c.; Jurieu, *Traité de la Nature et de la Grâce*, p. 35, &c.; Loescher, *Exercit. de Claud. Paionii ejusque Sectator. Doctrina et Fatis*, Lips. 1692, 12mo. [Spanheim was a more candid adversary of Pajon than Jurieu. Weismann (*Historia Eccles. Sæcul.* xvii. p. 942) follows Jurieu for the most part, and is too severe upon Pajon, who had no other aim than to guard against fanaticism and enthusiasm, and probably viewed the word of God with higher reverence than many of his opponents did.—*Schl.*

[2] See the tract which Pajon himself composed, and which is inserted in Chauffepié's *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. et Critique*, tome ii. art. *Cène*, p. 164, &c.

[3] See Jurieu, *De la Nature et de la Grâce*, and in other writings. Möller, *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 608, &c. and others. [According to Möller, *ubi supra*, Papin's scheme of doctrine grew out of his Cartesian philosophy. He supposed that in creating the world, God so formed and constituted all things, that he never has occasion to interpose his immediate agency, unless when a miracle is necessary. Of course, that the conversion of sinners is brought about, as well as all other events are, by the operation of natural causes.—*Mur.*

[4] This translation was published after the author's death, Amsterd. 1741, fol. and was condemned by the Dutch synods.

[5] See the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. et Critique*, art. *Cène*, tome ii. p. 160, &c.

cipline, indulged no little hope that their condition would be meliorated, and that they should no longer be exposed to the continual wrongs of the Episcopalians; for the king had been born and educated among the Scotch who were Puritans.[1] And his first movements corresponded well with these expectations, and seemed to announce that he would assume the character of mediator between the opposing parties.[2] But on a sudden everything assumed a different aspect. King James, who was eager to grasp supreme and unlimited power, at once judged that the Presbyterian form of church government was adverse to his designs, and the Episcopal favourable to them; because Presbyterian churches form a kind of republic, which is subject to a number of leading men all possessing equal rank and power, while Episcopal churches more nearly resemble a monarchy. The very name of a republic, synod, or council, was odious to the king, and he therefore studied most earnestly to increase the power of the bishops, and publicly declared that without bishops the throne could not be safe.[3] At the same time, he long wished to preserve inviolate the Genevan doctrines, especially those relating to divine grace and predestination, and he allowed the opposite doctrines of Arminius to be condemned by his theologians at the synod of Dort. This disposition of the king was studiously cherished, so long as he had power by George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, a man of great weight of character, who was himself devoted to Calvinistic sentiments and was a great friend to English liberty, and whose gentleness towards their fathers the modern Puritans highly extol.[4] But the English envoys had scarcely returned from Holland and made known the decisions of Dort, when the king with the majority of the clergy showed himself most averse from these decisions, and manifested a decided preference for the Arminian doctrine respecting the divine decrees.[5] That there were various

[1] And had, on some occasions, made the strongest declaration of his attachment to their ecclesiastical constitution. In a General Assembly held at Edinburgh, in the year 1590, this prince is said to have made the following declaration:—"I praise God that I was born in the time of the light of the gospel, and in such a place as to be king of the sincerest (*i.e.* purest) kirk in the world. The kirk of Geneva keep pasche and yule (*i.e.* Easter and Christmas). What have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk of England, their service is an evil-said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings (*i.e.* the elevation of the host). I charge you, my good ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort your people to do the same, and I forsooth, as long as I brook my life, shall do the same." Calderwood's *History of the Church of Scotland*, fol. edit. p. 256.—*Macl.*

[2] King James professed himself attached to the Church of Scotland, until his removal to England in April, 1603. While on his journey, all religious parties in England made their court to him. To the Dutch and French Protestants settled in the country, he gave favourable answers. The bishops negotiated with him by their envoys. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge addressed him in behalf of the establishment, and the Puritans presented their petition in favour of a reform of the church. One petition of the latter signed by about 800 Puritan ministers, was called the Millenary Petition, from the signatures to it amounting to almost a thousand. In October, 1603, the king appointed a conference at Hampton Court, to be held the January following, between the Episcopalians and the Puritans, with a view to settle their controversies. On the side of the Episcopalians were nine bishops and about as many dignitaries of the church; and on the part of the Puritans were four English divines and one from Scotland, all of whom were selected by the king himself. On the first day of the conference, Jan. 14, 1604, the Episcopalians alone were admitted to the royal presence, and the king made some few objections to the English ritual and discipline, which the bishops either vindicated or consented to modify. The second day, Jan. 16th, the Puritans were admitted, and proceeded to state their wishes. But the king treated them harshly, and allowed the Episcopalians to browbeat them. The bishops had a complete triumph; and Bancroft, falling on his knees, said, "I protest my heart melteth for joy that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, has given us such a king as since Christ's time has not been." On the third day, Jan. 18th, the bishops and deans were first called in, to settle with the king what alterations should be made in the regulations of the church. Archbishop Whitgift was so elated to hear the king's approval of the law for the oath *ex officio*, that he exclaimed, "Undoubtedly, your majesty speaks by the special assistance of God's Spirit." After this, the Puritans were called in, not to discuss the points in controversy, but merely to hear what had been agreed upon by the king and the bishops. Thus ended this mock conference, in which the king showed himself exceedingly vain and insolent towards the Puritans, and wholly on the side of the Episcopalians. The next month a proclamation was issued, giving an account of the conference and requiring conformity to the liturgy and ceremonies. See Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. chap. i. p. 30, &c. and the authors there referred to; also Grant's *History of the English Church and Sects*, &c. vol. ii. chap. ix. p. 52, &c. —*Mur.*

[3] It was a maxim with him, and one which he repeated at the Hampton Court conference, "No bishop, no king." See Neal, *ubi supra.*—*Mur.*

[4] See Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, tom. i. p. 583; Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. ch. iv. p. 242 [and the long note of Maclaine on the text.—*Mur.*] Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. i. p. 114, &c.

[5] Heylin's *History of the Five Articles*, p. 444, &c. in the Dutch translation of Gerh. Brandt; Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. chap. ii. p. 117, &c. Neal tells us that the Council of Dort was ridiculed in England by the following verses, among other things:

Dordrechti Synodus, Nodus; Chorus integer, Æger:
Conventus, Ventus: Sessio, Stramen: Amen.

Moreover, for ascertaining the character and conduct of king James and his inconstancy in religion, much aid is afforded by the writers of English history, and especially by Larrey and Rapin. Most of these state that in his last years James greatly favoured not only the Arminians but also the papists; and they tell us there can be doubt the king wished to unite the English church with that of Rome. But in this, I apprehend, the king is too severely accused, although I do not deny that he did many things not to be commended. It is not easy to believe that a king who aspired immoderately after supreme and absolute sway, should wish to create to himself a lord in the Roman pontiff. [Yet see the following note.—*Mur.*] But at length he inclined more towards the Romish church than formerly, and he permitted some things which were coincident with the Romish rites and regulations; because, with most of the bishops, he was persuaded that the ancient Christian church was the exemplar after which all churches should copy; that a religious community would be the more holy and the more perfect the nearer its resem-

causes for this unexpected change will readily be believed by those acquainted with the history of those times; yet the principal cause, I apprehend, is to be sought in that rule for ecclesiastical reformation which the founders of the new English church kept in sight. For they wished to render their church as similar as possible to that which flourished in the early centuries, and that church, as no one can deny, was an entire stranger to the Dordracene doctrines.[1] The king becoming alienated from the Calvinistic opinions and customs, the old hatred against the Puritans which had somewhat subsided again revived; and at last it broke out in open war. In short, James I. died in 1625, a mortal enemy of the Puritan faith which he had imbibed in his youth, a decided patron and supporter of the Arminians whose condemnation he had greatly promoted, and a very strenuous asserter of episcopal government; and he left both the church and the commonwealth in a very unsettled state, and languishing with intestine maladies.

20. Charles I. the son of James, determined to perfect what his father had undertaken. He therefore used every effort, first, to extend the regal power and to exalt it above the authority of the laws; secondly, to subject the whole church of Great Britain and Ireland to the Episcopal form of government, which he considered as of divine appointment and as affording the best security to the civil sovereign; and thirdly, to reduce the whole religion of the country to the pattern and form of the primitive church, rejecting all the doctrines and institutions of the Genevans. The execution of these designs was principally entrusted to William Laud, then bishop of London and afterwards, from A.D. 1633, archbishop of Canterbury, who was in many respects undoubtedly a man of eminence, being a very liberal patron of learning and learned men, resolute, ingenuous, and erudite, but at the same time too furious, headlong, and inconsiderate, inclined to superstition, and also bigotedly attached to the opinions, rites, and practices of the ancient Christians, and therefore a mortal enemy of the Puritans and of all Calvinists.[2] He prosecuted the objects of the king's wishes as well as his own without any moderation, often disregarded and trampled upon the laws of the land, persecuted the Puritans most rigorously, and eagerly strove to extirpate them altogether; rejecting Calvinistic views in relation to predestination and other points, he after the year 1625, contrary to the wishes of George Abbot, substituted Arminian sentiments in place of them;[3] restored many ceremonies and rites which were indeed ancient but at the same time superstitious and on that ground previously abrogated; obtruded bishops upon the Scottish nation, which was accustomed to the Genevan discipline and extremely averse to episcopacy; and not obscurely showed that in his view the Romish church, though erroneous, was a holier and better church than those Protestant communities which had no bishops. Having by these acts excited immense odium

blance to that divine and apostolic standard; and that the Romish church retained more of the first and primitive form than the Puritan or Calvinistic church did.

[1] Perhaps also the king was influenced by the recollection of the civil commotions formerly excited in Scotland on account of the Presbyterian religion. There are some circumstances likewise which indicate that the king, even before he came into England, was not wholly averse from the Romish religion. See the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, tome xliii. p. 318, &c. [Thus far the note of our author; and whoever looks into the Historical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels, from the year 1592 to 1617, extracted from the MS. State Papers of Sir Thomas Edmondes and Anthony Bacon, Esq. and published in the year 1749, by the learned and judicious Dr. Birch, will be persuaded that towards the year 1595 this fickle and unsteady prince had really formed a design to embrace the faith of Rome. See in the curious collection now mentioned, the postscript of a letter from Sir Thomas Edmondes to the lord high-treasurer, dated the 20th of December, 1595. We learn also from the Memoirs of Ralph Winwood, that in the year 1596, James sent Mr. Ogilby, a Scotch baron, into Spain, to assure his Catholic majesty that he was then ready and resolved to embrace popery, and to propose an alliance with that king and the pope against the queen of England. See *State Tracts*, vol. i. p. 1. See also an extract of a letter from Tobie Matthew, D.D. dean of Durham, to the lord treasurer Burleigh, containing an information of Scotch affairs, in Strype's *Annals*, vol. iv. p. 201. Above all, see Harris's *Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of James I.* p. 29, note (N). This last writer may be added to Larrey and Rapin who have exposed the pliability and inconsistency of this self-sufficient monarch. —*Mack.*

[2] See Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*. tom. ii. p. 55, &c.; Heylin's *Cyprianus Anglicus, or the History of the Life and Death of William Laud*, London, 1688, fol. Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion and the Civil Laws in England*, vol. i. [Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. chap. iv. &c. and vol. iii. chap. v.—*Mur.*

[3] See Le Vassor's *Histoire de Louis XIII.* tome v. p. 262, &c. [Laud was then merely bishop of London, though in effect at the head of the established church. Legally, neither he nor any prelate nor even the king could abrogate or enact articles of faith, without the consent of Parliament. Nor was any such thing attempted. But the king, at the instigation (it is stated) of bishop Laud, issued a proclamation, January 24, 1626, which sets forth, "That the king will admit of no innovation in the doctrine, discipline, or government of the church, and therefore charges all his subjects, and especially the clergy, not to publish or maintain, in preaching or writing, any new inventions or opinions contrary to the said doctrine and discipline established by law." This apparently harmless proclamation was of course to be executed by Laud and his associates, and Laud was publicly accused of using it to punish and put down Calvinists, and to prevent their books from being printed and circulated, while Arminians were allowed to preach and to print their sentiments most fully. See Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. chap. iii. p. 192, &c. and vol. iii. chap. v. p. 222, &c. and Maclaine's note (m) on this paragraph.—*Mur.*

against the king and himself and the whole order of bishops, he was arraigned by the parliament in 1644, judged guilty of betraying the liberties and the religion of the country, and beheaded.[1] After the execution of Laud, the civil conflict which had long existed between the king and the parliament attained such a height, that it could be extinguished by nothing short of the life of this excellent prince. The Parliament, inflamed by the Puritans or by the Presbyterians and Independents, wholly abolished the old form of church government by bishops, and whatever else in doctrine, discipline, or worship was contrary to the principles of the Genevans, furiously assailed the king himself, and caused him when taken prisoner to be tried for his life, and, to the astonishment of all Europe, to be put to death in the year 1648. Such are the evils resulting from zeal in religion, when it is ill understood and placed in external regulations and forms. Moreover, as is often found true, it appeared in these scenes of commotion that almost all sects while oppressed plead earnestly for charity and moderation towards dissenters, but, when elevated to power, they forget their own former precepts. For the Puritans, when they had dominion, were no more indulgent to the bishops and their patrons than these had formerly been to them.[2]

21. The Independents, who have been just mentioned among the promoters of civil discord, are represented by most of the English historians as more odious and unreasonable than even the Presbyterians or Calvinists, and are commonly charged with various enormities and crimes, and indeed with the parricide against Charles I. But I apprehend that whoever shall candidly read and consider the books and the Confessions of the sect, will cheerfully acknowledge that many crimes are unjustly charged upon them, and that perhaps the misconduct of the civil Independents (that is, of those hostile to the regal power and who strove after extravagant liberty) has been incautiously charged upon the religious Independents.[3] They derived their name

[1] Archbishop Laud was impeached by the House of Commons, and tried before the House of Lords. In 1641, fourteen articles of impeachment were filed, and Laud was committed to prison. In 1644, ten additional articles were brought forward, and the trial now commenced. All the articles may be reduced to three general heads:—I. That he had traitorously attempted to subvert the rights of parliament, and to exalt the king's power above law. II. That he had traitorously endeavoured to subvert the constitution and fundamental laws of the land, and to introduce arbitrary government against law and the liberties of the subjects. III. That he had traitorously endeavoured and practised to subvert the true religion established by law, and to introduce popish superstition and idolatry. Under this last head the specifications were, first, that he introduced and practised popish innovations and superstitious ceremonies not warranted by law, such as images and pictures in the churches, popish consecration of churches, converting the communion-tables into altars, bowing before the altar, &c.; and secondly, that he endeavoured to subvert the Protestant religion and encouraged Arminianism and popery, by patronising and advancing clergymen of these sentiments, by prohibiting the publication of orthodox books and allowing corrupt ones free circulation, by persecuting in the high commission court those who preached against Arminianism and popery, and by taking some direct steps towards a union with the church of Rome. The House of Lords deemed all the articles proved, but doubted for a time whether they amounted to treason. See the whole trial of Laud, in Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii. chap. v. p. 184–255.—*Mur.*

[2] Besides Lord Clarendon, and the historians of England already mentioned, Neal has professedly treated of these events, in the 2d and 3d volumes of his *History of the Puritans*. [Compare also Grant's *History of the English Church and Sects*, vol. ii. chap. x. xi. p. 127–303.—*Mur.* [See also the historical works of Brodie, Hallam, and Mackintosh, on this period of British history.—*R.*

[3] The sect of the Independents, though a modern one and still existing among the English, is however less known than almost any Christian sect ancient or modern, and on no one are more marks of infamy branded without just cause. The best English historians heap upon it all the reproaches and slanders which can be thought of; nor is it the Episcopalians only who do this, but also those very Presbyterians with whom they are at this day associated. They are represented not only as delirious, crazy, fanatical, illiterate, rude, factious, and strangers to all religious truth and to reason, but also as criminals, seditious parricides, and the sole authors of the murder of Charles I. John Durell (whom that most strenuous vindicator of the Independents, Lewis du Moulin, commends for his ingenuousness, see Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* tom. ii. p. 732, 733), in his *Historia Rituum Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, cap. i. p. 4, London, 1672, 4to, says: "Fateor, si atrocis illius tragœdiæ tot actus fuerint, quot ludicrarum esse solent, postremum fere Independentium fuisse.—Adeo ut non acute magis, quam vere, dixerit l'Estrangius noster: Regem primo a Presbyterianis interemptum, Carolum deinde ab Independentibus interfectum." Foreign writers, regarding these as the best witnesses of transactions in their own country, have of course thought proper to follow them; and hence the Independents almost everywhere appear under a horrid aspect. But as every class of men is composed of dissimilar persons, no one will deny that in this sect also there were some persons who were turbulent, factious, wicked, flagitious, and destitute of good sense. Yet if that is also true which all wise and good men inculcate, that the character and the principles of whole sects must be estimated, not from the conduct or words of a few individuals but from the customs, habits, and opinions of the sect in general, from the books and discourses of its teachers, and from its public formularies and confessions, then I am either wholly deceived or the Independents are wrongfully loaded with so many criminations.

We pass over what has been so invidiously written against this sect by Clarendon, Echard, Parker, and many others; and to render this whole subject the more clear, we will take up only that one excellent writer, than whom, though a foreigner, no one, as the English themselves admit, has written more accurately and neatly concerning the affairs of England, namely, Rapin. In the twenty-first book of his immortal work, the *Histoire d'Angleterre*, vol. viii. p. 535, second ed. [Tindal's translation, vol. ii. p. 514, fol.], he so depicts the Independents, that, if they were truly what he represents them, they would not deserve to enjoy the light in their country which they still do enjoy freely, and much less to share in the kind offices and love of any good man. Let us particularly survey and briefly comment on the declarations of this great man concerning them. In the first place, he tells us that, after the utmost pains, he could not ascertain the origin of the sect: "Quelque recherche que j'ai faite, je n'ai jamais pû découvrir exactement la première origine de la secte ou faction des Indépendents." That a man who had

from the fact, that with the Brownists they believed that individual churches are all Independent or subject to no foreign jurisdiction, and that they should not be compelled to obey the authority and laws either of bishops or of councils composed

spent seventeen years in composing a History of England and consulted so many libraries filled with the rarest books, should have written thus, is very strange. If he had only looked into that well-known book, Hornbeck's *Summa Controversiarum*, lib. x. p. 775, &c. he might easily have learned what he was ignorant of, after so much research. He proceeds to the doctrines of the sect, and says of them in general that nothing could be better suited to throw all England into confusion:—"Ce qu'il y a de certain c'est qu'ils avoient des principes tout à fait propres à mettre l'Angleterre en combustion, comme ils le firent effectivement." How true this declaration is will appear from what follows. He adds, first, respecting politics they held very pernicious sentiments. For they would not have a single man preside over the whole state, but thought the government of the nation should be entrusted to the representatives of the people:—"Par rapport au gouvernement de l'etât, ils abhorroient la monarchie, et n'approuvoient qu'un gouvernement républicain." I can readily believe that there were persons among the Independents unfriendly to monarchy. Such were to be found among the Presbyterians, the Anabaptists, and all the sects which then flourished in England. But I wish to see decisive testimony adduced, if it can be, to prove that this was the common sentiment of this whole sect. Such testimony is in vain sought for in their public writings. On the contrary, in the year 1647 they publicly declared, "that they do not disapprove of any form of civil government, but do freely acknowledge that a kingly government, bounded by just and wholesome laws, is both allowed by God and a good accommodation unto men." See Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 146. I pass over other proofs, equally conclusive, that they did not abhor all monarchy. Their religious opinions, according to our author, were most absurd. For if we may believe him, their sentiments were contrary to those of all other sects:—"Sur la religion, leurs principes étoient opposez à ceaux de tout le reste du monde." There are extant in particular two Confessions of the Independents; the one of those in Holland, the other of those in England. The first was drawn up by John Robinson, the founder of the sect, and was published at Leyden, 1619, 4to, entitled, *Apologia pro Exulibus Anglis, qui Brownistæ vulgo appellantur*. The latter was printed, London, 1658, 4to, entitled, *A Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practised in the Congregational Churches in England* [more than one hundred in number.—*Mur.*] *agreed upon and consented unto by their elders and messengers in their meeting at the Savoy, October* 12, 1658. John Hornbeck translated it into Latin in 1659, and annexed it to his Epistle to Duræus, *De Independentismo*. From both these, to say nothing of their other books, it is manifest that if we except the form of their church government, they differed in nothing of importance from the Calvinists or Presbyterians. But to remove all doubt, let us hear the father of the Independents, Robinson himself, explaining the views of himself and his flock, in his *Apologia pro Exulibus Anglis*, p. 7, 11:—"Profitemur coram Deo et hominibus, adeo nobis convenire cum ecclesiis Reformatis Belgicis in re religionis, ut omnibus et singulis earundem ecclesiarum fidei articulis, prout habentur in Harmonia Confessionum fidei, parati sumus subscribere.——Ecclesias Reformatas pro veris et genuinis habemus, cum iisdem in sacris Dei communionem profitemur et quantum in nobis est colimus." So far therefore were they from differing altogether from all other sects of Christians, that on the contrary they agreed exactly with the greatest part of the Reformed churches. To show by an example how absurd the religion of the Independents was, this eminent historian tells us that they not only rejected all ecclesiastical government and order, but also made the business of preaching and praying in public and explaining the Scriptures common to all:—"Non seulement ils ne pouvoient souffrir l'épiscopat et l'hiérarchie ecclésiastique" (this is true; but it was a fault not peculiar to them, but chargeable also on the Presbyterians, the Brownists, the Anabaptists, and all the sects of the Nonconformists), "mais ils ne vouloient pas même qu'il y eut des ministres ordinaires dans l'Eglise. Ils soutenoient que châcun pouvoit prier en public, exhorter ses frères, expliquer l'Ecriture Sainte, selon les talens qu'il avoit reçus de Dieu.——Ainsi parmi eux châcun prioit, prêchoit, exhortoit, expliquoit la S. Ecriture, sans autre vocation que celle qu'il tiroit lui-même de son zele et des talens qu'il croyoit avoir, et sans autre autorité que celle que luy donnoit l'approbation de ses auditeurs." All this is manifestly false. The Independents employ, and have employed from the first, fixed and regular teachers; nor do they allow every one to teach who may deem himself qualified for it. The excellent historian here confounds the Independents with the Brownists, who are well known to allow to all a right to teach. I pass over other assertions, notwithstanding they are equally open to censure. Now, if so great a man, after residing long among the English, pronounced so unjust a sentence upon this sect, who will not readily pardon others much his inferiors who have loaded this sect with groundless accusations? [On all these charges, see Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii. chap. iv. p. 157, &c.—*Mur.*]

But this (some one may say) is certain from numerous testimonies, that the Independents put that excellent king Charles I. to death, and this single fact evinces the extreme impiety and depravity of the sect. I am aware that the best and most respectable English historians charge them alone with this regicide. And I fully agree with them, provided we are to understand by the term Independents those persons who were hostile to regal power and attached to an extravagant kind of liberty. But if the term is used to denote the ancestors of those Independents who still exist among the English, or a certain religious sect differing from the other English sects in certain religious opinions, I am not clear that their assertion is quite true. Those who represent the Independents as the sole authors of the atrocious deed committed on Charles I. must necessarily mean to say either that the nefarious parricides were excited to the deed by the suggestions and the doctrines of the Independents, or that they were all adherents of the worship and the doctrines of the Independents, neither of which is capable of solid proof. In the doctrines of the sect, as we have seen, there was nothing which could excite any one to attempt such a crime; nor does the history of those times show that there was any more hatred or malevolence towards Charles I. in the Independents than in the Presbyterians. And that all those who put the king to death were Independents is so far from being true, that, on the contrary, several of the best English historians and even the edicts of Charles II. testify, that this turbulent company was mixed and composed of persons of various religions. And I can easily admit that there were some Independents among them. After all, this matter will be best unravelled by the English themselves, who know better than we in what sense the term Independents must be used when it is applied to those who brought Charles I. to the block. [According to Neal, *ubi supra*, vol. iii. p. 515, &c. 521, &c. 533, no one religious denomination is chargeable with the regicide, but only the army and the House of Commons, both of which were composed of men of various religions. Only two Congregational ministers approved the putting Charles to death, and the Presbyterian clergy in a body remonstrated against it.—*Mur.*]

When I have carefully inquired for the reasons why the Independents are taxed with so many crimes and enormities, three reasons especially have occurred to my mind:—I. The term Independents is ambiguous and not appropriated to any one class of men. For not to mention other senses of it, the term is applied by the English to those friends of democracy who wish to have the people enact their own laws and govern themselves, and who will not suffer an individual or several individuals to bear rule in the state; or, to adhere to the letter of the name, who maintain that the people ought to be independent of all control except what arises from themselves. This faction, consisting in a great measure of mad fanatics, were the principal actors in that tragedy in England, the effects of which are still deplored. Hence whatever was said or done extravagantly or foolishly by this faction was I suspect, all charged upon

of presbyters and delegates from several churches.[1] It is in this single opinion that they especially differ from the Presbyterians.[2] For whatever else they believe or teach on religious subjects, with very few exceptions and those not of much importance, is almost throughout in accordance with the Genevan doctrines. The parent of the sect was John Robinson, minister of a Brownist church which was settled at Leyden in Holland, a grave and pious man. Perceiving that the discipline which Robert Brown had set up was in some respects defective, he undertook to correct it, and to give it such a form as would render it less odious than before. In two respects particularly are the Independents better than the Brownists; first, in moderation and candour, for they did not, as Brown had done, execrate and pronounce unworthy of the Christian name the churches which had adopted a different form of government; but they admitted that piety and true religion might flourish where the ecclesiastical affairs were subject to the authority of bishops or to the decrees of councils, notwithstanding they considered their own form of government as of divine institution, and as originating from Christ and his apostles. In the next place, the Independents excelled the Brownists by abolishing that liberty of teaching which Brown had allowed equally to all the brethren. For they have regular teachers, elected by the whole brotherhood, and they do not allow any one to deliver discourses to the people, unless he has been previously examined and approved by the officers of the church. This sect which began to exist in Holland in 1610, had very few adherents at first in England, and to escape the punishments decreed against Non-conformists, kept itself concealed;[3] but on the decline of the power of the bishops in the time of Charles I. it took courage in the year 1640 and boldly showed itself in public. Afterwards it soon increased so much in reputation and in numbers, that it could compete for priority, not only with the Episcopalians, but also with the very powerful Presbyterians; which must be attributed, among other causes, to the erudition of its teachers and to the reformed morals of the people.[4] During

our Independents, who were not indeed altogether without faults, yet were far better than they. II. Nearly all the English sects which distracted the nation in the times of Charles I. and Oliver Cromwell, assumed the name of Independents in order to participate in that public esteem which the real Independents enjoyed on account of their upright conduct, and in order to screen themselves from reproach. This is attested, among others, by Toland in his letter to Le Clerc, inserted by the latter in his *Biblioth. Universelle et Historique*, tome xxiii. part ii. p. 506:—"Au commencement tous les sectaires se disoient Indépendans, par ce que ces derniers étoient fort honorez du people à cause de leur piété." Now, as the term was so extensively applied, who does not see that it might easily occur that the enormities of various sects should be all charged upon the genuine Independents? III. Oliver Cromwell, the usurper, gave a preference to the Independents before all the other sects in his country. For he was as much afraid of the councils or synods of the Presbyterians as he was of the bishops; but in the form of church government adopted by the Independents, there was nothing at all which he could fear. Now, as men of like character incline to associate together, this circumstance might lead many to suppose that the Independents were all of the same character with Cromwell, that is, very bad people.

[1] They undoubtedly received the name of Independents from their maintaining that all assemblies of Christians had the right of self-government, or were independent. This very term is used by Robinson, in his exposition of this doctrine in his *Apologia pro Exulibus Anglis*, cap. v. p. 22, where he says: "Cœtum quemlibet particularem (recte institutum et ordinatum) esse totam, integram, et perfectam ecclesiam ex suis partibus constantem immediate et independenter (quoad alias ecclesias) sub ipso Christo." And possibly from this very passage the term Independents, which was before unknown, had its origin. At first the followers of Robinson did not reject this appellation, nor has it any bad or odious import, provided it is understood in their own sense of it. In England it was entirely unknown till the year 1640. At least in the ecclesiastical canons enacted this year in the conventions held by the bishops of London and York, in which all the sects then existing in England are enumerated, there is no mention of the Independents. See the *Constitutions and canons ecclesiastical treated upon by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the rest of the bishops and clergy, in their several synods*, A.D. 1640, in Wilkin's *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ*, tom. iv. cap. v. p. 548. But a little afterwards and especially after the year 1642, this appellation is of frequent occurrence in the annals of English history. Nor did the English Independents at first refuse to be called by this name, but in their apology published at London, 1644, 4to (*Apologetical Narration of the Independents*), they rather fearlessly assume this name. But afterwards, when as we have remarked many other sects adopted this name, and even seditious citizens who plotted the destruction of their king were commonly designated by it, they very solicitously deprecated the application of it to them, and called themselves Congregational Brethren, and their churches Congregational churches.

[2] There are two points of difference between the Presbyterians and the Independents or Congregationalists. The first relates to the independence of individual churches, or their exemption from any foreign jurisdiction. The second relates to the location of the legislative and judicial powers of each church. The Presbyterians assign these powers to the eldership of the church or to the pastor and the ruling elders assembled in a church session; but the Independents or Congregationalists confide them to a general meeting of all the male members of the church, or to the officers and the whole brotherhood assembled in a church meeting. From this latter principle it is that the Independents are called Congregationalists. And as in modern times they admit of a connexion or confederation of sister churches, which in some measure bounds and limits the independence of the individual churches, they have discarded the name of Independents.—*Mur.*

[3] In the year 1616, Mr. Jacob, who had adopted the religious sentiments of Robinson, set up the first Independent or Congregational church in England.—*Macl.*

[4] Neal, *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 107, 391, 393, vol. iii. p. 141, 145, 276, 303, 537, 549; Böhm's *Englische Reformationshistorie*, book vi. chap. iv. p. 794. [A part of Mr. Robinson's congregation at Leyden removed to Plymouth in New England, in the year 1620. And during the reign of Charles I. and down even to the end of the century, great numbers of the English Independents removed to New England and there formed flourishing colonies; so that New England, for about two centuries, has contained more Independents or Congregationalists than Old England. —*Mur.*

the reign of Cromwell, who for various reasons was its greatest patron, it was everywhere in the highest reputation; but on the restoration of the English monarchy under Charles II. it began to decline greatly, and gradually sank into its former obscurity. At the present day it exists indeed but is timid and depressed; and in the reign of William III. A.D. 1691, it was induced by its weakness to enter into a coalition (yet without giving up its own regulations) with the Presbyterians resident in London and the vicinity.[1]

22. While Oliver Cromwell administered the government of Great Britain, all sects, even the vilest and most absurd, had full liberty to publish their opinions; the bishops alone and the friends of episcopal government were most unjustly oppressed and stripped of all their revenues and honours. By far the most numerous and influential of all were the Presbyterians and the Independents, the latter of whom were most favoured and extolled by Cromwell (who however actually belonged to no sect), and manifestly for the sake of curbing more easily the Presbyterians, who sought to acquire ascendancy.[2] In this period arose

[1] From this time onward they were called United Brethren. See Toland's letter, in Le Clerc's *Biblioth. Universelle et Historique*, tome xxiii. p. 506. [It must not be supposed that the distinction between Presbyterians and Congregationalists ceased in England from the year 1691, or that both have ever since formed but one sect. They still exist as distinct yet friendly sects. Being agreed in doctrines and anxious to hold communion with each other, notwithstanding their different modes of church government, they adopted these articles of agreement and consent, in which each sect endeavoured to come as near to the other as their different principles would admit. Moreover, these articles with very slight alterations were adopted by the Elders and Messengers of the churches of Connecticut, assembled at Saybrook in the year 1708; and they now form a part of what is called the Saybrook Platform or the ancient ecclesiastical constitution of Connecticut. See Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*, vol. i. p. 510, 513, 514. The Articles themselves may be seen in Toulmin's *History of Dissenters*, vol. ii. p. 130, &c. and in the *Saybrook Platform*, p. 99, &c.—*Mur.*] William Whiston published the articles of agreement in the *Memoirs of his Life and Writings*, vol. ii. p. 549, &c. They are nine in number. Article I. treats "of Churches and Church Members." Here, in sec. vi. the Presbyterians and Independents declare, "that each particular church hath right to choose their own officers, and hath authority from Christ for exercising government and of enjoying all the ordinances of worship within itself;" and sec. vii. that "in the administration of church power, it belongs to the pastors and other elders of every particular church (if such there be) to rule and govern, and to the brotherhood to consent according to the rule of the Gospel." Here both the Presbyterians and the Independents depart from their original principles. Article II. treats "of the Ministry," which they acknowledge to be an institution of Christ. They require the ministers of religion not only to be pious (sec. ii.) but also learned; and (sec. iii. iv. v.) would have them be elected by the church with the advice of the neighbouring churches, and also solemnly ordained. Article III. "of Censures," decrees that scandalous or offending members be first admonished, and if they do not reform, be excluded from the church by the pastors, but with the consent of the brethren. Article IV. "of Communion of Churches," declares all churches to be on a perfect equality and therefore independent, yet makes it the duty of the pastors and teachers to maintain a kind of communion of churches, and often to meet together and consult on the interests of the churches. Article V. "of Deacons and Ruling Elders." Here the United Brethren admit that the office of Deacon or curator of the poor is of divine appointment, and say: "Whereas divers are of opinion that there is also the office of Ruling Elders, who labour not in word and doctrine, and others think otherwise, we agree that this difference make no breach among us." Article VI. "of Synods," admits that it is useful and necessary in cases of importance, for the ministers of many churches to hold a council; and that the decisions formed in these conventions must not be rejected by the churches without the most weighty reasons. Article VII. "of our demeanour towards the civil Magistrate," promises obedience to magistrates and prayers for them. Article VIII. treats "of a Confession of Faith," and leaves the brethren free to judge whether the Thirty-nine Articles of the English church, or the Confession and Catechism of the Westminster assembly, that is, of the Presbyterians, or lastly, the Confession of the Congregational Brethren published by the convention at the Savoy in 1658, be most agreeable to the Holy Scriptures. [Their words are: "As to what appertains to soundness of judgment in matters of faith, we esteem it sufficient that a church acknowledge the Scriptures to be the word of God, the perfect and only rule of faith and practice; and own either the doctrinal part of those commonly called the Articles of the church of England or the Confession or Catechism, shorter or larger, compiled by the assembly at Westminster, or the Confession agreed on at the Savoy, to be agreeable to the said rule."—*Mur.*] Article IX. "of our duty and deportment towards them that are not in communion with us," inculcates only love and moderation towards them. It hence appears that the Independents, induced by necessity, approached in many points towards the opinions of the Presbyterians, and departed from the principles of their ancestors. [As respects union and communion of churches, their mutual accountability, and perhaps also the powers and prerogatives of church officers, there was some change in the views of the Independents of England and also in America. But the English Presbyterians also softened considerably the rigours of Presbyterianism, as it was introduced and set up among them by the Scotch. This coalition of the two denominations tended to abate the zeal of both in maintaining the *jus divinum* of their respective systems of church government. For a considerable time, the Presbyterian and Congregational ministers in and near London continued to hold meetings for mutual consultation, and for regulating the licensing of candidates. And in some other counties of England similar united meetings were held. But ere long they were dropped, and the two denominations, though on friendly terms with each other, manage respectively their own ecclesiastical affairs in their own way.—*Mur.*

[2] Mosheim's account of the Presbyterians is quite too meagre for those who are expected to read this translation of his work. It is therefore deemed necessary to introduce here a summary history, first of the Scottish church and then of the English Presbyterians, during this century [and of the Irish Presbyterians.—*R.*]

THE SCOTTISH CHURCH.—From his first arrival in England in 1603, king James set himself to undermine Presbyterianism in Scotland, and to establish Episcopacy on its ruins. For this purpose, he not only spoke contemptuously of the Presbyterians as being insolent men and enemies to regal power, but actually nominated bishops to the thirteen Scottish bishoprics; and in 1606 obtained from the parliament of Perth an act declaring the king to have sovereign authority over all estates, persons, and causes whatsoever, in Scotland; and also an act restoring to the bishops their ancient possessions, which had been annexed to the crown. This made the new bishops peers of the realm. The General Assembly protested. But in 1608 a convention claiming to be a General Assembly declared the bishops perpetual moderators of all the Synods and Presbyteries. Another convention however was then sitting in opposition to this, and committees from both attempted a compromise. The bishops carried their point in 1609, and the next year the king, contrary to law, authorized them to hold High Commission Courts. In the same

the Fifth-Monarchy-men, as they were called, delirious persons who would have turned the world upside down. They taught that Jesus Christ would personally

year (1610), a corrupt assembly was held at Glasgow, which sanctioned the right of the bishops to preside personally or by their representatives in all the judicatories of the church, in all cases of discipline, ordination, and deprivation of ministers, visitation of churches, &c. All ministers at their ordination were to swear obedience to their ordinary, and all clergymen were forbidden to preach or to speak against the acts of this assembly, or to touch at all the subject of the parity of ministers. Three Scottish bishops (Spotswood, Lamb, and Hamilton) were now sent to England, there to receive episcopal consecration, and on their return they consecrated the rest. In 1617, king James made a journey into Scotland chiefly to further the cause of Episcopacy, which was advancing but slowly. The next year (1618) a convention or General Assembly, composed very much of courtiers, met at Perth and ordained kneeling at the sacrament, the administration of it in private houses and to the sick, the private baptism of children, their confirmation by bishops, and the observance of Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and Ascension Day. These were called the Five Articles of Perth. They were published by royal authority, and in 1621 a Scottish parliament was persuaded, though not without difficulty, to enact them into laws, against the remonstrances of great numbers of the clergy. Persecution ensued and many ministers were fined, imprisoned, and banished, by the High Commission Court. During this reign, many Scotch Presbyterians moved to the North of Ireland, and there established flourishing churches. [See the latter part of this note. —*R.*] Charles I. followed up the measures pursued by his father. In 1633 he went to Scotland to be crowned, and there compelled a Scottish parliament to invest him with all the ecclesiastical powers possessed by his father, and also to confirm the laws of the last reign respecting religion. On leaving Scotland, he erected a new bishopric at Edinburgh. And Archbishop Laud drew up articles for regulating the royal chapel at Edinburgh, which was to be a pattern for all cathedrals, chapels, and parish churches. Hitherto the Scotch Episcopal church had no settled liturgy; the king therefore ordered the Scotch bishops to draw up canons and a liturgy, similar to those of the English church. These, being revised by Laud and other English bishops, were imposed upon the whole Scottish nation by royal proclamation, the canons in 1635 and the liturgy in 1636. The attempts of the bishops to enforce these, without the sanction of a General Assembly or of a Scottish parliament, threw the whole nation into commotion. The nobles, gentry, burroughs, and clergy, combined to resist these innovations, and in 1638 they solemnly revived the national covenant of 1580 and 1590. Hence the king found it necessary to relax not a little his injunctions, and he now permitted a General Assembly to be called. But his commissioners, finding this body unmanageable, dissolved it. The Assembly however would not separate, but protested; and continuing their sessions, they disannulled the acts of six preceding General Assemblies (namely, those of 1606, 1608, 1610, 1616, 1617, and 1618), abolished Episcopacy, condemned the five articles of Perth, the liturgy, canons, and high commission court, restored the Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies, and deposed all the bishops save two, whom they allowed to remain as parish ministers. The king now resorted to war, and marched an army into Scotland in 1639. But a truce was concluded, and a new Assembly and a new parliament both met and confirmed substantially the acts of the last Assembly. In 1640 the king raised another army, and renewed the war upon the Scots; but he found it necessary to agree again to a truce, and also to assemble an English parliament, which was called the long parliament because it sat twelve years, and which favoured the Scots in their controversy with the king. His English subjects were now alienated from him; and to be able to contend with the English malcontents, the king concluded a peace with the Scots, by which he agreed to the total abolition of Episcopacy and the entire restitution of Presbyterianism in that country. The peace however was of little service to him, as the English parliament and the Scots were on the most friendly terms. In 1642 the Scots offered to be mediators between the king and the English parliament, which the king resented highly. This drew closer the union between the Scots and the English parliament. The Scots now formed the design of establishing Presbyterianism as the only religion throughout Great Britain and Ireland. To this project the English parliament, in order to secure the co-operation of the Scots in their war with the king, were led to yield assent. Commissioners from the General Assembly of Scotland were now admitted to sit in the Westminster Assembly of divines, and the Scots had great influence in all the ecclesiastical affairs of England till the time of Cromwell's usurpation. At their instance in 1643, the English parliament assented to the Scotch national Covenant somewhat modified, and now denominated the Solemn League and Covenant, which the parliament recommended and at length enjoined upon the whole English nation. The Scots strenuously opposed all toleration of any but Presbyterians in either country. This alienated the Independents, Baptists, and other sectarians from them, and the English parliament found it necessary to proceed with caution. In 1646 the king surrendered himself to the Scots, and they delivered him over to the English parliament, hoping thus to induce them resolutely to enforce Presbyterianism over the three kingdoms. But the parliament were so irresolute that the Scots became jealous of them. After Charles I. was beheaded in 1649, the Scots proclaimed Charles II. king, and declared against the English Commonwealth. In 1649 they entered into negotiations with the new king in Holland, who then professedly acceded to the National Covenant. The next year the king landed in Scotland, but his army was defeated by Cromwell. In 1651 Charles II. was crowned in Scotland, and then swore to observe the Solemn League and Covenant. After this he marched an army into England, suffered a total defeat, and fled in disguise to France. General Monk, whom Cromwell had left in Scotland, soon brought that whole country to submit and to become united with the Commonwealth of England, and also to allow a free toleration to which the Presbyterians were much opposed. Commissioners were now sent into Scotland by the English parliament, to establish liberty of conscience there. Thus things remained till the Restoration. Presbyterianism was the established religion of Scotland, but dissenters were allowed to live in peace and to worship in their own way. At the Restoration in 1661, a Scottish parliament rescinded all acts and covenants relative to religion made or entered into since the commencement of the civil troubles, and empowered the king to settle the ecclesiastical establishment at his pleasure. He ordained Presbyterianism for the present, but soon after, though with some hesitation, ordered Episcopacy in its place. Sharp, Fairfoul, Leighton, and Hamilton, were consecrated bishops. Under Charles II. from 1662 to 1685, the Scotch Presbyterians suffered very much, as the English Non-conformists did; for similar laws and measures were adopted in both countries. James II. pursued the same persecuting course till the year 1687, when in order to advance popery, he granted universal toleration. On the Revolution in 1688, the Scotch Presbyterian church regained all its liberties and prerogatives, which it has enjoyed with little diminution till the present day. But the troubles it experienced during the reigns of James I. and his sons had induced many Scotch Presbyterians to emigrate to the North of Ireland, to North America, and elsewhere. See Neal's *History of the Puritans;* Crookshank's *History of the State and Sufferings of the Church of Scotland;* Burnet's *History of his Own Times;* Spotswood, and others.—*Mur.* [For the early part of this century, see Calderwood's *History of the Church of Scotland*, vols. vi. and vii. Wodrow edition, ending at the year 1625; Row's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, which comes down to the year 1639, Wodrow edition, Edin. 1842; M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*, 2d edit. Edin. 1824, 2 vols. 8vo; Cook's *History of the Church of Scotland*, Edin. 1815, 3 vols. 8vo; the second and third volumes comprise the history from 1592 to the Revolution. In addition to these works, there are a number of diaries and autobiographies of eminent ministers during this century, as James Melville, Blair,

Livingston, Guthrie, &c. which illustrate the course of events. But no publication throws so much light on the most stirring portion of this troubled period as the *Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, principal of the University of Glasgow, extending from 1637 to 1662. They were first published in an imperfect manner in 1775, in 2 vols. 8vo; but they have been at length printed entire under the able editorship of David Laing, Esq. in 3 vols. small folio, Edin. 1841, 42. The general history of Scotland during this period by Malcolm Laing, and of Britain by Mr. Brodie, should also be consulted. A life of Alexander Henderson, one of the leading Presbyterian ministers from 1636 to his death in 1646, was published some years ago in one large volume, 8vo, by the Rev. J. Aiton; but it has added little to our knowledge of this period. For the latter part of this century, See Beattie's *History of the Church of Scotland during the Commonwealth*, 12mo, Edin. 1842; but the most authentic source of information is Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution*, originally published in 2 vols. folio, 1721, 22, but reprinted, with notes by the Rev. Dr. Burns, in 4 vols. 8vo, Glas. 1829, 30. The Episcopalian view of this period may be seen in Russell's *History of the Church in Scotland*, 2 vols. 12mo, Lond. 1834; Lawson's *History of the Episcopal Church in Scotland to the Revolution*, Edin. 1844; or Stevens' *History of the Church of Scotland*, 4 vols. 8vo, 1843, 45.—*R.*

THE ENGLISH PRESBYTERIANS.—Most of the early English Puritans, from their intercourse with the foreign Reformed churches who were all Presbyterians, were more or less attached to Presbyterian forms of worship and church government. But as the English bishops, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, generally admitted the validity of foreign or Presbyterian ordination, while the Puritans or Presbyterians on the other hand, admitted the validity of ordination by bishops and the lawfulness of bishops of some sort, hence the principal difficulty of the English Puritans or Presbyterians in those times related to the rites of worship. (Neal, *Hist. of Puritans*, vol. i. p. 386.) In the year 1572, several of the more strenuous Puritans, despairing of any farther reformation of the English church by public authority, proceeded secretly to organize the first Presbyterian church in England, at Wandsworth five miles from London. This church, though persecuted, continued to exist, and others were formed on the model of it. But the greater part of the clergy, who were inclined to Presbyterian views, remained in connexion with the established church and bore the general appellation of Puritans. Many of them, however, kept up voluntary meetings among themselves for mutual advice and counsel, in a kind of presbyteries and synods. In the year 1586, there were more than five hundred such ministers in England. How long and how extensively these informal and voluntary meetings were maintained, it is difficult to say. But this is certain, that although persecution induced great numbers to remove to America, Ireland, and elsewhere, yet the number of Presbyterians who remained under the general appellation of Puritans was very considerable, and it greatly increased during the reigns of James I. and Charles I. prior to the year 1642, when Episcopacy was abolished by act of parliament. In 1643, the English parliament selected 121 of the ablest divines of England with 30 lay assessors, whom they commanded to meet at Westminster and aid them by their counsel in settling the government, worship, and doctrines of the church of England. This was the famous Westminster Assembly of divines, which continued to meet and to discuss such subjects as the parliament submitted to their consideration, during several years. They were men of different sentiments, Presbyterians, Erastians, and Independents, with some moderate Episcopalians; but a great majority were Presbyterians. Besides, not long after this assembly met, the General Assembly of the Scottish church, at the request of the English parliament, sent four commissioners to this body, on condition that the whole Westminster Assembly and the parliament would take the Solemn League and Covenant, and agree to establish one uniform religion throughout the three kingdoms. The parliament reluctantly assented to the condition, for the sake of securing the co-operation of the Scots in their political designs. Before the Scottish commissioners arrived, the Westminster Assembly commenced revising the Thirty-nine Articles, and went over the first fifteen making some slight alterations. After the arrival of the Scotch commissioners and the adoption of the Solemn League and Covenant in Feb. 1644, the Assembly by order of parliament drew up an Exhortation to the people of England to assent to the Solemn League. The November following, they were ordered to write a circular letter to the foreign Reformed churches, acquainting them with the proceedings in England. Through this Assembly, the parliament licensed preachers and directed all ecclesiastical affairs. They next drew up a Directory for public worship, which was sanctioned by the parliament in January, 1645. The same year they drew up a Directory for the ordination of ministers, and a Directory for church discipline and government. After warm debate, the majority of the Assembly declared for Presbyterianism as of divine institution; but the parliament voted for it only as "lawful and agreeable to the word of God." The Assembly also put the supreme ecclesiastical power wholly into the hands of the church judicatories, but the parliament imposed restrictions, and to the great dissatisfaction of the Scots and most of the English Presbyterians, allowed an appeal from the highest ecclesiastical judicatory to the parliament. In March, 1646, parliament ordered ruling elders to be chosen in all the churches of England, and also the erection of Presbyteries, Synods, and a General Asembly, for a trial of the system. The Scotch church objected to several imperfections in the Presbyterianism thus established by the English parliament, and particularly to the right of appeal in the last resort from the ecclesiastical court to the parliament, and the English Presbyterians and the Westminster Assembly sided with the Scotch. In May 1646, the king being now in the hands of the Scots, the English Presbyterians determined to enforce Presbyterianism *jure divino* on all England, and to allow no toleration of dissenters. For this purpose they caused a strong remonstrance to be presented to the parliament in the name of the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of London; and they were supported by the whole weight of the Scottish nation. On the contrary, the Independents and other sectarians in the army procured a counter petition from numerous citizens of London. The Commons were divided in sentiment and at a loss how to proceed. To gain time, they demanded of the Westminster Assembly Scripture proofs for that *jus divinum* in church government which they had maintained. It may be remarked that from 1641 to 1647 the Independents, who were rapidly increasing in number, uniformly pleaded for the free toleration of all sects holding the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. And the parliament was not unwilling to admit toleration, at least of the Independents, but the Presbyterians were utterly opposed to it; and their influence prevented the parliament from pursuing the course they would have done. It was this circumstance which alienated the Independents and the army from Presbyterianism and from the parliament, and finally led to the subversion of the whole Presbyterian establishment set up in England. The demand of the House of Commons for Scriptural proof of the divine authority of Presbyterianism, produced long and warm debates in the Westminster Assembly. The Erastians and Independents at length protested and withdrew. The Presbyterians, fifty-three in number, now left alone, voted with but one dissenting voice that "Christ has appointed a church government distinct from the civil magistrate." On the other points referred to them they were afraid to report their views lest the parliament should put them under a præmunire. But the Presbyterian divines of London met at Zion College, answered fully the questions of the House of Commons, and maintained in strong terms the *jus divinum* of Presbyterianism. Yet in a second meeting they lowered their tone somewhat, and agreed to set up the limited Presbyterianism already sanctioned by the parliament. This consisted of parochial presbyteries (or church sessions), classes (or presbyteries), provincial assemblies (or synods), and a national assembly, with an appeal to the parliament in the last resort. The province of London was now distributed into twelve classes, containing one hundred and thirty-eight parochial presbyteries. The next year (1647) provincial assemblies (synods) actually met in London and in Lancashire, and in those counties only, under the act of parliament. The provincial assembly of London continued to meet semi-annually till the end of Cromwell's reign. In the other parts of England the Presbyterians continued to meet in their voluntary conventions for ecclesiastical affairs, which

had not the sanction of law. The king, though a prisoner, refused his assent to this new ecclesiastical constitution of England. At the same time, he tried to detach the Scots from the English by promising them Presbyterianism for Scotland with Episcopacy for England. But they rejected his offers, hoping still to bless England as well as Scotland with Presbyterianism *jure divino*. He also tried to gain over the Independents by promising them free toleration, but they would not accept it for themselves alone. The country now swarmed with sectarians, and with numerous lay preachers of every description. Thomas Edwards, in his *Gangræna*, mentions sixteen sects; namely, Independents, Brownists, Millenaries, Antinomians, Anabaptists, Arminians, Libertines, Familists, Enthusiasts, Seekers, Perfectionists, Socinians, Arians, Antitrinitarians, Antiscripturists, and Sceptics. Mr. Baxter mentions the Independents, Anabaptists, and Antinomians as being the chief separatists from the established or Presbyterian church; to whom he adds Seekers, Ranters, Behemists, and Varists, which either became extinct or were merged in the Quakers. The English divines would have been satisfied with revising the Thirty-nine Articles, and therefore commenced such a revision. But the Scotch divines insisted on a new Confession. Hence the Westminster Assembly, after the arrival of the Scotch commissioners, drew up their elaborate Confession, which the House of Commons approved with some amendments in the summer of 1647 and the winter following. But the House of Lords objecting to the articles on church government, only the doctrinal part of the Confession obtained parliamentary sanction in the year 1648. The Scotch nation adopted the Confession as drawn up by the Assembly. The Assembly's Shorter Catechism was presented to parliament in 1647, and the Larger Catechism in 1648. Both were allowed to be used by authority of the English parliament. The Scotch commissioners in the Assembly now returned home; but the Assembly was continued as a sort of counsel to parliament, yet it did little else than license preachers. The army being composed chiefly of dissenters from the establishment of various descriptions, upon finding that no toleration of dissenters was allowed by the new ecclesiastical constitution, demanded of the parliament free toleration for all Protestant dissenters. This the Presbyterians vigorously opposed, and the parliament endeavoured to disband the army. But the army now rescued the king from the hands of the parliament, and became peremptory in their demands. Pressed by the Presbyterians on the one hand and by the army on the other, parliament wavered for a time, but at length fell under the control of the army, and not only allowed of dissent from the establishment but also made no vigorous efforts to set up Presbyterianism. But in May, 1648, the Scots, having made a separate treaty with the king, invaded England in order to rescue him. The war obliged the army to march in various directions, and the Presbyterians seized the opportunity in the parliament to enforce Presbyterianism. An act was proposed declaring eight specified heresies to be capital crimes, and sixteen others to be punishable with unlimited imprisonment. The act was not passed. But in June following another did pass, placing "all parishes and places whatsoever in England and Wales," except chapels of the king and peers, under the Presbyterian government, with allowance of no other worship, yet without making it penal to neglect this worship. The parliament likewise commenced a negotiation with the king for his restoration, upon the basis of a single religion with no toleration of any other. The king insisted on Episcopacy of some sort, and the parliament insisted on Presbyterianism. The army, after repelling the Scotch invasion, finding that neither the king nor the parliament intended ever to allow toleration to sectaries, again seized the king's person, and marching to London purged the House of Commons, new-modelled the government, and caused the king to be impeached and beheaded. The Commonwealth, without a king or a House of Lords, was now set up. But the Scots refused to acknowledge it, recognised Charles II. for their king, and threatened war upon England. The English Presbyterians sided with their Scottish brethren, disowned the parliament, and declared against a general toleration. All people were now required to swear fidelity to the new government, which many of the Presbyterian clergy refusing to do, were turned out. However, to conciliate the Presbyterians, the parliament continued the late Presbyterian establishment, but repealed all acts compelling uniformity. The Scots, aided by the English Presbyterians, invaded England in order to place Charles II. on the throne; but they were vanquished, and all Scotland was compelled to submit to the parliament, and moreover to allow of toleration in their own country. The Solemn League and Covenant was laid aside, and nothing but the Engagement (or oath of allegiance to government) was required of any man to qualify him civilly for any living in the kingdom. Hence many Episcopal divines, as well as those of other denominations, became parish ministers. In the year 1653, the army being offended with the parliament (which had now sat 12 years, and during the last four had ruled without a king or House of Lords) ordered them to disperse; and Cromwell with the other officers appointed a new council of state, and selected 140 men from the several counties to represent the people. After five months these new representatives resigned their power to Cromwell and the other officers, who framed a new constitution, with a single house of representatives chosen in the three kingdoms, and a Protector with ample executive powers elected for life. All sects of Christians, except papists and Episcopalians, were to have free toleration. Cromwell the Protector laboured to make persons of all religions feel easy under him; but he absolutely forbade the clergy's meddling with politics. Ministers of different denominations in the country towns now began to form associations for brotherly counsel and advice. But the more rigid Presbyterians, as well as the Episcopalians, stood aloof from such associations. The right of ordaining parish ministers had for some years been exclusively in the hands of the Presbyterians; but Cromwell, in March, 1654, appointed a board of thirty Tryers, composed of Presbyterians and Independents with two or three Baptists, to examine and license preachers throughout England. The same year he appointed lay commissioners in every county, with full power to eject scandalous, ignorant, and incompetent ministers and schoolmasters. Both these ordinances were confirmed by parliament. Such was the state of the English Presbyterians during the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell. On the accession of his son, Richard Cromwell the Presbyterians, seeing no prospect of the restoration of the Solemn League and Covenant, or of their obtaining ecclesiastical dominion over England under the existing form of government, formed a coalition with the royalists in 1659 in order to restore the king. The remains of the long parliament were resuscitated and placed over the nation. The members excluded from it in 1648 were recalled and took their seats, and thus it became more than half Presbyterian. This parliament in 1660 voted that the concessions offered by the king in the negotiations at the Isle of Wight in 1648 were satisfactory, restored Presbyterianism completely together with the solemn League and Covenant, appointed a new council of state, ordered that a new parliament should be chosen, and then dissolved. The Presbyterians, who now had the whole power of the country in their own hands, were so zealous to prevent the election of republicans to the new parliament, that when it met it was decidedly in favour of a monarchy. Parliament now recalled the king, without making any stipulations with him respecting the religion of the country. He very soon restored episcopacy, and then would grant no toleration to any class of dissenters. The Presbyterians, who had the most to lose, were the greatest sufferers. Some hundreds of their ministers were immediately displaced to make way for the old Episcopalian incumbents. And in 1662, the Act of Uniformity made it criminal to dissent from the established or Episcopal church; and of course it exposed all dissenters to persecution. A number of the Presbyterian ministers conformed in order to retain their places, but more than 2,000 ministers, most of them Presbyterians, were turned out. And during this and the succeeding reign, or till the accession of William and Mary in 1688, the Presbyterians equally with the other dissenters suffered persecution. For though the kings, after the year 1672, were inclined to give toleration to all in order to advance popery, yet parliament and the bishops resisted it. When the revolution in 1688 placed a tolerant sovereign on the throne, and thus relieved the English Presbyterians from persecution, they were comparatively an enfeebled sect; and being no longer strenuous for the Solemn League and Covenant and for the *jus divinum* of Presbyterianism, they were willing to have friendly inter-

descend and establish a new and heavenly kingdom on the earth.[1] Here arose the Quakers, to whom, as they have continued to the present time, we shall devote a separate chapter. Here the furious Anabaptists were allowed to utter freely whatever a disordered mind might suggest.[2]

Here the Deists, who reduced all religion to a very few precepts inculcated by reason and the light of nature, gathered themselves a company with impunity, under their leaders Sidney, Henry Neville, Martin, Harrington, and others.[3]

23. During this period also arose among the Presbyterians the party called Antinomians, or enemies of the law as they are called by their adversaries, which has continued to our day and has caused at times no little commotion. The Antinomians are over-rigid Calvinists, who are thought by the other Presbyterians to abuse Calvin's doctrine of the absolute decrees of God to the injury of the cause of piety.[4] Some of them (for they do not all hold the same sentiments) deny that it is necessary for ministers to exhort Christians to holiness and obedience to the law, because those whom God from all eternity elected to salvation will themselves, and without being admonished and exhorted by any one, by a divine influence or the impulse of Almighty grace, perform holy and good deeds; while those who are destined by the divine decrees to eternal punishment, though admonished and entreated ever so much, will not obey the law, nor can they obey the divine law since divine grace is denied them; and it is therefore sufficient in preaching to the people to hold up only the Gospel and faith in Jesus Christ. But others merely[5] hold that the elect, because they cannot lose the divine favour, do not truly commit sin and break the divine law, although they should go contrary to its precepts and do wicked actions, and therefore it is not necessary that they should confess their sins or grieve for them; that adultery, for instance, in one of the elect appears to us indeed to be a sin or a violation of the law, yet it is no sin in the sight of God, because one who is elected to salvation can do nothing displeasing to God and forbidden by the law.[6]

course and fellowship with Independents, and soon became as catholic in their views as most of the other English dissenters. See Heylin's *History of the Presbyterians*, Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, Bogue and Bennet's *Hist. of Dissenters*, Baxter's *Hist. of His Own Times*, Burnet's *Hist. of His Own Times*, Grant's *Hist. of the English Church and Sects*, and others.—*Mur.* [More recent works on the history of the Independents during this period are Hanbury's *Historical Memorials relating to the Independents or Congregationalists from their Rise to the Restoration*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1839, 41. A third volume of this elaborate and useful work is promised. Fletcher's *History of the Revival and Progress of Independency in England since the Reformation*, 3 volumes, 12mo, 1846, 48; Calamy's *Nonconformists' Memorial*, by Palmer, 3 vols. 8vo, 1802; and Sylvester's *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, fol. 1696, being Baxter's autobiography. See also Orme's *Lives of Owen and Baxter*, prefixed to his edition of their respective works.—*R.*

The IRISH PRESBYTERIANS may be briefly noticed here. They settled in Ulster in the commencement of this century, and consisted principally of colonists and of exiles on account of religion from Scotland and England, as stated in the preceding part of this note. They were generally accompanied by their ministers, who officiated in the parish churches and were comprehended within the Establishment till the year 1634, when the enactment of a book of canons and the substitution of the Thirty-nine Articles of the church of England for the Irish Articles of 1613, at the suggestion of Laud and under the arbitrary rule of Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, afforded the northern prelates the means of ejecting and silencing the Presbyterian ministers. Severe measures were now employed against them, until the overthrow of Strafford in 1640 afforded them relief from persecution. After the rebellion of 1641 they enjoyed greater freedom, and the Presbyterian church was regularly organized throughout Ulster and in some other parts of Ireland. As a body, the Irish Presbyterians sided with the Long Parliament in their struggles against the ill-advised Charles; but they loudly protested against his execution in a Declaration which brought down upon them a severe attack from the caustic pen of Milton. Under the patronage of Cromwell, the Independents were now introduced into Ireland, and succeeded in organizing churches in several of the principal towns, whose ministers, together with a few of the Presbyterian and Episcopal clergy, were salaried by the Commonwealth. At the Restoration of Charles II. all the Protestant Nonconformists were proscribed and persecuted equally in Ireland, though not so rigorously as in England or Scotland; the Independents were able to maintain only one or two churches in Dublin; but the Presbyterians succeeded in holding their ground in Ulster; in 1672, in consideration of their sufferings for the royal cause under Cromwell, they received for a few years an annual grant of money from the crown; and at the Revolution, which was consummated by the heroic defence of Derry garrisoned principally by Presbyterians, the number of their congregations amounted to nearly one hundred, under the oversight of five presbyteries and a General Synod. During this period the Presbyterian church in Ireland was, in all essential respects, identical with the national Presbyterian church of Scotland; the ministers officiated and held charges equally in either church, the same modes of worship and discipline were observed, and the same confession of faith and catechisms constituted the common standard of doctrinal teaching in both churches. See Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, 2 vols. 8vo.—*R.*

[1] Burnet's *Hist. of His Own Times*, vol. i. p. 67. [Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. iv. chap. v. p. 113, 343, &c.—*Mur.*

[2] Mosheim seems to have taken it for granted that the English Baptists of this age, because they were called Anabaptists, resembled the old Anabaptists of Germany, whereas they were Mennonites; and although illiterate and somewhat enthusiastic, they were people in whom was not a little Christian simplicity and piety. —*Mur.*

[3] Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 87.

[4] See Toland's *Letter to Le Clerc*, in the *Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique* of the latter, tome xxiii. p. 505, &c.; Hornbeck's *Summa Controversiarum*, p. 800, 812, &c.

[5] This second Antinomian opinion is so much worse than the preceding, that it is strange Mosheim should say of it, "Alii vero tantum statuunt," others "*merely* hold."—*Mur.*

[6] Other tenets of the Antinomians kindred with this, and the more recent disputes occasioned by the posthumous works of Tobias Crisp (a distinguished Antinomian preacher), in which Tillotson, Baxter, and especially Daniel Williams (in his celebrated work, *Gospel Truth Stated and Vindicated*), vigorously assailed the Antinomians, are stated though with some errors

24. Certain wise and peace-loving persons, moved by the numerous calamities and sufferings of their country arising from the intemperate religious disputes, felt it to be their duty to search for a method of uniting in some measure such of the contending parties as would regard reason and religion, or at least of dissuading them from ruinous contentions. They therefore took middle ground between the more violent Episcopalians on the one part and the more stiff Presbyterians and Independents on the other, hoping that if the contentions of these could be settled, the minor parties would fall by their own arms. The contests of the former related partly to the forms of church government and public worship, and partly to certain doctrines, particularly those on which the Reformed and the Arminians were at variance. To bring both classes of contests to a close, these mediators laboured to bring the disputants off from those narrow views which they had embraced, and to exhibit a broader way of salvation. And hence they were commonly called Latitudinarians.[1] In the first place, they were attached to the form of church government and the mode of public worship established by the laws of England, and they recommended them exclusively to others, yet they would not have it believed that these were of divine institution and absolutely necessary. And hence they inferred, that those who approved other forms of church government and other modes of worship were to be tolerated and treated as brethren, unless they were chargeable with other faults. In the next place, as to religion they chose Simon Episcopius for their guide, and in imitation of him maintained that there are but few things which a Christian must know and believe in order to be saved. Hence it followed that neither the Episcopalians who embraced the sentiments of the Arminians, nor the Presbyterians and Independents who adopted the sentiments of the Genevans, had just reason for contending with so much zeal and animosity; because their disputes related to unessential points which might be explained variously without the loss of salvation. The most distinguished of the Latitudinarians were the eminent John Hales and William Chillingworth, whose names are still in veneration among the English.[2] With them were joined Henry More, Ralph Cudworth, Theophilus Gale, John Whitchcot, archbishop Tillotson, and various others. The first reward of their labours which these men received was, to be called Atheists, Deists, and Socinians, not only by the papists but also by the English dissentients. But on the restoration of English monarchy under Charles II. they were advanced to the highest stations, and received general approbation. And it is well known that the English church at the present day [1753] is under the direction, for the most part, of such Latitudinarians. Yet there are some among the bishops and the other clergy, who, following rather in the steps of Laud, are denominated the High Church and Ecclesiastical Tories.[3]

25. When Charles was restored to the throne of his father in 1660, the ancient form of ecclesiastical government and public worship returned also from exile, and the bishops recovered their lost dignities. Those who preferred other forms or the Nonconformists, as they were called in England, expected that some place would be assigned to them in the church, but their hopes were quickly disappointed. For Charles again placed bishops over the Scots who were so religiously attached to the Genevan discipline, and likewise over the Irish. And afterwards in the year 1662, all those who refused to subject themselves to the rites and institutions of the English church were by a public law separated wholly from its communion.[4] From this

by Peter Francis le Courayer, *Examen des Défauts Théologiques*, tome ii. p. 198, &c. Amsterd. 1744, 8vo. [See also Bogue and Bennet's *Hist. of Dissenters*, vol. i. p. 399, &c. and Adams' *Dictionary of All Religions*, art. *Antinomians*. One of the chief sources of Antinomian opinions was, the received doctrine of substitution. If Christ took the place of the elect and in their stead both obeyed the law perfectly and suffered its penalty, it was difficult for some to see what further demands the law could have upon them, or what more they had to do with it.—*Mur.*

[1] Burnet's *History of his Own Times*, book ii. vol. i. p. 186, &c.

[2] An accurately written life of the very acute John Hales was published in English by Peter des Maizeaux, London, 1719, 8vo. A more full history of the life of Hales we have ourselves prefixed in Latin to his *History of the Synod of Dort*, Hamb. 1724, 8vo. A French life of him, but not entirely correct, is in the first volume of Chillingworth's book, immediately to be noticed, p. lxxiii. &c.—A life of Chillingworth in English was composed by the same Des Maizeaux, and published, London, 1725, 8vo. A French translation of it is prefixed to the French version of his very noted work, *The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way of Salvation*, printed at Amsterdam, 1730, in 3 vols, 8vo. Those who wish to know the regulations, doctrines, and views of the Church of England in later times should acquaint themselves with these two men, and in particular should carefully study the above-named work of Chillingworth.

[3] Rapin, *Dissertation on the Whigs and Tories*, in his *History of England* [French edition], vol. x. p. 234.—[See an admirable defence of the Latitudinarian divines, in a book entitled, *The Principles and Practices of certain Moderate Divines of the Church of England* (greatly misunderstood) *truly Represented and Defended*, London, 1670, 8vo. This book was written by Dr. Fowler, afterwards bishop of Gloucester.—*Macl.*

[4] Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 358; Rapin, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, tome ix. p. 198, &c.; Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ*, tom. iv. p. 573. [This was the famous Act of Uniformity, which

period till the time of William and Mary, the Nonconformists experienced various fortune, sometimes more pleasant and sometimes more sad according to the disposition of the court and the government, but at no time were they so happy as not either to feel or to fear persecution.[1] But in the year 1689, William III. by an express act of parliament, freed all dissenters from the established church (except Socinians) from all liability to the penalties to which they were exposed.[2] He also permitted the Scottish nation to live under the Genevan regulations, and delivered them from the jurisdiction of bishops. This therefore may be regarded as the commencement of that liberty and freedom from molestation, which are still enjoyed by the sects that dissent from the public rites of the English church but it was also the commencement of those numerous parties and sects which spring up from year to year in that fortunate island, often as suddenly as mushrooms, and which distract the people with their new inventions and opinions.[3]

26. In the reign of this William III. A.D. 1689, arose a very noted schism in the English Episcopal church, which down to the present time no means have been able to remove. William Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, and seven other bishops,[4] all men distinguished for their learning and purity of morals, declared that they could not in conscience take the oath of fidelity to the new king, William III. because James II. though expelled from the kingdom, was in their view the legitimate king of England. As no arguments could induce them to recede from this opinion, they were deprived of their offices in 1690 by an act of the English parliament, and other bishops were appointed in their places.[5] The bishops who were deposed and turned out of their episcopal dwellings founded a new church in the bosom of the English church, differing from the rest of the church in opinions, in the form of worship, and in other respects.[6] From the cause which produced the disunion, this church was called that of the Non-Jurors, and on account of the opinion which it maintained and continues to maintain respecting the authority of the church, it received the name of High Church, that is, one entertaining very exalted ideas of the prerogatives and authority of the church, to which is opposed the Low Church or that which has more moderate views of the power of the church.[7] The deprived bishops with their friends and fol-

required all clergymen not only to use the liturgy but also to swear to renounce and condemn the Solemn League and Covenant, Presbyterian ordination, and all efforts for changing the present establishment. In consequence of this Act, about 2,000 ministers, chiefly Presbyterians, were turned out of their churches because they could not conform to the law. At the same time, all the old laws against conventicles, neglect of the parish churches, &c. were revived, and these made all Nonconformists liable to civil prosecution.—*Mur.*

[1] Neal treats particularly of these events in the 4th volume of his *History of the Puritans.*

[2] This Act, which is called the Toleration Act, is subjoined to Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. [By it all dissenters from the Church of England, except papists and Anti-Trinitarians, by taking the oath of allegiance and subscribing to the doctrinal part of the Thirty-nine Articles (or if Quakers, making equivalent affirmations), are exempted from all the penalties prescribed by the Acts which enforce uniformity, and are allowed to erect houses of worship, have their own preachers, and to meet and worship according to their own views, provided they do not, when met, lock or bolt their doors. They are not however exempted from tithes, and other payments for the support of the established church; nor are they excused from the oaths required by the Test and Corporation Acts, which exclude Nonconformists from all civil offices.—*Mur.* [These last remnants of an intolerant age, the operation of which had been annually suspended by a Bill of Indemnity, have been swept away by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828. The chief practical grievance of Nonconformists at the present time, is their exclusion from the English Universities.—*R.*

[3] Burnet's *History of His Own Times*, vol. ii. p. 23, &c.

[4] The other Non-Juring bishops were Dr. Lloyd, bishop of Norwich, Dr. Turner of Ely, Dr. Kenn of Bath and Wells, Dr. Frampton of Gloucester, Dr. Thomas of Worcester, Dr. Lake of Chichester, and Dr. White of Peterborough.—*Macl.*

[5] These were Tillotson, Moore, Patrick, Kidder, Fowler, and Cumberland, names which will ever be pronounced with veneration by those who are capable of esteeming solid, well-employed learning and genuine piety, and which will always shine among the brightest ornaments of the church of England.—*Macl.*

[6] The language of Mosheim here would seem to imply, that the Non-Juring bishops produced a formal secession from the established church, and erected a permanent sect which differed in doctrines and in its forms of worship from the church of England. But it was only a temporary disagreement, whether William III. or James II. was the legal sovereign, and of course whether those bishops and priests who were deprived for not taking the oath of allegiance to the former or those who were appointed to fill their places, were the legitimate bishops and parish ministers. Both parties professed the same faith, adhered to the same discipline, and used the same liturgy, except that the Non-Jurors are said to have framed and used a prayer for king James and for their party. It was rather a political than a religious schism, and one which necessarily terminated on the death of the Pretender and of the deprived bishops and clergy. Some principles indeed which were then contended for, continued to be maintained after they became little more than points of theoretical speculation, and the believing or disbelieving of these principles constituted the only difference between the two parties.—*Mur.* [See D'Oyley's *Life of Archbishop Sancroft*, 2 vols. 1821; and Lathbury's *History of the Non-Jurors, their Controversies and Writings*, London, 1845.—*R.*

[7] The name of High Church, that is, of those who have high notions of the church and its power, properly belongs to the Non-Jurors. But it is usual among the English to give it a more extensive application, and to apply it to all those who extol immoderately the authority of the church and declare it exempt from all human power, notwithstanding they do not refuse to swear allegiance to the king. And there are many such even in that church which generally goes under the name of the Low Church. [The Non-Jurors were also called Jacobites from their adherence to James II. and his son the Pretender, in opposition to the reigning sovereign and the house of Hanover. The Scottish bishops, after the year 1688, all adhered to the house of Stuart, and were called Non-Jurors because they refused the oath of allegiance to the reigning sovereign —*Mur.*

lowers contended, that the church is not subject to the civil authority and to parliaments but to God only, and that it has the power of self-government, and consequently that the decree of parliament against them was unjust and a nullity, and that an ecclesiastical council only has power by its decrees to deprive a bishop of his office. The celebrated Henry Dodwell was the first who contended fiercely for these rights and this power of the church. He was followed by several others, and hence arose this perplexing and difficult controversy respecting the church which has not yet closed, and which is renewed with zeal from time to time.[1]

27. The Non-Jurors or High Church, who claimed for themselves the appellation of the Orthodox and called the Low Church the Schismatical, differed from the rest of the Episcopal church in several particulars and regulations, but especially in the following sentiments:—I. That it is never lawful for the people, under any provocation or pretext whatever, to resist their kings and sovereigns. The English call this the doctrine of passive obedience, the opposite of which is the doctrine of active obedience, held by those who deem it lawful in certain cases for the people to oppose their rulers and kings. II. That the hereditary succession of kings is of divine appointment, and therefore it can be set aside or annulled in no case whatever. III. That the church is subject to the jurisdiction not of the civil magistrate but of God only, particularly in matters of a religious nature. IV. That consequently Sancroft and the other bishops who were deposed under king William III. remained the true bishops as long as they lived, and that those substituted in their places were the unjust possessors of other men's property. V. That these unjust possessors of other men's offices were both bad citizens and bad members of the church, or were both rebels and schismatics; and therefore that such as held communion with them were chargeable with rebellion and schism. VI. That schism or splitting the church in pieces is the most heinous sin, the punishment due to which no one can escape but by returning with sincerity to the true church from which he has revolted.[2]

28. We now pass over to the Hollanders, the neighbours of the English. The ministers of the Dutch churches thought themselves happy when the opponents of the Calvinistic doctrine of decrees or the Arminians were vanquished and put down, but it was not their fortune to enjoy tranquillity very long. For after this victory they unfortunately fell into such contests among themselves, that during nearly the whole century Holland was the scene of very fierce animosity and strife. It is neither easy nor important to enumerate all these contentions. We shall therefore omit the disputes between individual doctors respecting certain points both of doctrine and discipline, such as the disputes between those men of high reputation, Gisbert Voet and Samuel Maresius [Des Marets]; the disputes about false hair, interest for money, stage plays, and other minute questions of morals, between Salmasius, Boxhorn, Voet, and several others; and the contests respecting the power of the magistrate in matters of religion, carried on by William Appollonius, James Trigland, Nicholas Vedel, and others, and which divided Frederick Spanheim and John Van der Wayen. For these and similar disputes rather show what were the sentiments of certain eminent divines respecting particular doctrines and points of morality, than lay open the internal state of the church. The knowledge of the latter must be derived from those controversies alone which disquieted either the whole church, or at least a large portion of it.

29. The principal controversies of this sort were those respecting the Cartesian philosophy and the new opinions of Cocceius, for these have not yet terminated, and they have produced two very powerful parties, the Cocceians and the Voëtians, which once made a prodigious noise though now they are more silent. The Cocceian theology and the Cartesian philosophy have no natural connexion, and therefore the controversies respecting them were not re-

[1] Henry Dodwell, senior, was appointed Camden professor of History at Oxford in 1688, and being deprived of the office in 1690 because he refused the oath of allegiance, he published a vindication of the non-juring principles. Several other tracts were published by him and others on the same side, none of which were suffered to go unanswered. In 1691, Dr. Humphrey Hody published his *Unreasonableness of Separation; or a Treatise out of Ecclesiastical History, showing that although a Bishop was unjustly deprived, neither he nor the Church ever made a Separation, if the Successor was not a Heretic*; translated out of an ancient Greek manuscript (written at Constantinople, and now among the Baroccian MSS.), in the public library at Oxford. This was answered by Dodwell the next year, in his *Vindication of the Deprived Bishops*, &c. Hody replied in *The Case of the Sees Vacant*, &c. In 1695, Dodwell came forth again in his *Defence of the Vindication of the Deprived Bishops*. Various others engaged in this controversy. See Maclaine's *Note*; Calamy's Additions to Baxter's *Hist. of His Own Life and Times*, chap. xvii. p. 465, &c. chap. xviii. p. 484. &c. 506, &c.—*Mur.*

[2] See Whiston's *Memoirs of his own Life and Writings*, vol. i. p. 30, &c.; Hickes, *Memoirs of the Life of John Kettlewell*, London, 1718, 8vo, who treats expressly and largely on these matters. *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. et Critique*, article *Collier*, tome ii. p. 112; Masson's *Histoire Critique de la République des Lettres*, tome xiii. p. 298, &c. and elsewhere.

lated to each other. Yet it so happened that the followers of these two very distinct systems of doctrine formed very nearly one and the same party, those who took Cocceius for their guide in theology adhering to Des Cartes as their master in philosophy,[1] because those who assailed the Cartesians attacked also Cocceius and his followers and opposed both with equal animosity. Hence the Cartesians and Coccceians were under a kind of necessity to unite and combine their forces, in order the better to defend their cause against such a host of adversaries. The Voëtians derived their name from Gisbert Voët, a very famous divine of Utrecht, who set up the standard, as it were, in this war, and induced great numbers to attack both Des Cartes and Cocceius.

30. The Cartesian philosophy, which at its first appearance was viewed by many even in Holland as preferable to the Peripatetic, was first assailed by Gisbert Voët in 1639 at Utrecht, where he taught theology with very great reputation, and who not obscurely condemned this philosophy as blasphemous. Voët was a man of immense reading and multifarious knowledge, but indifferently qualified to judge correctly on metaphysical and abstract subjects. While Des Cartes resided at Utrecht, Voët censured various of his opinions, but especially the following positions which he feared were subversive of all religion, namely, that one who intends to be wise must begin by calling everything in question, even the existence of God; that the essence of spirits, and even of God himself, consists in thought; that space in reality has no existence, but is a mere fiction of the imagination, and therefore that matter is without bounds. Des Cartes first replied himself to the charges brought against him, and afterwards his disciples afforded him aid. On the other hand, Voët was joined, not only by those Dutch theologians who were then in the highest reputation for erudition and soundness in the faith, such as Andrew Rivet, Maresius, and Van Mästricht, but also by the greatest part of the clergy of inferior note.[2] To this flame already raised too high, new fuel was added when some of the theologians applied the precepts of Des Cartes to the illustration of theological subjects. Hence in the year 1656, the Dutch Classes as they are called, or assemblies of the clergy in certain districts, resolved that resistance ought to be made, and that this imperious philosophy ought not to be allowed to invade the territories of theology. By this decision the States of Holland were excited in the same year, sternly to forbid by a public law the philosophers from expounding the books of Des Cartes to the youth, or explaining the Scriptures according to the dictates of philosophy. In a convention at Delft the next year, it was resolved that no person should be admitted to the sacred office without first solemnly promising not to propagate Cartesian principles, nor to deform revealed theology with adventitious ornaments. Similar resolutions were afterwards passed in various places, both in the United Provinces and out of them.[3] But as mankind are always eager after what is forbidden, all these prohibitions could not prevent the Cartesian philosophy from finally obtaining firm footing in the schools and universities, and from being applied sometimes preposterously by great numbers to the illustration of divine truths. Hence the Dutch became divided into the two parties above named, and the rest of the century was spent amid their perpetual contentions.

31. John Cocceius (in German Koch), a native of Bremen, professor of theology in the University of Leyden, was unquestionably a great man, if he had only been able to regulate and to temper with reason and judgment his erudition, his ingenuity, his reverence for the Holy Scriptures, and his piety, which he possessed in an eminent degree. He now introduced into theology not a little that was novel and unheard of before his time. In the first place, as has been already remarked, he interpreted the

[1] See Spanheim's *Epistola de novissimis in Belgio dissidiis, Opp.* tom. ii. p. 973, &c.

[2] Baillet, *La Vie de M. Des Cartes*, tome ii. chap. v. p. 33, &c.; Daniel, *Voyage du Monde de M. Des Cartes*, in his works, tome i. p. 84, &c.; Brucker's *Historia Crit. Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. par. ii. p. 222, &c.; Irenæus Philalethes (Rhenferd), *Kort en opregt Verhaal van de eerste Oorsprong der Broedertwisten*, Amsterd. 1708, 8vo. The first attack upon the philosophy of Des Cartes was made by Voët, A.D. 1639, in his *Disputatio de Atheismo*. Maresius at first defended the cause of Des Cartes against Voët, but afterwards he went over to the side of his adversaries. Even Cocceius was at first opposed to Des Cartes, though his friend Heiden persuaded him to treat the name of Des Cartes respectfully in his writings. Peter Van Mästricht, John Hornbeck, Andrew Essen, Melchior Leydecker, John Wayen, Gerhard Vries, James Revius, James Trigland, and Frederick Spanheim—manifestly great names—contended against Des Cartes. For him, there were among the philosophers, Henry Regius, James Golius, Claud Salmasius, Hadrian Heerebord, &c. and among the theologians, Abraham Heiden, Christopher Wittich, Francis Burmann, John Braun, John Clauberg, Peter Allinga, Balthazar Becker, Stephen Curcellæus, Hermann Alexander Roël, Ruard ab Andala, and others.—*Schl.*

[3] Spanheim, *De novissimis in Belgio dissidiis, Opp.* tom. ii. 959, &c. Those who wish it may also consult the common historians of this century, Arnold [*Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, vol. ii. book xvii. chap. x. sec. i.-vi.], Weissmann [*Historia Eccles. Sæc.* xvii. p. 905], Jäger, Caroli, and also Walch's *Einleitung in die Religions streitigkeiten ausser unser Kirche*, vol. iii.

whole sacred volume in a manner very different from that of Calvin and all his followers. For he maintained that the entire history of the Old Testament presents a picture of the events which were to take place under the New Testament, down to the end of the world; nay more, that the things which Christ and his apostles did and suffered in this world were emblematic of future events. He moreover taught that the greatest part of the predictions of the Jewish prophets foretell the fortunes of Christ and of the Christian church, not by means of the persons and things mentioned [not typically], but by the direct import of the words themselves. And lastly, many of those passages in the Old Testament which seem to contain nothing but the praises of Jehovah, or moral precepts and doctrines, he with wonderful dexterity and ingenuity converted into sacred enigmas and predictions of future events. To give support and plausibility to these opinions, he first laid down this law of interpretation, that the language of the Bible must signify all that it can signify; which rule, if adopted by a man of more genius than judgment, may give birth to very strange interpretations. In the next place, he distributed the entire history of the Christian church into seven portions of time or periods, relying principally on the seven trumpets and seals of the Apocalypse.

32. Theology itself, in the opinion of Cocceius, ought to be freed from the trammels of philosophy, and to be expounded only in Scriptural phrascology. Hence, perceiving that the sacred writers denominate the method of salvation which God has prescribed, a covenant of God with men, he concluded that there could be no more suitable and pertinent analogy, according to which to adjust and arrange an entire system of theology. But while intent solely on accommodating and applying the principles of human covenants to divine subjects, he incautiously fell into some opinions which it is not easy to approve. For instance, he asserted that the covenant which God made with the Hebrew nation through the medium of Moses, did not differ in its nature from the new covenant procured by Jesus Christ. He supposed that God caused the ten commandments to be promulgated by Moses, not as a law which was to be obeyed, but as one form of the covenant of grace. But when the Hebrews had offended him by various sins and especially by the worship of the golden calf, God, being moved with just indignation, superadded to that moral law the yoke of the ceremonial law, to serve as a punishment. This yoke was in itself very burdensome, but it became much more painful in consequence of its import. For it continually admonished the Hebrews of their very imperfect, doubtful, and anxious state, and was a kind of perpetual memento that they merited the wrath of God, and that they could not anticipate a full expiation and remission of their sins till the Messiah should come. Holy men indeed under the Old Testament enjoyed eternal salvation after death; but while they lived, they were far from having that assurance of salvation which is so comforting to us under the New Testament For no sins were then actually forgiven, but only suffered to remain unpunished, because Christ had not yet offered up himself as a sacrifice to God, and therefore could not be regarded, before the divine tribunal, as one who has actually assumed our debt, but only as our surety. I omit other opinions of Cocceius. Those who assailed the Cartesian doctrines attacked also those opinions, in a fierce war which was kept up for many years with various success. The issue was the same as in the Cartesian contest. No device and no force could prevent the disciples of Cocceius from occupying many professorial chairs, and from propagating the opinions of their master both orally and in writing, with wonderful celerity among even the Germans and the Swiss.[1]

33. Nearly all the other controversies which disquieted the Dutch churches in this century, arose from an excessive attachment to the Cartesian philosophy as connected with theology. This will appear from those commotions, greater than all others, produced by Roël and Becker. Certain Cartesian divines, at the head of whom was Hermann Alexander Roël, a theologian of Franeker, a man of singular acuteness and perspicuity, were supposed in the year 1686 to attribute too much to reason in theology. Nearly the whole controversy was embraced in these two questions. I. Whether the divine origin and authority of the sacred books can be demonstrated by reason alone; or whether the internal testimony of the Holy Spirit is necessary in order to a firm belief on this subject? II. Whether the Holy Scriptures propose anything to be believed by us which is contrary to correct and sound reason? The first was affirmed and the second denied, not

[1] The same writers may be consulted here as were referred to in sec. 30 [note 2], for the Cartesian and Cocceian controversies were united in one. To these may be added Albertius, Διπλοῦν κάπνα, *Cartesianismus et Cocceianismus, descripti et refutati*, Leips. 1678, 4to.

only by the above named Roël, but also by John Van der Wayen, Gisbert Wessel, Duker, Ruard ab Andala, and others; the contrary was maintained by Ulrich Huber, a jurist of great reputation, Gerhard de Vries, and others.[1] A great part of Belgium being now in a flame, the states of Friesland prudently interposed and enjoined silence and peace on both the contending parties. Those who shall accurately investigate this cause will I think perceive that a great part of it was a strife about words, and that the remainder of it might have been easily settled, if it had been stripped of its ambiguities.

34. A little after this first controversy had been in some measure hushed, this same Roël in the year 1689 fell under no slight suspicion that he was plotting against sound theology, in consequence of some other singular opinions of his. He was viewed with suspicion not only by his colleagues, particularly by Campeius Vitringa, but also by very many of the Dutch divines.[2] For he denied that the Scriptural representations of the generation of the Son of God are to be understood literally or as denoting a kind of natural generation; and maintained that the death of holy men and the evils they suffer in this life, equally with the calamities and death of the wicked, are the penal effects of the first sin; and he advanced some things respecting the divine decrees, original sin, the divine influence in regard to the sinful acts of men, the satisfaction made by Christ, and other subjects, which either in reality or at least in form and phraseology, differed much from the received opinions.[3] The magistrates of Friesland published decrees which prevented these disputes from spreading in that province; but the rest of the Dutch, and especially those of the province of Holland, could not be restrained from condemning Roël and his disciples, both privately and in their public conventions, as corruptors of divine truth.[4] Nor did this resentment die with the excellent man who was the object of it; but even to our times the Roëlians, though they most solemnly protest their innocence, are thought by many to be infected with concealed heresies.

35. Balthazar Becker, a minister of the Gospel at Amsterdam, from the Cartesian definition of a spirit, the truth of which he held to be unquestionable, took occasion to deny absolutely all that the Scriptures teach us respecting the works, snares, and power of the prince of darkness and his satellites, and also all the vulgar reports respecting ghosts, spectres, and witchcraft. There is extant a prolix and copious work of his, entitled *The World Bewitched* first published in 1691, in which he perverts and explains away, with no little ingenuity indeed but with no less audacity, whatever the sacred volume relates of persons possessed by evil spirits and of the power of demons, and maintains that the miserable being whom the sacred writers call Satan and the Devil, together with his ministers, lies bound with everlasting chains in hell, so that he cannot thence go forth to terrify mortals and to plot against the righteous. Des Cartes placed the essence of spirit in thinking, but none of those acts which are ascribed to evil spirits can be effected by mere thought.[5] Therefore lest the reputa-

[1] Le Clerc, *Biblioth. Universelle et Histor.* tome vi. p. 368.

[2] Concerning this extraordinary man, see the *Bibliotheca Bremensis Theologico-Philol.* tom. ii. par. vi. p. 707; Burmann's *Trajectum eruditum*, p. 306, &c. [*Unpartheyische Kirchenhistorie*, Jena, 1735, 4to, vol. ii. p. 620, &c.—*Mur.*

[3] These errors may be best learned from a paper of the Faculty of Theology at Leyden, in which they confirm the sentence pronounced on them by the Dutch synods, entitled, *Judicium Ecclesiasticum, quo opiniones quædam Claris. H. A. Roëllii synodice damnatæ sunt, laudatum a Professoribus Theologiæ in Academia Lugduno-Batava*, Leyden, 1713, 4to, 20 sheets. [Roël maintained that the title Son of God referred only to the human nature of Christ, and to the supernatural formation or conception of it, as also to his mediatorial office, and consequently that it afforded no proof of his divinity. Yet in his later writings, he admitted that Christ was also called the Son of God on account of his eternal generation by the Father, yet without excluding the before-mentioned ground. In order to prove that the death of believers is a just punishment, he maintained that in justification only some of the punishments of sin are remitted, and that the complete removal of them does not take place till after the resurrection.—*Schl.*

[4] It must not be inferred from this statement of Mosheim, that professor Röel was excommunicated, deprived of his office, or even declared a heretic. Some of his opinions were condemned, but not the man. After serving as a chaplain to several noblemen he was made professor, first of philosophy and then of theology, at Franeker in Friesland, in the year 1686. In the year 1704, he was removed to the professorship of theology at Utrecht, where he died in office, A.D. 1718, aged 65. The states of Friesland enjoined upon him in 1691 not to teach or preach his peculiarities of sentiment; they also enjoined upon his opponents to keep silence on the same subjects. Both obeyed, so that in Friesland there was no more contention. But in the other Dutch provinces, no such order was taken by the government, and therefore several synods, finding Roël's opinions to exist and to spread, passed orders of condemnation upon them, and decreed that candidates should be required to renounce them in order to their receiving license. He was undoubtedly a great man. Hence Mosheim calls him "vir eximius." He was also, in the main, sound in the faith. Yet on some points he carried his speculations farther than the spirit of the times would permit. But like a good man, when he found his speculations to produce alarm and commotion, at the bidding of the magistrates he forbore to urge them and expended his efforts on subjects less offensive.—*Mur.*

[5] Our historian relates here, somewhat obscurely, the reasoning which Becker founded upon the Cartesian definition of mind or spirit. The tenor and amount of his argument are as follows:—"The essence of mind is thought, and the essence of matter is extension.—Now, since there is no sort of conformity or connexion

tion of Des Cartes should be impaired, the narrations and decisions of the divine books must be accommodated to his opinion. This error not only disquieted all the United Provinces, but likewise induced not a few Lutheran divines to gird on their armour.[1]

Its author, although confuted by vast numbers and deprived of his ministerial office, yet on his dying bed in 1718 continued to affirm until his last breath that he believed all he had written to be true. Nor did his new doctrine die with him, for it still has very many defenders both open and concealed.

36. It is well known that various sects, some of them Christian, others semi-Christian, and others manifestly delirious, not unfrequently start up and are cherished in Holland as well as England. But it is not easy for any one who does not reside in those countries to give a correct account of them; because the books which contain the necessary information seldom find their way into foreign countries. Yet the Dutch sects of Verschorists and Hattêmists having now for some time been better known among us, I shall here give some account of them. The former derived their name from James Verschoor of Flushing, who is said to have so strangely mixed together the principles of Spinoza and Cocceius, as out of them to have produced about the year 1680 a new system of religion, which was quite absurd and impious. His followers are also called Hebrews, because they all, both men and women, bestow great attention on the Hebrew language. The latter sect arose about the same time, and had for their leader Pontianus von Hattem, a minister of the gospel at Philipsland in Zealand, who was an admirer of Spinoza and was afterwards deprived of his office on account of his errors. These two sects were kindred to each other, and yet they must have differed in some way, since Van Hattem could never persuade the Verschorites to enter into alliance with him. Neither of them wished to be looked upon as abandoning the Reformed religion, and Hattem wrote an exposition of the Heidelberg Catechism. If I understand correctly the not very lucid accounts given us of their doctrines, the founders of both sects in the first place inferred from the

between a thought and extension, mind cannot act upon matter unless these two substances be united, as soul and body are in man; therefore no separate spirits, either good or evil, can act upon mankind. Such acting is miraculous, and miracles can be performed by God alone. It follows, of consequence, that the Scripture accounts of the actions and operations of good and evil spirits must be understood in an allegorical sense." This is Becker's argument, and it does in truth little honour to his acuteness and sagacity. By proving too much, it proves nothing at all; for if the want of a connexion or conformity between thought and extension renders mind incapable of acting upon matter, it is hard to see how their union should remove this incapacity since the want of conformity and connexion remains notwithstanding this union. Besides, according to this reasoning, the Supreme Being cannot act upon material beings. In vain does Becker maintain the affirmative by having recourse to a miracle, for this would imply that the whole course of nature was a series of miracles, that is to say, that there are no miracles at all.—*Mael.*

[1] See Lilienthal's *Selecta Histor. Literar.* par. i. observ. ii. p. 17, &c.; *Miscellanea Lipsiens.* tom. i. p. 361, 364, where there is a description of a medal struck in reference to Becker, and the other writers whom we have often quoted. *Nouveau Diction. Hist. et Crit.* tome i. p. 193. [Balthazar Becker, D.D. was born near Gronigen in 1634, educated there and at Franeker, made rector of the Latin school in the latter place, a preacher, a doctor of divinity, and lastly, a pastor at Amsterdam, where he died in 1718. This learned man published three Catechisms; in the last of which, 1670, he taught that Adam, if he had not sinned, would have been immortal by virtue of the fruits of the tree of life; questioned whether endless punishment (which he placed in horror and despair), was consistent with the goodness of God; and admitted Episcopacy to be the most ancient and customary form of church government. These sentiments exposed him to some animadversion. In 1680, he published a book in proof that comets are not ominous. In his sermons he had often intimated that too much was ascribed to the agency of the devil; and being frequently questioned on the subject, he concluded to give the world his full views on the whole subject. This he did in his Dutch work, entitled:—*Betoverde Wereld*, &c. i.e. *The World Bewitched, or a Critical Investigation of the commonly received opinion respecting Spirits, their Nature, Power, and Acts, and all those extraordinary feats which men are said to perform through their Aid*, in 4 Books, Amsterd. 1691, 4to. In the preface he says, "It is come to that at the present day, that it is almost regarded as a part of religion to ascribe great wonders to the devil; and those are taxed with infidelity and perverseness who hesitate to believe what thousands relate concerning his power. It is now thought essential to piety not only to fear God but also to fear the devil. Whoever does not do so is accounted an atheist, because he cannot persuade himself that there are two Gods, the one good, and the other evil." He also gives a challenge to the devil—"If he is a God let him defend himself, let him lay hold of me, for I throw down his altars. In the name of the God of hosts, I fight with this Goliath, we will see who can deliver him." In the first book he states the opinions of the pagans concerning gods, spirits, and demons, and shows that both Jews and Christians have derived their prejudices on this subject from them. In the second, he shows what reason and scripture teach concerning spirits; and in the third, confutes the believers in witchcraft and confederacies with the devil. In the fourth book he answers the arguments alleged from experience to prove the great power of the devil. He founds his doctrine on two grand principles; that from their very nature spirits cannot act upon material beings, and that the Scriptures represent the devil and his satellites as shut up in the prison of hell. To explain away the texts which militate against his system, evidently cost him much labour and perplexity. His interpretations, for the most part, are similar to those still relied on by the believers in his doctrine.—Becker was not the first writer who published such opinions. Before him were Arnold Geulinx of Leyden who died in 1669; and Daillon, a French Reformed preacher, who fled to London and there published his views in 1687. But these advanced their opinions problematically, while Becker advanced his in a positive tone. He also discussed the whole subject, and he mingled wit and sarcasm with his arguments. This difference caused his book to awaken very great attention, while theirs pass unheeded. Becker was deposed and silenced by the synods of Edam and Alkmaar, in 1692. But the senate of Amsterdam continued to him his salary till his death in 1718. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformation*, vol. viii. p. 713, &c.—*Mur.*

Reformed doctrine of the absolute decrees of God, this principle, that whatever takes place necessarily and unavoidably takes place. Assuming this as true, they denied that men are by nature wicked or corrupt, and that human actions are some of them good and others bad. Hence they concluded that men need not trouble themselves about a change of heart, nor be solicitous to obey the divine law; that religion does not consist in acting but in suffering; and that Jesus Christ inculcated this only, that we patiently and cheerfully endure whatever by the good pleasure of God occurs or befalls us, striving only to keep our minds tranquil. Hattem in particular taught that Jesus Christ did not by his death appease divine justice, nor expiate the sins of men; but that he signified to us there was nothing in us which could offend God, and in this way he made us just. These things appear to be perverse and inimical to all virtue, and yet neither of these men—unless I am wholly deceived—was so beside himself as to recommend iniquity, or to suppose that a person may safely follow his lusts. At least, the sentiment ascribed to them, that God punishes men *by* their sins not *for* them, seems to carry this import that unless a person bridles his lusts, he must suffer punishment both in this life and in that to come; yet not by a divine infliction or by the sovereign will and pleasure of God, but by some law of nature.[1] Both sects still exist, but they have discarded the names derived from their founders.

37. The churches of Switzerland from the year 1669 were in great fear lest the religion handed down to them by their fathers and confirmed at the Synod of Dort, should be contaminated with the doctrines already mentioned of the French divines, Amyraut, De la Place, and Capell. For there were at that time among the associated ministers of Geneva, certain men distinguished both for their eloquence and their erudition, who not only approved those doctrines but endeavoured against the will of their colleagues to induce others to embrace them.[2] To restrain the efforts of these men, the principal divines of Switzerland in the year 1675 had a book drawn up by John Henry Heidegger, a very celebrated divine of Zurich, in opposition to the new doctrines of the Frenchmen; and with no great difficulty they persuaded the magistrates to annex it by public authority to the common Helvetic formulas of religion. It is usually called the Formula Consensus. But this measure which was intended to secure peace, became rather the fruitful source of contentions and disturbance. For many declared that they could not conscientiously assent to this Formula, and hence pernicious commotions arose in several places. In consequence of these, the canton of Basil and the republic of Geneva, at the urgent solicitation of Frederick William of Brandenburg, in the year 1686 abrogated the Formula Consensus.[3] In the other cantons, it with difficulty retained its authority for some time; but in our age, having given birth to the most violent quarrels, particularly in the university of Lausanne, it began to sink also in these cantons and to lose nearly all its influence.[4]

[1] See Hase's *Dissertation* in the *Museum Bremens. Theol. Philol.* tom. ii. p. 144, &c.; Goeree, *Kerkelyke und Wereldlycke Historie*, Leyden, 1729, 4to; *Bibliothèque Belgique*, tome ii. p. 203, &c.

[2] See Leti's *Istoria Genevrina*, parte iv. lib. v. p. 448 488, 497, &c

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE ARMINIANS OR REMONSTRANTS.

1. FROM the bosom of the Reformed church, to its great injury, there originated in the present century two sects, the Arminians and the Quakers, the former owing its birth to an excessive regard for human

[3] It must not be imagined from this expression of our historian, that this Form, entitled the Consensus, was abrogated at Basil by a positive edict. The case stood thus: Mr. Peter Werenfels, who was at the head of the Consistory of that city, paid such regard to the letter of the Elector as to avoid requiring a subscription to this Form from the candidates for the ministry, and his conduct in this respect was imitated by his successors. The remonstrances of the Elector do not seem to have had the same effect upon those who governed the church of Geneva; for the Consensus or Form of agreement maintained its credit and authority there until the year 1706, when, without being abrogated by any positive act, it fell into disuse. In several other parts of Switzerland it was still imposed as a rule of faith, as appears by the letters addressed by George I. king of England, as also by the king of Prussia, in the year 1723 to the Swiss Cantons, in order to procure the abrogation of this Form or Consensus, which was considered as an obstacle to the union of the Reformed and Lutheran churches. See the *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Troubles arrivés en Suisse à l'Occasion du Consensus*, published in 8vo, at Amsterdam, in the year 1726.—*Mael.*

[4] See Pfaff's *Schediasma de Formula Consensus Helvetica*, Tubing. 1723, 4to; *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Troubles arrivés en Suisse à l'Occasion du Consensus*, Amsterd. 1726, 8vo. [In this *Formula Consensus* (which, like the Lutheran *Formula Concordiæ*, might better be called *Formula Dissensus*), four controversies which had previously disquieted the Reformed churches were decided. It condemned, I. The doctrine of Moses Amyraut respecting general grace, and established the most rigid opinion of special grace. It condemned, II. The opinion of Joshua Placæus (De la Place) respecting the imputation of Adam's sin. III. Piscator's doctrine concerning the active obedience of Christ; and IV. Lewis Capell's critical doctrine concerning the points of the Hebrew text. This Formula, so long as subscription to it was rigorously enforced, deprived the Swiss churches of many a worthy divine, who would rather quit his country than violate his conscience. Sulzer of Berlin was a remarkable example.—*Schl.*

reason and the latter to a neglect of it. The Arminians derived their name and their rise from James Harmensen, or, as he chose to be called in Latin, James Arminius; first a minister of the Gospel at Amsterdam and then professor of theology at Leyden, a man whom even his enemies commend for his ingenuity, acuteness, and piety.[1] They are also called Remonstrants, from the petition they presented to the states of Holland and West Friesland in 1610 which was entitled a Remonstrance. And as the friends of Calvinism presented another petition in opposition to this, under the title of Counter Remonstrance, they obtained the name of Contra-Remonstrants.

2. Arminius, though trained from infancy in the Genevan doctrines and actually educated in the academy of Geneva, when he arrived at manhood abandoned the common doctrine of the majority in the Reformed church respecting predestination and the divine decrees, and went over to the side of those who believe that the love of God and the merits of our Saviour respect the whole human race.[2] Time and reflection confirmed him in his sentiments; and when called to the office of a professor at Leyden he thought duty and candour required him publicly to teach his sentiments, and to oppose the opinions of Calvin which were embraced by most of the Dutch divines. And this he was the more bold to do, because he knew that many persons besides himself, and some of them men of the highest respectability, were averse from the Genevan opinions on this subject; neither were the teachers required, either by the Belgic Confession or by any other public law, to think and teach just as Calvin did. Arminius inculcated not without effect what he deemed true, for he persuaded great numbers to adopt his sentiments. But at the same time he drew on himself immense odium from the Calvinistic school, which then flourished greatly in Holland. In particular, Francis Gomar his colleague was very hostile to him. Such was the commencement of this long and most perplexing controversy. But Arminius died in 1609, just as it began to rage and to pervade the whole United Provinces.[3]

3. After the death of Arminius, the controversy was carried on for several years without any decisive advantage gained by either party. The wishes of the Arminians, who sought only to have their opinions tolerated in the state or republic, were not a little favoured by the first men in the commonwealth, such as John van Oldenbarnevelt, Hugo Grotius, Rombout Hoogerbeets, and others. For these persons supposed that in their free country every one might believe what he chose on subjects not determined by the Belgic Confession, and they used every means to bring the Calvinists to bear with moderation the dissent of the opposite party. And even prince Maurice of Orange, the head of the commonwealth and who afterwards became the capital enemy of the Arminians, together with his mother and the court, was at first not averse from these views. Hence the conference between the parties at the Hague in 1611, hence also the discussion at Delft in 1613, and likewise the edict of the States of Holland in 1614 in favour of

[1] The fullest account given of him is by Brandt in his *Historia Vitæ Jac. Arminii*, Leyden, 1724, 8vo, and republished with a preface and some notes by me, Brunswick, 1725, 8vo. Add the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. et Crit.* tome i. p. 471, &c. [and the Creed of Arminius, with a brief sketch of his life and times, by Moses Stuart, in the *Biblical Repertory*, Andover, 1831, vol. i. No. ii. p. 226–308.—*Mur.*] The entire works of Arminius have been repeatedly published in a moderate sized quarto volume. I use the edition of Frankfort, 1634, 4to. Those who wish to discover and estimate correctly the genius of the man, should read especially the *Disputationes*, both the public and the private. His manner of teaching partakes somewhat of the dark scholasticism of his age, and yet it approximates to that simplicity and perspicuity which his followers have regarded and still regard as among the primary excellencies of a theologian. The historians of the sect and its Confession are treated of by Köcher, *Biblioth. Theol. Symbolicæ*, p. 481, &c. [See also Francke's *Diss. Theologica de Historia dogmatum Arminianorum*, Keil, 1813, 8vo.—*Mur.*] Among their confessions may be reckoned, I. Their Remonstrance in 1610, which was presented to the States in vindication of Arminius and other divines accused of error, and was first printed in 1617. II. Their proper Confession of 1621, which Episcopius set forth. III. Their Apology in 1629, in reply to the confutation of their Confession by the Leyden divines, set forth also by Episcopius. IV. Their catechism of 1640 by Jo. Uytenbogaerd. V. Lastly, their *Acta et Scripta Synodalia Dordracena*, Harderwyck, (or rather, printed on board a ship), 1620, 4to. These are very different from the *Acta Synodi Dordr.* published at Dort in folio.—*Schl.*

[2] The occasion of this change is treated of by Bertius, *Oratio in funus Arminii*; by Brandt, *Vita Arminii*, p. 22, and by nearly all the historians of these events. The change took place in 1591, as appears from the famous letter of Arminius to Grynæus written in this year, (and extant in the *Biblioth. Bremensis Theol. Philologica*, tom. iii. p. 384), for he there states his doubts.

[3] No one has more copiously treated the whole history of the controversy and the public schism which arose from it than Gerhard Brandt, in his excellent work, *The History of the Reformation in Belgium*, written in Dutch, volumes ii. and iii. of which there are extant concise epitomes both in English and in French. To this may be added Uytenbogaerd's *Ecclesiastical History* [of the United Provinces, 1647, fol.] also written in Dutch; Limborch's *Historia Vitæ Episcopii*; and the *Epistolæ Clarorum Virorum* (commonly called *Epistolæ Arminianorum*), published by Limborch. Those who wish for a shorter narrative may consult Limborch's *Relatio Historica de Origine et Progressu Controversiarum in Fœderato Belgio de Prædestinatione et Capitibus annexis*, which is subjoined to the later editions of his *Theologia Christiana*. But all these were Arminians. Those who think proper to hear also the contrary party, may consult Trigland's *Ecclesiastical History*, written in Dutch, and some of the numerous writings which have been published against the Remonstrants.

peace, and all the other efforts to reconcile the brethren whom religion had separated from each other.[1] But the suspicion of the Calvinists that the Arminians aimed at the overthrow of all religion, was so far from being allayed by these measures that it daily became more confirmed; and they spiritedly censured the zeal of the magistrates for interposing their authority in behalf of public peace.[2] And whoever regards truth more than every other consideration must acknowledge that the Arminians were not sufficiently cautious in regard to their intercourse and familiarity with persons disposed to advance opinions very diverse from the Reformed religion; and in this way they gave great occasion to their adversaries to suspect them of everything bad and pernicious to the public religion.

4. The whole controversy, however, which after the synod at Dort assumed a very different form and was enlarged by many additions, was at this time confined to the doctrines of grace and predestination, and was comprehended by the Remonstrants in the five propositions, which are so well known under the name of the Five Points. For the Arminians taught:—I. That before the foundation of the world or from eternity, God decreed to bestow eternal salvation on those who, he foresaw, would maintain their faith in Christ Jesus inviolate until death; and on the other hand, to consign over to eternal punishment the unbelieving who resist the invitations of God to the end of their lives. II. That Jesus Christ by his death made expiation for the sins of all and every one of mankind, yet that none but believers can become partakers of this divine benefit. III. That no one can of himself, or by the powers of his free will, produce or generate faith in his own mind; but that man, being by nature evil and incompetent (*ineptus*) both to think and to do good, it is necessary he should be born again and renewed by God for Christ's sake, through the Holy Spirit. IV. That this divine grace or energy, which heals the soul of man, commences, advances, and perfects all that can be called truly good in man; and therefore all the good works [of men] are ascribable to no one except to God only and to his grace, yet that this grace compels no man against his will, though it may be repelled by his perverse will. V. That those who are united to Christ by faith are furnished with sufficient strength to overcome the snares of the devil and the allurements of sin; but whether they can fall from this state of grace and lose their faith or not, does not yet sufficiently appear and must be ascertained by a careful examination of the Holy Scriptures. The last of these propositions the Arminians afterwards so modified as to assert explicitly that it is possible a man should lose his faith and fall from a state of grace.[3] At that time therefore, if we may judge of men's meaning by their statements and declarations, the Arminians very much resembled the Lutherans. The Calvinists however maintain that the opinions of the Arminians are not to be learned from their declarations, but that their language must be interpreted by their secret sentiments; for they assert that the Arminians, under these specious representations, instilled the poison of Socinianism and Pelagianism into honest and unsuspicious minds. God is the judge of men's hearts; yet if it were allowable to estimate the import of these propositions by what the leading men of the sect have taught more recently, it would be very difficult wholly to disprove that judgment of the Calvinists. For whatever the Arminians may say, the doctrines taught since the synod of Dort by their principal doctors respecting grace and the points connected with it, approach much nearer to the sentiments of those called Pelagians and Semipelagians than to those professed by the Lutherans.

5. The Arminians, supported by the friendship of the magistrates, viewed their cause as safe or at least as not desperate, when suddenly an unexpected storm entirely prostrated it. There arose first concealed ill-will, and afterwards hostility, between the principal administrators of the new Belgic republic. On the one part were John van Oldenbarnevelt, a very distinguished man, Hugo Grotius, and Rombout Hoogerbeets, and on the other the stadtholder, Maurice prince of Orange. Ac-

[1] The authors who treat particularly of these events are mentioned by the writers of the general history, and we therefore omit to name them. Yet Le Vassor, who in the 1st and 2d volumes of his *Histoire de Louis XIII.* has particularly treated of these troubles, deserves especially to be read. [But still more Van Wagenaer, *History of the United Netherlands*, vol. iv. p. 311, &c. of the German translation.—*Schl.*

[2] The conduct of the magistrates, who sought to quiet the commotions by their interposition, and who employed not only persuasion but likewise commands, was eloquently and learnedly defended by Hugo Grotius in two treatises. The one, which is in everybody's hands and has been often printed, is a general treatise, entitled *De Jure Summarum Potestatum circa Sacra*; the other descends to particulars, and is entitled *Ordinum Hollandiæ et Westfrisiæ Pietas a multorum Calumniis Vindicata*, Leyden, 1613, 4to.

[3] The history of these Five Articles, especially among the English, was written by Heylin, and translated from English into Dutch by Brandt and published at Rotterdam in 1687, 8vo. [These Articles were exhibited by the Remonstrants in the conference at the Hague in the year 1611, or two years after the death of Arminius.—*Mur.*

cording to some authors, Maurice wished to be created count of Holland, a design which his father William had before entertained;[1] according to others, he only wished to obtain more authority and power than appeared consistent with the liberties of the state; at least (as no one denies), he was regarded by the leading men as seeking supreme dominion with the subversion of liberty. The head men of the republic whom we have mentioned, and who were also patrons of the Arminians, resisted these designs. The Remonstrants strenuously supported their defenders, without whom they could not remain in safety; and on the other hand, their adversaries accommodated themselves to the views and wishes of the prince, and inflamed his already irritated mind by various new suspicions. Therefore, kindling with indignation, he resolved on the destruction of those who guided the commonwealth with their counsels and of the Arminians who were their supporters, and at the same time joined himself to the party of the Calvinists. Those leading men in the republic above mentioned were therefore thrown into prison. Oldenbarnevelt, a man of great respectability and venerable both for his grey hairs and for his long and faithful public services, was consigned to a capital punishment. Grotius and Hoogerbeets were condemned to perpetual imprisonment,[2] under I know not what pretence.[3] The cause of the Arminians could not be brought before a civil tribunal, because their alleged offence was not against the laws but the religion of the country. To procure their condemnation therefore, a more sacred tribunal or a council must be called, agreeably to the practice of the Genevans, who think all spiritual matters and controversies should be decided in ecclesiastical councils.

6. Without delay, at the instance of

[1] That Maurice aimed at the dignity of count of Holland is stated by Aubrey, from the representations of his father Benjamin de Maurier, the French ambassador to Holland, in his *Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. de Hollande et des autres Provinces Unies*, sec. ii. p. 216, ed. Paris, 1697, 8vo. According to Aubrey, Oldenbarnevelt disapproved and resisted this design of the prince, and Maurice revenged this temerity by the capital punishment of this great patriot. The truth of this statement is opposed at great length by Le Vassor, in his *Histoire de Louis XIII.* tome ii. par. ii. p. 123, &c. But Le Clerc, in his *Biblioth. Choisie*, tome ii. p. 134, &c. and in his *Historia Provinciarum Belgii Fœderati*, takes great pains to substantiate the truth of this statement of Aubrey, or rather of Aubrey's father; and he also shows that Maurice's father had the same designs. It is not necessary we should decide this dispute. It is sufficient for our purpose that Maurice was viewed by Oldenbarnevelt and his friends as wishing to subvert the liberties of his country and to obtain supreme power (which no one denies); and that this was the cause of Oldenbarnevelt's eagerness to weaken the influence of Maurice and to check the progress of his power; whence arose the indignation of Maurice and the calamities of the Arminians who adhered to Oldenbarnevelt and Grotius.

[2] That the general course of events was such as is here stated, will not be denied at the present day when the times of excitement have gone by, even by the patrons of Calvinistic sentiments who are ingenuous. And they may grant this without injury to their cause. For if their ancestors (though I wish neither to deny nor to affirm the fact), while guarding and defending their religious opinions, either from the customs of the age or from the ebullitions of passion, were not so considerate and provident as they should have been, no candid and wise man will thence infer that these their sons are bad men or their cause an iniquitous one. Because it is well known that many bad things are often done by men by no means bad, and that a good cause is often defended in an unjustifiable manner. For illustration and confirmation of the facts here concisely stated, the best authorities in addition to those already mentioned are, Le Clerc, in his *Historia Provinciarum Belgii Fœderati*, and his *Bibliothèque Choisie*, tome ii. p. 134, &c. and Grotius, in his *Apologeticum eorum, qui Hollandiæ, Westfrisiæque et Vicinis quibusdam Nationibus ex Legibus præfuerunt ante Mutationem quæ evenit* A.D. 1618, Paris, 1640, 12mo, and often republished. The *Life of John van Oldenbarnevelt*, written in Dutch, was printed at the Hague, 1648, 4to. A history of the trial of the three celebrated Dutchmen above named was elegantly compiled from authentic documents by Brandt, entitled *Historie van de Rechtspleginge gehouden in den Jaaren* 1618 *et* 1619, *omtrent de drie gevangene Heeren Johann van Oldenbarneveld, Rombout Hoogerbeets, Hugo de Groot*, of which I have before me the third edition with notes, Rotterdam, 1723, 4to. This whole subject receives also much light from the history of the life and actions of Hugo Grotius, very carefully compiled, chiefly from unpublished papers, by Caspar Brandt and Adrian Cattenburg. This great and noble work was published in two large volumes, entitled *Historie van het Leven des Heeren Huig de Groot beschreven tot den Anfang van zyn Gesandschap wegens de Koninginne en Kroone van Zweden aan't Hof van Vranckryck, door Casp. Brandt, en vervolgt tot zyn Doodt door Adrian van Cattenburgh*, Dordrecht en Amsterd. 1727, 2 vols. fol. Those who wish to get a near view and full knowledge of this great man must by all means consult this work; for all the other accounts of his life which are extant are insipid and unanimated, presenting only a shadow of this great hero. Nor is the most recent life of Grotius in French by Burigny (republished from the Paris edition in Holland, 1753, 2 vols. 8vo) much better; at least it does not satisfy one who is desirous of a thorough knowledge of the transactions. [There appeared in Holland a warm vindication of the memory of this great man, in a work published at Delft in 1757, and entitled, *Grotii Manes ab Iniquis Obtrectationibus Vindicati; accedit Scriptorum ejus, tum Editorum tum Ineditorum, Conspectus Triplex.* See the following note.—*Macl.*

[3] Mosheim, however impartial, seems to have consulted more the authors of one side than of the other; probably because they are more numerous and more universally known. When he published this history the world was not favoured with the Letters, Memoirs, and Negotiations of Sir Dudley Carleton, which Lord Royston (now Earl of Hardwick) drew forth some years ago from his inestimable treasure of historical manuscripts, and presented to the public, or rather at first to a select number of persons, to whom he distributed a small number of copies of these Negotiations printed at his own expense. They were soon translated both into Dutch and French; and though it cannot be affirmed that the spirit of party is nowhere discoverable in them, yet they contain anecdotes with respect both to Oldenbarnevelt and Grotius, which the Arminians and the other patrons of these two great men have been studious to conceal. These anecdotes, though they may not be at all sufficient to justify the severities exercised against these eminent men, would however have prevented Mosheim from saying that he knew not under what pretext they were arrested.—*Macl.* [Mosheim's Latin is: "Criminum nescio quorum nomine," which Schlegel here understands to mean, upon some unimportant charges.—*Mur.*

Maurice,[1] delegates were assembled at Dort, a city in Holland, from the United Provinces and from Hesse, England, the Palatinate, Bremen, and Switzerland, who held in the years 1618 and 1619 what is called the Synod of Dort. Before it, appeared on citation, in defence of their cause, the leading men of the Arminian sect, at the head of whom and their chief orator was Simon Episcopius, a disciple of Arminius and professor of theology at Leyden, a man distinguished, as his enemies admit, for acuteness, learning, and fluency. But scarcely had Episcopius saluted the judges in a grave and eloquent address, when difficulties arose embarrassing the whole impending discussion. The Arminians wished to commence the defence of their cause by attacking the sentiments of their adversaries the Calvinists; this the judges disapproved, deciding that the accused must first explain and prove their own doctrines before they proceeded to confute those who differed from them. Perhaps the Arminians hoped that a full exposure of the odious consequences they could attach to the Calvinistic doctrine would enkindle a hatred of it in the minds of the people present, while the Calvinists feared lest the mighty genius and fine eloquence of Episcopius might injure their cause in the view of the multitude.[2] As the Arminians could by no means be persuaded to comply with the wishes of the synod they were dismissed from the council, and they complained that they had been treated unjustly. But the judges, after examining their published writings, pronounced them, though absent and unheard, guilty of corrupting theology and holding pestilential errors; and it was coincident with this sentence that they should be excluded from the communion of the church and be deprived of authority to teach. That there was fault on both sides in this matter no candid and good man will deny, but which party was most in the wrong this is not the place to decide.[3]

7. We cannot here discuss either the purity and virtues or the iniquities and faults of the fathers at Dort. In extolling the former the Calvinists, and in exaggerating the latter the Arminians, if I do not mistake, are over-zealous and active.[4] That among the judges of the Arminians there were men who were not only learned but also honest and religious, who acted in great sincerity, and who had no suspicion that they were doing anything wrong, is not to be doubted at all. On the other hand, these facts were too clear and obvious to escape the notice of any one:—I. That the destruction of the Arminian sect was determined upon before the council was called;[5] and these fathers were called toge

[1] Our author always forgets to mention the order issued by the States-General for the convocation of this famous synod; and by his manner of expressing himself, and particularly by the phrase *Mauritio auctore*, would seem to insinuate that it was by the prince that this assembly was called together.—The legitimacy of the manner of convoking this synod was questioned by Oldenbarnevelt, who maintained that the States-General had no sort of authority in matters of religion, not even the power of assembling a synod, affirming that this was an act of sovereignty which belonged to each province separately and respectively. See Carleton's Letters in Hales' *Golden Remains*, &c.—*Macl.*

[2] Perhaps also another reason why both parties were so stiff on this point was, that the members of the synod were not themselves of one mind in regard to the doctrine of predestination; for some of them were Supralapsarians and others Infralapsarians, and in general the doctrine of reprobation presented so many difficult points that the members of the synod deemed it advisable to prescribe to the Remonstrants the mode of confutation and defence, and thus to retain in their own hands the direction of the whole discussion; while the Remonstrants hoped perhaps that the diversity of opinion among the members of the synod would prove advantageous to them, if they could have liberty to expatiate widely on the doctrine of reprobation and divide somewhat the votes of their judges. This is the not improbable conjecture of Van Wagenaer, in his *Geschichte der vereinigten Niederlande*, vol. iv. p. 451.—*Schl.*

[3] The writers on the synod of Dort are enumerated by Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, tom. xi. p. 723. The most copious of them all is Brandt, in his *History of the Reformation in the Netherlands*, vol. ii. and iii. But as he was himself an Arminian, with his narration should be compared the work of Leydecker, in which the purity and integrity of the synod of Dort are vindicated in answer to Brandt, *Eere van de Nationale Synode van Dordrecht voorgestaan en bevestigd tegen de Beschuldingen van G. Brandt*, vol. i. Amsterd. 1705, vol. ii. 1707, 4to. After formally comparing them, I did not find any very enormous errors in Brandt; nor do these two writers disagree so much about the facts as about the causes and import of the facts. John Hales, an Englishman who belonged to neither party, has related simply what he saw; and his Letters written from the scene of this council I myself published some time ago with notes, Hamburg, 1724, 8vo. [He was chaplain to the English ambassador at the Hague, Sir Dudley Carleton, and was king James's secret envoy sent to watch the movements of the Synod. His letters addressed to Carleton were published under the title of the *Golden Remains of the Ever-memorable John Hales of Eton College*, 1659, 4to. Mosheim translated them into Latin, prefixed a long preface and added some notes.—*Mur.* [See also Hallam's *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 79 and 81-89; Hagenbach's *History of Doctrines*, Buch's translation, vol. ii. p. 206, &c.—*R.*

[4] All that the Arminians deemed faulty in this council they collected in a concise and neatly-written book, frequently printed: *Nulliteyten, Mishandelinghen, ende onbyllicke Proceduren des nationalen Synodi ghehouden binnen Dordrecht anno* 1618, 1619, *in't korte ende rouwe afgheworpen*, 1619, 4to.

[5] Maclaine says: "This assertion is of too weighty a nature to be advanced without sufficient proof. Our author quotes no authority for it."—Schlegel replies: The proofs lie in the whole progress of the events. And a man must be ignorant of the human heart and wholly unacquainted with the history of ecclesiastical councils, not to draw the natural conclusion from what preceded the council, that the condemnation of the Arminians was already determined on before the council was convened at Dort. The election of Bogermann, who possessed the soul of an inquisitor, to the presidency of the synod would lead us to no other conclusion. The assessors of the president and the scribes of the council were known to be zealous Contra-Remonstrants. And so early as the year 1617, in the month of July, the

ther, not to inquire whether this sect might be tolerated or not, but to promulgate a sentence long before passed with some becoming formality, with the appearance of justice, and with the consent of the foreign theologians. II. That the enemies and accusers of the Arminians were their judges, and that the president of the council, John Bogermann,[1] exceeded almost all others in hatred of this sect. III. That neither the Dutch nor the foreign divines had liberty to decide according to their own pleasure, but were obliged to decide according to the instructions which they brought with them from their princes and magistrates.[2] IV. That in the council itself the voice of the illustrious and very honourable men who appeared as the legates of Maurice and the States-General, had more influence than that of the theologians who sat as the judges. V. That the promise made to the Arminians when summoned before the council, that they should have liberty to state, explain, and defend their opinions as far as they were able and deemed it necessary, was violated by the council.[3]

8. The Arminians, being adjudged enemies of their country and of religion, were subjected to severe animadversion. First, they were all deprived both of their sacred and their civil offices, and then their preachers were ordered to refrain from preaching altogether. Those who would not submit to this order were ignominiously sent into exile, and subjected to other punishments and indignities. Hence many retired to Antwerp and others to France, and a large body of them emigrated to Holstein by the invitation of Frederick duke of Holstein, and built the handsome town of Frederickstadt in the duchy of Sleswick. In that town the Arminians still live in tranquillity, and enjoy the free exercise of their religion. The leaders of this colony were men of distinction in Holland, especially Adrian van der Wahl, the first governor of the town of Frederickstadt.[4] Among the clergymen who accompanied this colony the most distinguished were, the famous Conrad Vorstius, who drew a great deal of odium upon the Arminians by his sentiments which were not far removed from those of the Socinians; Nicholas Grevinchovius, a man of acuteness, who had been a preacher at Rotterdam; Simon Gou-

Contra-Remonstrants declared at the Hague, "that they regarded the Remonstrants and those who embraced the sentiments of the Remonstrants to be false teachers (*pro falsis doctoribus*), and that they only waited for a national synod, of which there then appeared to be a bright prospect, so that in it there might be made a legitimate secession from the Remonstrants, which should be put into execution after an ecclesiastical trial." See Limborch's *Relatio Historica de Origine et Progressu Controversiar. in Fœderato Belgio*, p. 18. The provincial synods which were held before the synod of Dort so arranged everything as to give the Contra-Remonstrants the upper hand. In particular, they deposed Remonstrant ministers, as *e.g.* Uytenbogaerd, Grevinchovius, and others. And in electing ministers to attend the national synod, the Remonstrants were wholly passed by; and only from the district of Utrecht were two Remonstrant delegates sent to Dort, and even these were excluded as soon as the cause of the Remonstrants came on. See Limborch, *ubi supra*, and Wagenaer's *History of the United Netherlands* (in German), vol. iv. p. 446, &c. Thus far Schlegel.—Undoubtedly, nearly or quite every minister in Holland had an opinion formed with regard to the correctness of the doctrines charged upon the Remonstrants, and the propriety of permitting their propagation. It could not be otherwise, as these opinions had been preached and published abundantly for ten years, and had been the great theme of discussion among theologians. In such circumstances, to be ignorant of the alleged Arminian doctrines or to have no opinion concerning them, would have been altogether unbecoming in a clergyman. It was therefore a thing of course and no reproach upon their characters, that the divines at Dort should come together with opinions already made up on the theological questions they were to discuss.—*Mur.*

[1] Bogermann was minister of Leeuwarden, an avowed enemy of the Arminians, who had already written against them, and who was so full of the persecuting spirit of Beza that he had translated into Dutch Beza's book, *De Hæreticis a Magistratu Puniendis*. And his whole behaviour at the synod showed that he was better qualified to be the papal legate at a council of Trent than the moderator of a Protestant synod.—*Schl.* [Bogermann was doubtless too zealous, and in several instances too severe and passionate in his speeches. But his intolerant spirit was the spirit of the age. Christian forbearance and tenderness towards the erring were then nowhere well understood and duly practised. —*Mur.*

[2] Here our author has fallen into a palpable mistake. The Dutch divines had no commission but from their respective consistories or subordinate ecclesiastical assemblies; nor are they ever the depositaries of the orders of their magistrates, who have lay deputies to represent them both in provincial and national synods. As to the English and other foreign doctors who appeared in the synod of Dort, the case perhaps may have been somewhat different.—*Macl.*

[3] See Le Vassor's *Histoire du Regne de Louis XIII.* tome ii. livr. xii. p. 365, 366, and my notes on Hales' *Historia Concilii Dordraceni*, p. 394-400. [The words of the promise were: "Liberum illis fore ut proponant, explicent, et defendant, quantum possent et necessarium judicarent, opiniones SUAS." This promise, the Arminians contended, gave them liberty to state so many of their own doctrines and in such an order as they pleased; and also to state their views of the sentiments or doctrines of their opposers, and to refute them as fully and in such a manner as they pleased. Whether this was a fair and reasonable construction of the words of the promise, and such a construction as the synod were bound to admit, the reader will judge. Yet it was the refusal of this and the requiring the Remonstrants to state and defend only their own sentiments, and to proceed in regard to them methodically, that the Remonstrants complained of as a violation of the promises made them. See the Remonstrants' views of a proper council, presented to the synod December 10th, the decree of the synod of the 29th December, and the synod's explanation of it, December 29th, and also the communication of the Remonstrants to the synod on the 21st of January; all which documents are given by the Remonstrants themselves, in their *Acta et Scripta Synodalia Dordracena*, par. i. p. 4, &c. 140, &c. 159, &c.—*Mur.*

[4] The history of this colony may be learned from the noted *Epistolæ præstantium et eruditorum Virorum Ecclesiasticæ et Theologicæ*, published by Limborch and Hartsœcker, the latest ed. Amsterd. 1704, fol. Compare Müller's *Introductio in Histor. Chersonesus Cimbricæ*, par. ii. p. 108, &c. and Pontoppidan's *Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ diplomatici*, tom. iii. p. 714, &c.

lart, John Grevius, Marcus Walther, John Narsius, and others[1].

9. Maurice, under whose government the Arminians suffered so greatly, died in 1625. By the clemency of his brother and successor, Frederick Henry, the Arminian exiles were recalled, and restored to their former reputation and tranquillity. Accordingly those who had retired to France and to the Spanish Netherlands returned, and they established congregations distinct from the Reformed in various places, and particularly at Rotterdam and Amsterdam. In order to have a seminary for their own sect and religion, they founded a distinguished school at Amsterdam, in which two professors train up young men for the ministry, the one teaching theology, and the other history, philosophy, and the learned languages. Simon Episcopius was the first professor of Arminian theology; and since him, these offices have been filled, down to the present time, by men highly famed for learning and genius, namely, Stephen Curcellæus, Arnold Poellenburg, Philip Limborch, John le Clerc, Adrian van Cattenburg,[2] and John James Wetstein.

10. The Remonstrants, as we have seen, differed at first from the Reformed in nothing except the five propositions concerning grace and predestination, and it was on this ground that they were condemned at the synod of Dort. They moreover so explained those five propositions that they seemed to teach precisely what the Lutherans do. But from the time of the synod of Dort, and still more after the exiles were allowed to return to their country, they professed an entirely new species of religion, different from the views of all other sects of Christians. For most of them not only gave such an explanation of these propositions, as seemed to differ very little from the views of those who deny that a man needs any divine aid whatever in order to his conversion and living a holy life; but they also lowered very much most of the doctrines of Christianity, by subjecting them to the modifications of reason and human ingenuity. James Arminius, the parent of the sect, undoubtedly invented this form of theology and taught it to his followers;[3] but it was Simon Episcopius,

[1] Concerning Vorstius, Möller treats very fully in his *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 931, &c. He also treats expressly of the other persons here mentioned, *Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 242, 247, 249, 255, 576.

[2] Of these and the other Arminian writers, Adrian Van Cattenburg treats expressly in his *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Remonstrantium*, Amsterd. 1728, 4to. [Episcopius was born at Amsterdam, a pupil of Arminius, and after the deposition of Vorstius, his successor at Leyden, an eloquent and acute man, who being full of theological scepticism began to question many of the received opinions, *e.g.* the doctrine of original sin. He died in 1643, as professor in the Arminian Gymnasium at Amsterdam. His life written by Limborch and his writings were published by Curcellæus and Poellenburg, Amsterd. 1650, 1665, 2 vols. fol.—Curcellæus (Courcelles) was born at Geneva, of French parentage, and early showed a propensity towards Arminianism, which he defended against the decrees of Dort. He died in 1659, an Arminian professor at Amsterdam. His theological works were published collectively by Limborch, Amsterd. 1675, fol. His fine edition of the Greek New Testament with various readings is well known.—Poellenburg was born at Horn in the Netherlands, where he became a preacher. Thence he was removed to Amsterdam as a preacher, was made successor to Curcellæus in his professorship there, and died in 1666.—Limborch was brother's grandson to Episcopius, first a preacher at Gouda and then at Amsterdam, and lastly professor there, where he also died in 1712. He was a modest theologian, who united great learning with extraordinary clearness of style in his writings. This is manifest by his *Theologia Christiana*. Also his *Amica collatio cum erudito Judæo de veritate Religionis Christianæ*, his *Historia Inquisitionis*, and his collection of the Epistles of Remonstrants, are important works, as likewise his very temperately written *Relatio Historica de Origine et Progressu Controversiarum in fœderato Belgio de Prædestinatione*, &c.—Le Clerc was born and educated at Geneva, and professor of Hebrew, philosophy, and the fine arts, and afterwards of church history in the Arminian Gymnasium at Amsterdam, and died in 1736, aged 79. His *Epistolæ Theologicæ*, under the name of Liberius de S. Amore; *Sentimens de quelques Théologiens d' Hollande sur l' Histoire Critique du V. T. par R. Simon;* his Journals, (periodical works, containing analyses and Reviews of books, with original essays interspersed), namely, *Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique*, (1683—1693, in 26 dense volumes, 12mo), *Bibliothèque Choisie* (1703—1713, in 28 volumes, 12mo), *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*, (1714—1727, in 29 vols. 12mo), his *Commentaries on the Old Testament*, *Ars Critica*, *Harmony of the Gospels*, *Histoire des Provinces unies de Pays Bas* (from 1560—to 1728, in 3 vols. fol. his *Historia Ecclesiastica duorum Primorum a Christo Seculorum*, 1716, 4to), and his editions of classical and other authors, have procured him a great name among the learned.—Cattenburg was professor of theology in the Arminian Gymnasium at Amsterdam, till the year 1730. He wrote *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Remonstrantium*, *Spicilegium Theologiæ Christianæ Limborchianæ*, and some works explanatory of the Bible. — Wetstein succeeded Le Clerc after being deposed at Basil, and died in 1754, aged 61. His critical edition of the New Testament, (1751-2, in 2 vols. fol.), is well known.—*Schl.*

[3] It is a common opinion that the early Arminians who flourished before the Synod of Dort, were much purer and more sound than the latter ones who lived and taught after that council; and that Arminius himself only rejected Calvin's doctrine of absolute decrees and its necessary consequences, while in everything else he agreed with the Reformed; but that his disciples, and especially Episcopius, boldly passed the limits which their master had wisely established, and went over to the camp of the Pelagians and Socinians. But it appears to me very clear, that Arminius himself revolved in his own mind and taught to his disciples that form of religion which his followers afterwards professed; and that the latter, especially Episcopius, only perfected what their master taught them, and casting off fear explained it more clearly. I have as a witness, besides others of less authority, Arminius himself, who in his Will drawn up a little before his death explicitly declares that his aim was to bring all sects of Christians, with the exception of the papists, into one community and brotherhood. We will cite his words from Bertius' *Oratio funebris in Arminium*, p. 15: "Ea proposui atque docui ——— quæ ad propagationem, amplificationemque veritatis, religionis Christianæ, veri Dei cultus, communis pietatis, et sanctæ inter homines conversationis, denique ad convenientem Christiano nomini tranquillitatem et pacem juxta verbum Dei possent conferre, excludens ex iis Papatum, cum quo nulla unitas fidei, nullum pietatis aut Christianæ pacis vinculum servari potest." Now what, I ask, is this but that very Arminianism of more recent times, which

the first master in the Arminian school after its founder, and a very ingenious man, who digested and polished it and reduced it to a regular system.[1]

11. The whole system of the Remonstrants is directed to this one simple object, to unite the hearts of Christians who are divided by a variety of sentiments and opinions, and to gather them into one fraternity or family, notwithstanding they may differ in many points of doctrine and worship. To accomplish this object, they maintain that Christ does not require of his followers to believe much but to do much, or to cultivate love and virtue; and of course they give a very broad definition of a true Christian. For according to them every person belongs to the kingdom of Christ, who I. receives the holy Scriptures and particularly the New Testament as the rule of his religion, whatever may be the interpretation he gives to those books; II. is opposed to the worship of many gods and to whatever is connected with such an abomination; III. leads an upright life, conformable to the divine law; and IV. never troubles or disturbs those who differ from him on religious subjects or who interpret the books of the New Testament in a different manner from what he does. By these principles a wide door is opened to all who honour Christ, though differing widely in sentiments, to enter into the Arminian communion. Yet the papists are excluded from it, because they think it right to persecute and put to death those who oppose the Romish prelate.[2] And indeed if other Christians would abide by these precepts, the great diversities of opinion among them would clearly be no obstacle to their mutual love and concord.

12. It hence appears that the Arminian community was composed of persons of various descriptions, and that it had properly no fixed and stable form of religion, or, to use a common phrase, no system of religion. They would not indeed wish to be thought destitute of a bond of union; and therefore they show us a sort of confession of faith, drawn up with sufficient neatness by Simon Episcopius, for the most part in the very words of the sacred writers, and which they represent as their formula and rule of faith.[3] But as none of their teachers are so tied to this formula by oath or promise as not to be at liberty to depart from it; and on the contrary, as every one from the constitution of the sect is allowed to construe it according to his own pleasure —and it is capable of different expositions —it must be manifest that we cannot determine at all, from this confession, what they approve and what they reject. And hence their public teachers advance very different sentiments respecting the most weighty doctrines of the Christian religion.[4] Nor do they all follow one well-defined and uniform course in almost anything, except in regard to the doctrines of predestination and grace. For they all continue to assert

extends so wide the boundaries of the Christian church that all sects may live harmoniously within them, whatever opinions they may hold, except only the professors of the Romish religion? [The opinion that Arminius himself was very nearly orthodox, and not an Arminian in the common acceptation of the term, has been recently advocated by professor Stuart of Andover, in an article expressly on the Creed of Arminius, in the *Biblical Repository*, No. II. Andover, 1831. See p. 293 and 301. To such a conclusion the learned professor is led, principally by an artful and imposing statement made by Arminius to the magistrates of Holland in the year 1608, one year before his death, on which Mr. Stuart puts the most favourable construction the words will bear. But from a careful comparison of this declaration of Arminius with the original Five Articles of the Arminian Creed (which were drawn up almost in the very words of Arminius, so early as the year 1610, and exhibited by the Remonstrants in the conference at the Hague in 1611, and were afterwards, together with a full explanation and vindication of each article, laid before the synod of Dort in 1619, changing however the doubting of the fifth article into a positive denial of the saints' perseverance), it will, I think, appear manifest that Arminius himself actually differed from the orthodox of that day on all the five points; and that he agreed substantially with the Remonstrants on all those doctrines for which they were condemned in the synod of Dort. And that such was the fact, appears to have been assumed without hesitation by the principal writers of that and the following age, both Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants.—*Mur.*

[1] A life of this celebrated man, which is well worth reading, was composed by Limborch, and first published in Dutch, and then more full and complete in Latin, Amsterd. 1701, 8vo.

[2] In place of all others, Episcopius may here be consulted in his tract, entitled, *Verus Theologus Remonstrans, sive veræ Remonstrantium Theologiæ de Errantibus dilucida declaratio*, which is extant in his *Opera*, tom. i. p. 508, &c. and like the rest of his productions is neatly and perspicuously written. Le Clerc sums up the doctrines of his sect in the Dedication of his Latin translation of Hammond's New Testament, which is addressed to the learned among the Remonstrants, in this manner, p. 3. "Profiteri soletis —— eos duntaxat a vobis excludi, qui (I.) idololatria sunt contaminati, (II.) qui minime habent Scripturam pro fidei norma, (III.) qui impuris moribus sancta Christi præcepta conculcant, (IV.) aut qui denique alios religionis caussa vexant." Many tell us that the Arminians regard as brethren all who merely assent to what is called the Apostles' Creed. But a very competent witness, Le Clerc, shows that this is a mistake, *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*, tome xxv. p. 119. "Ils se trompent. Ils (les Arminiens) offrent la communion à tous ceux qui reçoivent l'Ecriture Sainte comme la seule règle de la foi et des mœurs, et qui ne sont ni Idolâtres, ni persécuteurs."

[3] This confession is extant in Latin, Dutch, and German. The Latin may be seen in the Works of Episcopius, tom. ii. par. ii. p. 69, where also, p. 97, may be seen an Apology for this Confession, by the same Episcopius, written against the Divines of the university of Leyden.

[4] Any one may see this with his own eyes, by only comparing together the writings of Episcopius, Curcellæus, Limborch, Le Clerc, and Cattenburg. [Those Arminians who agree with the Reformed in all doctrinal points, except the Five Articles contained in their remonstrance, are for distinction's sake called Quinquarticulans.—*Schl.*

most carefully, though in a very different manner from their fathers, the doctrine which excluded their ancestors from the pale of the Reformed church; namely, that the love of God embraces the whole human race, and that no one perishes through any eternal and insuperable decree of God, but all merely by their own fault. Whoever attacks this doctrine attacks the whole school or sect; but one who may assail any other doctrines contained in the writings of Arminians, must know that he has no controversy with the Arminian church, whose theology with few exceptions is unsettled and fluctuating, but only with some of its doctors, who do not all interpret and explain in the same manner even that one doctrine of the universal love of God to mankind, which especially separates the Arminians from the Reformed.

13. The Arminian community at the present time is very small if compared with the Reformed; and, if common report be true, it is decreasing continually. They have at present [1753] thirty-four congregations in Holland, some smaller and some larger, over which are forty-four ministers; out of Holland they have one at Frederickstadt. But the principles adopted by their founders have spread with wonderful rapidity over many nations, and gained the approbation of vast numbers. For to say nothing of the English, who adopted the Arminian doctrines concerning grace and predestination as early as the times of William Laud, and who on the restoration of Charles II. assented in great measure to the other Arminian tenets, who is so ignorant of the state of the world as not to know that in many of the courts of Protestant princes, and almost everywhere among those who pretend to be wise, this sentiment which is the basis of Arminianism is prevalent; namely, that very few things are necessary to be believed in order to salvation, and that every one is to be allowed to think as he pleases concerning God and religion, provided he lives a pious and upright life? The Hollanders, though they acknowledge that the sect which their fathers condemned is gradually declining in numbers and strength, yet publicly lament that the opinions of the sect are spreading farther and farther, and that even those to whose care the decrees of the synod of Dort were intrusted are corrupted by them. How much inclined towards them many of the Swiss, especially the Genevans are, and also many of the French, is very well known.[1] The form of church government and the mode of worship among the Arminians, are very nearly the same as among the Reformed of the Presbyterian churches. Yet the leaders of the sect, as they neglect no means tending to preserve and strengthen their communion with the English church, so they show themselves very friendly to episcopal government; and they do not hesitate to affirm that they regard it as a holy form, very ancient, and preferable to the other forms of government.[2]

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE QUAKERS.

1. THOSE who in English are called Quakers are in Latin called Trementes or Tremuli. This name was given them in the year 1650, by Gervas Bennet, a justice of the peace in Derbyshire;[3] but whether because their whole body trembled before they began to speak on religious subjects, or because Fox and his associates said that a man ought to tremble at hearing the word of God, does not sufficiently appear. In the mean time they suffer themselves to be called by this name, provided it be correctly understood. They prefer however to be named from their primary doctrine, Children or Professors of the Light. In familiar discourse, they call each other Friends.[4] The origin of the sect belongs to those times in English history when civil war raged universally, and when every one who had conceived in his mind a new form either of civil government or of religion, came forth with it from his obscure retreat into public view. Its parent was George Fox, a shoemaker, a man naturally very gloomy, shunning society, and peculiarly fitted to form visionary conceptions. As early as

[1] Maclaine has here a long and elaborate note on the tendency of the Leibnitian and Wolfian philosophy to support Calvinism. The reasoning is ingenious and good. But the effects actually produced by this philosophy seem to be greatly overrated, when he says, "that the progress of Arminianism has been greatly retarded, nay, that its cause daily declines in Germany and several parts of Switzerland, in consequence of the ascendant which the Leibnitian and Wolfian philosophy hath gained in these countries, and particularly among the clergy and men of learning." When Maclaine wrote thus about the year 1763, the Germans were going fast into what is called German neology, and the Swiss approximating towards Socinianism, and the philosophy he speaks of was rapidly waning.—*Mur.*

[2] Hence, to omit many other things which place this beyond doubt, they have taken so much pains to show that Hugo Grotius, their hero and almost their oracle, commended the English church in the highest degree, and that he preferred it before all others. See the collection of proofs for this by Le Clerc, subjoined to his edition of Grotius's book, *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ*, p. 376, &c. ed. Hague, 1724, 8vo.

[3] See Sewell's *History of the Quakers*, p. 23 [vol. i. p. 43, ed. London, 1811]; Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 32, &c. [where see Toulmin's note.—*Mur.*

[4] Sewel, *ubi supra*, p. 624 [vol. ii. p. 589, ed. Lond. 1811; also Neal, *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 60, 61. —*Mur.*

the year 1647, when he was twenty-three years old, he travelled over some of the counties of England, giving out that he was full of the Spirit, and exhorting the people to attend to the voice of the divine word, which lies concealed in the hearts of all. After Charles I. was beheaded, when both civil and ecclesiastical laws seemed to be extinguished together, he attempted greater things. For having acquired numerous disciples and friends of both sexes, among persons of a similar temperament with himself, in connexion with them he set all England in commotion; nay, in 1650, wherever he was able, he broke up assemblies for the public worship of God, as being useless and not truly Christian.[1] For this reason he and his associates were several times thrown into prison and chastised by the magistrates.[2]

2. The first association of Quakers was composed, in great measure, of delirious and infatuated persons, and therefore committed many acts which the more temperate Quakers of the present day extenuate indeed, but by no means commend or approve. For most of them, both male and female, declaimed vehemently against all other religions, assailed the public worship and the ministers of religion with insult and abuse, treated the commands of magistrates

[1] Fox and his adherents looked upon all worship of God which did not proceed immediately from the impulse of the Spirit within, as abominable in the sight of God. Hence he had no reverence for the religious worship of most of the sects of Christians around him. Yet it does not appear that he felt it to be his duty to attempt, forcibly, to interrupt or suppress such worship. But feeling bound always to obey the impulse of the Spirit, and supposing himself to have this impulse while in or near the places of worship, he sometimes was led to speak in them to the annoyance of the congregation, and was treated as a disturber of public worship. Three instances are mentioned, all occurring in the year 1649. The first was at Nottingham, and is thus related by Sewel, vol. i. p. 36, ed. 1811:—He "went away to the steeple-house, where the priest took for his text these words of the apostle Peter, 'We have a most (more) sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts.' And he told the people that this was the Scripture by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions. G. Fox hearing this, felt such mighty power and godly zeal working in him, that he was made to cry out, 'O! no, it is not the Scripture, but it is the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the Scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments are to be tried. That was it which led into all truth and gave the knowledge thereof. For the Jews had the Scriptures, and yet resisted the Holy Ghost and rejected Christ, the bright morning-star, and persecuted him and his apostles, though they took upon them to try their doctrines by the Scriptures; but they erred in judgment and did not try them aright, because they did it without the Holy Ghost.' Thus speaking, the officers came and took him away and put him in a nasty stinking prison." The next instance was at Mansfield, and is thus related by the same author, vol. i. p. 38:—"While G. Fox was in this place, he was moved to go to the steeple-house and declare there the truth to the priest and the people; which doing, the people fell upon him and struck him down, almost smothering him, for he was cruelly beaten and bruised with their hands, Bibles, and sticks. Then they hauled him out, though hardly able to stand, and put him into the stocks, where he sat some hours; and they brought horsewhips, threatening to whip him. After some time they had him before the magistrates at a knight's house, who seeing how ill he had been used set him at liberty after much threatening. But the rude multitude stoned him out of the town." The third instance occurred at Market Bosworth, and is thus concisely stated by Sewel, vol. i. p. 39, &c.:—"Coming into the public place of worship, he (Fox) found Nathaniel Stephens preaching, who, as hath been said already, was priest of the town where G. Fox was born; here G. Fox taking occasion to speak, Stephens told the people he was mad and that they should not hear him, though he had said before to one Colonel Purfoy concerning him, that there was never such a plant bred in England. The people now being stirred up by this priest fell upon G. Fox and his friends, and stoned them out of the town." See *A Refutation of Erroneous Statements*, &c. by authority of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, dated New Bedford, 12th month, 9th, 1811, subjoined to Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.* ed. New York, 1824, vol. iv. p. 295, &c.; Neal's *Hist. of Purit.* ed. Toulmin, vol. iv. p. 58, 59.—*Mur.*

[2] Besides the common historians of this century see especially Gerhard Crœsius (Crœse), a Dutch clergyman's, *Historia Quackeriana tribus Libris comprehensa*, ed. ii. Amsterd. 1703, 8vo. On this however Kohlhans [under the name of Philalethes], a doctor of physic and a Lutheran, who became a quaker, published *Dilucidationes*, (explanations), Amsterd. 1696, 8vo. And undoubtedly Croese's book, though neatly written, contains numerous errors. Yet the French history of the Quakers *Histoire abrégée de la Naissance et du Progrès du Kouakerisme, avec celle de ses Dogmes*, Cologne, 1692, 12mo, is much worse. For the author does not so much state what he found to be facts, as heap together things true and false without discrimination, in order to produce a ludicrous account. See Crœse's *Hist. Quackeriana*, lib. ii. p. 322 and 376, and Le Clerc's *Bibliothèque Universelle et Hist.* tome xxii. p. 53, &c. But by far the most full and authentic account, being derived from numerous credible documents and in part from the writings of Fox himself, is that given by the Quaker William Sewel's *History of the Christian People called Quakers* [first written in Dutch, and translated by the author into English, London, 1722, fol. and 1811 2 vols. 8vo], translated from the English into German and printed 1742, fol. This work exhibits great research as well as fidelity, yet on points dishonourable or disadvantageous to the Quakers, he dissembles, conceals, and beclouds not a little. Still, the statements of Sewel are sufficient to enable a discerning and impartial man to form a just estimate of this sect. Voltaire also has treated of the religion, the morals, and the history of these people, though rather to amuse than to enlighten the reader, in four letters written with his usual elegance, *Mélanges de Littérature et de Philosophie, Œuvres*, tome iv. chap. iii.–vi. p. 160, &c. [With which compare *A Letter from one of the people called Quakers* (Josiah Martin) *to Francis de Voltaire*, London, 1742.] In general, what he says is true and to be relied on, being derived from Andrew Pitt, a Quaker of London; but the witty man, to render his account more entertaining, has adorned it with poetic colouring, and added some things of his own. From these works chiefly was compiled, though not with due accuracy, the Dissertation on the Religion of the Quakers in that splendid work, *Cérémonies et Coutumes Religieuses de tous les Peuples du Monde*, tome iv. p. 124, &c. Among us, Meis published a small German work concerning this sect, and especially the English portion of it, *Entwurf des Kirchen-Ordnung und Gebräuche der Quæcker in Engelland*, 1715, 8vo. [Later works are, Gough's *History of the People called Quakers*, Lond. 1789, 3 vols. 8vo. Clarkson's *Portraiture of Quakerism*, 3 vols. 8vo, London and New York, 1806; *A Summary of the History, Doctrines, and Discipline of Friends, written at the desire of the Meeting for Sufferings in London*, 1800, and subjoined to Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.* ed. New-York, 1824, vol. iv. p. 307-327; also Joshua Toulmin, D.D. Supplements annexed to his edition of Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 296-308, 518-552, and vol. v. p 126-140, 245-261.—*Mur.*

and the laws with contempt, under the pretence of conscience and a divine impulse, and greatly disturbed both the church and the state. It is therefore not strange that many of them often suffered severe punishments for their rashness and folly.[1] Cromwell, though otherwise not hostile to any sect, yet was afraid of this turbulent multitude, and at first he determined to suppress it. But when he perceived that all his promises and his threatenings could made no impression on them, he prudently refrained, and deemed it advisable merely to take care that they should not excite seditions among the people and weaken the foundations of his power.[2]

3. Gradually however the excessive ardour of the rising sect subsided, as it was natural to expect, and that divine light to which the Quakers made pretensions, by decrees ceased to disturb the commonwealth. In the reign of Charles II. both their religion and their discipline assumed a more definite and fixed character. In this business, Fox was assisted especially by Robert Barclay, a Scotch knight, [gentleman], George Keith, and Samuel Fisher, learned men who had connected themselves with his sect.[3] For these three men digested and reduced to fixed principles, the loose

[1] See Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 153, &c. [ed. 1817, p. 174, &c.] Sewel's *Hist. of the Quakers*, in various places. [Mr. Neal, in the passage just named, gives account of the offensive conduct of some of the first Quakers and of the punishments to which they were subjected. And Toulmin in his notes corrects the statements of Neal, and vindicates the Quakers. The story of James Nayler is there stated. This honest enthusiast, who had been an admired speaker among the Quakers, very improperly suffered some misguided individuals to style him the everlasting Son of righteness, the prince of peace, the only-begotten Son of God, the fairest among ten thousand. He likewise allowed some of them to kiss his feet when imprisoned at Exeter, and after his release to conduct him in triumph to Bristol, one man walking bareheaded before him, another, a woman, leading his horse, and others spreading their scarfs and handkerchiefs in the way, and crying, "Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Hosts, Hosanna in the highest, holy, holy, is the Lord God of Israel." The magistrates of Bristol caused him to be apprehended and transmitted him to the parliament, which tried him for blasphemy. He alleged that these honours were not paid to him, but to Christ who dwelt in him, and said, "If they had it from the Lord, what had I to do to reprove them? If the Father has moved them to give these honours to Christ, I may not deny them; if they have given them to any other but to Christ, I disown them. I do abhor that any honours due to God should be given to me, as I am a creature; but it pleased the Lord to set me up as a sign of the coming of the righteous One, and what has been done to me passing through the town, I was commanded by the power of the Lord to suffer to be done to the outward man, as a sign, but I abhor any honour as a creature." Manifest as it was that the man was beside himself, and had no intention to allow divine honours to be paid to himself, he was condemned to be branded, have his tongue bored with a hot iron, sit in the pillory, be whipped through the streets of London and Bristol, and then to be imprisoned during the pleasure of parliament, and this cruel sentence was executed. But during his imprisonment he came to his senses, and very fully and penitently acknowledged his fault. The great body of Quakers at the time expressly disapproved his conduct, and they promptly ejected him from their community, but afterwards upon his repentance restored him. Such in substance is the famous case of James Nayler, which though a solitary case and disapproved at the time by the mass of the Quakers, has continued to this day to occasion great censure to be cast upon the whole sect. That the early Quakers sometimes mistook the conclusions of their own minds for suggestions of the Spirit, and that they needlessly adopted odious singularities, or did not comply so far as they ought with the customs and usages of society, nor treat the religion of others with that respect and decorum which are necessary to the peace of a community in which various religions are tolerated, many will think to be very manifest. Yet, on the other hand, there was doubtless a great want of candour and forbearance towards them. Their errors were magnified, and their indiscretions punished as high-handed crimes. One of their own writers, (Gough, *Hist. of the Quakers*, vol. i. p. 139, &c.) says, "A Christian exhortation to an assembly after the priest had done and the worship was over, was denominated interrupting public worship and disturbing the priest in his office; an honest testimony against sin in the streets or markets, was styled a breach of the peace; and their appearing before the magistrates covered, a contempt of authority; hence proceeded fines, imprisonments, and spoiling of goods."—Mosheim's representation of the modern Quakers as more moderate and decorous than their fathers in the days of Cromwell, seems to be in general correct. Yet the author of *A Refutation of erroneous Statements relative to the Society of Quakers* (in Mosheim's *Eccl. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 304, &c.), makes the following remarks, which are worthy of being inserted here. "Dr. Mosheim has, in several instances, endeavoured to impress the reader with the idea, that the ancient and modern Quakers were entirely different people, both in respect to their principles and conduct. This is the more worthy of notice, as it is an error not by any means peculiar to him, but which in a degree prevails very generally. We view the modern Quakers with our own proper vision, and through a medium cleared from the discolorations of that through which we view the ancient, and they appear to us a quiet, orderly, moral, and religious people. But in the accounts transmitted to us by their enemies, we view the ancient Quakers through a discoloured medium, a vision extremely acrimonious and tinged with bile, and they appear to us fanatic, turbulent, and riotous. If we were to imagine to ourselves the modern Quakers passing through our country, as they actually do, seeking and conversing with sober inquirers, appointing meetings for religious worship; and if at the same time we were to imagine a mob of dissolute and enraged rabble at their heels, scoffing, and beating them with sticks and stones to interrupt their meetings, without the least marks of violence or even of defensive resistance to any on their part; if we imagine some unworthy ministers and magistrates rather instigating their fury, the latter sending them to prison charged with the riots to which themselves had been accessory, the Quakers submitting to all with a patience unconquerable, yet pursuing their mission with undeviating perseverance, not to be paralleled in history since the days of the first promulgators of the Christian faith, we might then perhaps view a true picture of the ancient Quakers, their principles, their doctrine, and their manners being the same."—*Mur.*

[2] Clarendon tells us in his *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, [French edition] vol. vi. p. 437, that the Quakers remained always violent enemies to Cromwell. See Sewel, *ubi supra*, book iii. p. 91, 113, 148, 149, &c. [ed. 1811, vol. i. p. 168, 209, 273, 275, &c.—*Mur.*

[3] Respecting Barclay, see *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. et Crit.* tome i. p. 67, &c. Respecting Keith, see Sewel, *Hist. of the Quakers*, p. 429, 490, 544, 560. Respecting Fisher, see the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A.D. 1750, p. 333, &c. [Robert Barclay was descended from an honourable family, but he was not a knight. For his history the Quakers refer us to the account of him by William Penn and others, his contemporaries, prefixed to the edition of his works in folio, 1692. For the life of Fisher, they refer us to William Penn's account of him, annexed to Fisher's works, fol. 1679.—*Mur.*

and vague discipline of Fox, who was an illiterate man.[1] Yet for a long time, these wiser and more quiet Quakers had to endure even more suffering and calamity in England than the insane and turbulent had experienced, though not so much for their religion as for their manners and customs. For as they would not address magistrates by their honorary title and pay them customary respect, as they refused the oath of allegiance to the king, and as they would not pay tithes to the clergy, they were looked upon as bad citizens and dangerous men, and were often severely punished.[2] Under James II. and especially after the year 1685, they began to see better days; for which they were indebted to the celebrated William Penn, who was employed by the king in state affairs of the greatest importance.[3] At length, William III. who gave peace to all sects of dissenters from the reigning church, allowed these people also to enjoy public liberty and tranquillity.[4]

4. Oppressed and persecuted in their own country, the Quakers sought to propagate their sentiments among foreign nations, and to establish for themselves more secure habitations. Attempts were made in Germany, Prussia, France, Italy, Greece, Holland, and Holstein, but generally without effect. Yet the Dutch at length were prevailed upon to allow some families the liberty of residing among them, which they enjoy to the present time. Many of these people, not long after the sect arose, proceeded to America. And afterwards by a singular turn of things, the seat of its liberties and fortunes was established, as it were, in that quarter of the world. William Penn, the son of the English vice-admiral, adopted the Quaker religion in 1668, and in the year 1680 Charles II. and the parliament granted to him an extensive province in America, at that time a wilderness, in reward for the great services rendered by his father to the nation. Penn, who was a man of discernment and also eloquent, conducted a colony of his friends and associates into his new dominions, and there established a republic in form, laws, and regulations, unlike any other in the known world, yet a peaceful and happy one, and which still flourishes in great prosperity.[5] The Quakers there are predominant, yet all persons may become citizens who acknowledge that there is but one supreme God whose providence is over all human affairs, and who pay him homage, if not by outward signs yet by uprightness of life and conduct. The province was named from its proprietor, Pennsylvania, and the principal city is called Philadelphia.

5. While Fox was still alive there were frequent dissensions and broils among the Quakers (in the years 1656, 1661, 1683, and in other years), not indeed respecting religion itself, but respecting discipline, customs, and things of minor consequence. But these contests for the most part were soon adjusted.[6] After the death of Fox (which occurred in 1691), among others, George Keith especially, the most learned man of the whole sect, gave occasion to greater commotions. For Keith was thought by the other brethren in Pennsylvania to entertain sentiments not accordant with the truth on several points, but especially in regard to the human nature of Christ. He

[1] The Quakers consider this statement of Mosheim as being unjust to the character of George Fox. And indeed, William Penn, who certainly knew Fox's character well, and was no incompetent judge of men, in his preface to Fox's Journal, says, "He was a man that God endowed with a clear and wonderful depth, a discerner of others' spirits, and very much a master of his own.—In all things he acquitted himself like a man, a new and heavenly-minded man, a divine and a naturalist, and all of God Almighty's making. I have been surprised at his questions and answers in natural things, that while he was ignorant of useless and sophistical science, he had in him the foundation of useful and commendable knowledge, and cherished it everywhere." As to the Quaker discipline, their monthly meetings, &c. the records of the sect, they tell us, contain nothing from which it may be inferred that Barclay, Keith, and Fisher, had any share in its formation; or that it was not chiefly, if not wholly, brought into form and operation by Fox. He describes circumstantially his journeys through England to establish the monthly meetings. This was in the year 1667, the very year that Barclay joined the society, being then only 19 years old. Fisher died two years before this time, after lying in prison a year and a half. See Bevan's *Refutation of some modern Misrepresentations of the Society of Friends*, London, 1800, 12mo, and the *Vindication of the Quakers*, subjoined to Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, published at Philadelphia in 1809, and N. York, 1824.—*Mur.* [See especially Gurney's *Observations on the Peculiarities of the Society of Friends*, Lond. 1824.—*R.*

[2] See Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 313, 353, 396, 432, 510, 518, 552, 569; Burnet's *History of His Own Times*, vol. i. p. 271; Sewel, *ubi supra*, passim. [The Quakers were conscientious in all these singularities; and though we may consider them as scrupulous without good reason and contrary to the example of Christ and his apostles, who paid tribute to the priests, submitted to civil oaths, and addressed magistrates by their usual titles, yet as they could not think so, they ought to have been indulged. The fact probably was, that many people of that age could not believe that they were actuated merely by scruples of conscience; and others who did suppose this might be the case, were not disposed to indulge the consciences of those who erred.—*Mur.*

[3] See Sewel's *History of the Quakers*, p. 538, 546, 552, 564, 591, 605, &c.

[4] *Œuvres de M. de Voltaire*, tome iv. p. 182.

[5] The charter, the laws, and other papers relating to the establishment of this new commonwealth, were published [in Rapin's *History*, Penn's *Works*, and] not long since in the *Bibliothèque Britannique*, tome xv part ii. p. 310, tome xvi. part i. p. 127. Penn himself acquired a high reputation by several productions of his pen and by other things. Sewel treats of him in several places, and Burnet also, in his *History of His Own Times*.

[6] See Sewel's *History of the Quakers*, p. 126, 132, 262 429, 539, &c.

maintained that our Saviour possessed a twofold human nature—the one celestial and spiritual, the other terrene and corporeal.[1] This and the other inventions of Keith would perhaps have been tolerated with much moderation by a people who place all religion in an indescribable sense or instinct, if he had not strongly reproved some strange opinions of the American brethren, and in particular, had he not opposed their turning the whole history of our Saviour into an allegory, or a symbolical representation of the duties which religion requires of man. In Europe, indeed, the Quakers dare not deny the truth of the history of Jesus Christ; but in America, where they have nothing to fear, they are said to utter what they think and to deny any Christ who exists without us. This controversy between Keith and the other Quakers, which was discussed in several general meetings of the whole sect in England and even brought before the British parliament, was at last decided in the year 1695 by the exclusion of Keith and his adherents from communion in worship. Touched with a sense of injury,[2] after some years Keith returned to the English church and died in its communion.[3] His friends long held their separate meetings, but if report may be credited they have now become reconciled with the brethren.[3]

6. The religion of the Quakers appears at first view to be a novel thing, but it is not so in fact. For it is the ancient Mystic theology which arose in the second century, was fostered by Origen, and has been handed down to us by men of various characters and genius, now a little expanded and enlarged by the addition of consequences before not well understood. The well-meaning Fox indeed did not invent anything; but all that he taught respecting the internal word or light and its powers, he undoubtedly derived either from the books of the Mystics, a multitude of which were then circulating in England, or from the discourses of some persons initiated in the Mystic doctrines. But the doctrines which he brought forward confusedly and rudely (for he was a man of uncultivated mind and not adorned and polished with any literature or science) the sagacity of Barclay, Keith, Fisher, and Penn, embellished and reduced to such coherency, that they exhibit the appearance of a digested system or body of doctrine. The Quakers therefore may be justly pronounced the principal sect of [modern] Mystics, who have not only embraced the precepts of that occult wisdom, but have likewise seen whither those precepts lead, and have received at once all the consequences which flow from them.[4]

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[1] *Cérémonies et Coutumes de tous les Peuples du Monde*, tome iv. p. 141, &c.; Croese's, *Historia Quackeriana*, lib. iii. p. 446, &c.

[2] Burnet's *History of His Own Times*, vol. ii. p. 290. The commotions about Keith are treated of by William Sewel, *History of the Quakers*, p. 577, 592, 603. But either he did not understand the true nature of the controversy (which might be, as he was not a man of learning) or he designedly perverts and obscures it. More light is thrown on it in the German life of Henry Bernhard Küster, published in Rahtlef's *Gelehrten Europa*, vol. iii. p. 484. For Küster, a man of probity, then lived in America, and was an eyewitness of the transactions. [Mosheim appears to have been misinformed respecting George Keith and his controversy with the American Quakers; and therefore, with many others, he has given us Keith's false and slanderous representations as a true account. Keith was a Scotchman, born and liberally educated in the Scotch church. How and when he became a Quaker is not known. But for more than five-and-twenty years he travelled, preached, wrote, and suffered, among the Quakers of England and Scotland. During this period he was one of their most learned and efficient ministers, and was held by them in high estimation. In the year 1689, he removed to America and settled in Philadelphia, where he was made master of the principal school among the Quakers. He now attempted to direct and reform the discipline of the Society, and to assume a dictation which was offensive to his brethren. Mutual alienation took place, and Keith dealt out his censures both of men and measures with great freedom. A party adhered to him, but the great body of Quakers whom he was continually assailing, thought proper in the year 1692 to lay him under censure. Keith and his party still professed to be in communion with the English Quakers; but when the yearly meeting of Philadelphia sent an account of his case to the yearly meeting of London in the spring of the year 1694, Keith thought proper to appear there in vindication of his conduct. He asked and obtained a hearing; and the yearly meeting of London, after a full examination of the case, approved entirely of the proceedings of the American Quakers, and excluded Keith from all fellowship for his factious and unchristian conduct and his false criminations of the American brethren. A few however adhered to him in England, and he set up a separate meeting in London, and laboured much during several years to destroy that faith which he had spent so many years in defending and propagating. His misrepresentations of the views of the Quakers were abundant, and they were answered and confuted with no little success from his own former publications. Meeting with but little success in forming a new party, and gradually departing farther and farther from Quaker principles, he in the year 1700 wholly renounced Quakerism and became an Episcopal clergyman. In this capacity he visited America in the year 1702, hoping to draw many Quakers into the English church. But his former partisans in America, though not yet reconciled with the Quakers, would not follow him into the established church. Being entirely unsuccessful in America, Keith returned to England, became a parish minister, and died a few years after. See Gough's *History of the Quakers*, vol. iii. p. 317–350, 382–390, 442–455; Sewel's *History of the Quakers*, vol. ii. p. 493–495, 496, &c. 526–534, 574.—*Mur.*

[3] See Rogers' *Christian Quaker*, London, 1699, 4to, and *The Quakers a Divided People*, Lond. 1708, 4to; *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A.D. 1744, p. 496, &c.

[4] Most persons think that we are to learn what the Quakers believe and teach, from Robert Barclay's *Cachism*, or still better, from his *Apology for the True Christian Divinity*, which was published, Lond. 1676, 4to, and translated into other languages. Nor shall I much object to this opinion, if it be understood to mean that this sect is exceedingly desirous that others should judge of the nature of their religion by these books. But if any would have us believe that these books contain everything the Quakers regard as true, and that nothing more than what these contain was formerly taught among them or is now taught, he may easily be confuted from numerous publications. For Barclay as-

7. Their fundamental doctrine therefore, and that on which all their other doctrines depend, is that very ancient maxim of the Mystic school:—That there lurks in the minds of all men a portion of the divine reason or nature, or a spark of that wisdom which is in God himself. That whoever is desirous of true happiness and eternal salvation must, by turning his thoughts inward and away from external objects (or by contemplation and weakening the empire of the senses), elicit, kindle, and inflame this hidden, divine spark, which is oppressed and suffocated by the mass of the body and by the darkness of the flesh with which our souls are surrounded. That whoever shall do so will find a wonderful light rise upon him, or a celestial voice break upon him out of the inmost recesses of the soul, which will instruct him in all divine truth and be the surest pledge of union with the supreme God. This natural treasure of mankind is called by various names; very often by that of a divine light, sometimes a ray of eternal wisdom, sometimes celestial *Sophia*, concerning whose nuptials under a female garb with man, some of this class of people speak in magnificent terms. The names best known among us are the internal Word, and Christ within us. For as they hold the sentiment of the ancient Mystics and of Origen, that Christ is the reason and wisdom of God, and suppose all men to be furnished with a particle of the divine wisdom, they are obliged to maintain that Christ or the Word of God resides, acts, and speaks, in all persons.[1]

8. Whatever other singular and strange sentiments they may hold, all originated from this one principle as their prolific source. Because Christ resides in every son of Adam; therefore, I. All religion consists in man's averting his mind from external objects, weakening the empire of the senses, turning himself inward upon himself, and listening with his whole attention to what the Christ in his breast or the internal light dictates and enjoins. II. The external word, that is, the Holy Scriptures, does not enlighten and guide men to salvation; for words and syllables, being lifeless things, cannot have power to illumine the soul of man and to unite it to God. The only effect of the inspired books upon one who reads them, is to excite and stimulate him to attend to the internal word, and to seek the school of Christ teaching within him. Or, to express the same thing in other words, the Bible is a mute guide, which by signs points and directs to the living master residing in the soul. III.

sumed the office of an advocate, not that of a teacher; and of course he explains the sentiments of his sect, just as those do who undertake to defend an odious cause. In the first place, he is silent on points of Christianity of the utmost importance, concerning which it is very desirable to know the true sentiments of the Quakers; and he exhibits a really mutilated system of theology. For it is the practice of advocates to pass over the things which cannot easily be placed in an advantageous light, and to take up only such things as ingenuity and eloquence can make appear plausible and excellent. In the next place, he touches only cursorily and slightly upon several things, the full exposition of which would bring much odium on the Quakers, which is also an indication of a bad cause. Lastly, and to go no farther, the things which he cannot deny or conceal he explains in the most delicate and cautious manner, in common, ordinary phraseology, not very definite, avoiding carefully all the appropriate and almost consecrated terms adopted by the sect. Now it will not be very difficult for one who will take such a course, to give a specious appearance to any the most absurd doctrines. And it is well known that in this way the doctrine of Spinoza has been disguised and painted up by some of his disciples. There are other writers of this sect who express their sentiments much more clearly and freely; among whom, William Penn and George Whitehead, very celebrated men, deserve to be read preferably to all others. Among their other works there is one entitled, *The Christian Quaker and his Divine Testimony vindicated by Scripture, Reason, and Authorities, against the injurious Attempts that have been lately made by several Adversaries*, London, 1674, small folio. Penn wrote the first part and Whitehead the second. There is also extant in Sewel's *History*, p. 578, a Confession of Faith, which the Quakers published in 1693, in the midst of the controversy with Keith. But it is very cautiously drawn up and a great part of it is ambiguous. [Toulmin thinks that Mosheim is here uncandid and unjust towards Barclay; and that he has exposed himself to the just animadversions of Gough, in his *History of the Quakers*, vol. ii. p. 401–406. See Toulmin's note to Neal, vol. v. p. 253, ed. Boston, 1817. Not having Barclay's *Apology* before me, I will pass no judgment on the justice or injustice of Mosheim's statements. But I will say that I do not understand him to charge Barclay with direct and wilful misrepresentations; but only with so far acting the advocate that his book is not the best guide to a full and correct knowledge of the sentiments of the Quakers; and consequently that it is necessary to consult other works, such as the writings of Penn and Whitehead, if we would fully and truly understand the Quaker system. Now this may be so, while still the vindication of the Quakers by the committee representing the yearly meeting of Friends in Philadelphia, A.D. 1799, may very honestly and truly say: "As to our tenets and history, we refer to Fox, Barclay, Penn, Sewel, Gough, &c. and declare that we never had, nor now have, any other doctrines to publish, and that there are no religious opinions or practices among us which have not been made known to the world."—*Mur.*

[1] Yet the modern Quakers, as appears from the writings of Josiah Martin and others, are ignorant of the true sentiments of their forefathers, and perpetually confound this inherent and innate light with that light of the Holy Spirit which is shed on the minds of the pious. [This declaration of Mosheim clearly shows that he did not understand the fundamental principle of the Quakers, which is essentially different from that of the ancient Mystics. The particle of the divine nature, which the Mystics supposed to be a constituent part of man at his first creation, or a natural principle in all men, and which was sufficient to enlighten, guide, and sanctify them, provided the influences of the body or of sense could be counteracted, was quite a different thing from the internal light of the Quakers. For the latter is supposed to be a revelation made to the soul, by Christ acting through the Holy Spirit. It is therefore grace, not nature; a divine communication to fallen men, and not an original principle in their natural constitutions; and its influences and operations are moral not physical. It is therefore not strange that the Quakers should complain of this and the following sections as totally misrepresenting their fundamental principles. —*Mur.*

Those who are destitute of this written word—pagans, Jews, Mohammedans, and the barbarous nations—want indeed some aid for obtaining salvation, but not the way or the discipline of salvation itself. For if they would give heed to the internal teacher, who is never silent when the man listens to him, they might abundantly learn from him whatever is necessary to be known and to be done. IV. The kingdom of Jesus Christ therefore is of vast extent, and embraces the whole human race. For all men carry Christ in their souls; and by him, though living in the greatest barbarism and totally ignorant of the Christian religion, they may become wise and happy both in this life and in that to come. They who live virtuously and restrain the cravings of lust, whether they are Jews, Mohammedans, or pagans, may become united to God through Christ residing in their souls in this world, and so be united to him for ever. V. The principal hindrance to men's perceiving and hearkening to Christ present within them, is the heavy, dark body, composed of vicious matter, with which they are enveloped. And hence all possible care must be taken that this connexion of soul and body do not blunt the mind, disturb its operations, and by means of the senses fill it with images of external things. And on this account it is not to be supposed that when the souls of men shall have escaped this prison, God will again thrust them into it; but what the Scriptures tell us of the resurrection of our bodies must either be understood figuratively or be referred to new and celestial bodies.[1]

9. These things show that the religion of the Quakers can conveniently dispense with a Christ without, and with all that Christians believe on the authority of the Holy Scriptures concerning his divine origin, life, merits, sufferings, and atonement. Because the whole ground of salvation lies in the Christ within. Not a few of them, therefore, as we learn from very credible authors, once fell into the absurdity of maintaining that the whole narrative in the Scriptures respecting Jesus Christ is not the history of the Son of God clothed in human nature, but the history of Christ within us decorated with poetic imagery and allegory. This opinion, if we may give credit to very respectable witnesses, is so far from having become extinct among them, that on the contrary it still prevails and is taught in America. But the Europeans, either from the force of truth or compelled by fear, maintain that the divine wisdom or reason descended into the son of the Virgin Mary, and by him instructed mankind; and that this divine man actually did and suffered what he is recorded to have done and suffered. At the same time, they express themselves very ambiguously respecting many things pertaining to Christ; in particular, respecting the fruits of his sufferings and death, their statements are so loose and meagre that it is altogether uncertain and dubious what and how great they suppose those fruits to be. Besides, they have not renounced wholly the [figurative] interpretation of the history of Christ above mentioned; for they press us hard to grant, that the things which occurred in regard to our Saviour while resident among men are signs and emblems of the things which may occur and must occur in relation to the Christ within, in order to a man's partaking of salvation. And hence they are accustomed, with the Mystics their preceptors, to talk much in lofty terms and inflated style of Christ's being born, living, dying, and rising to life, in the hearts of saints.[2]

[1] These propositions all Quakers admit, or at least ought to admit if they would not entirely depart from the first principles of their system. The doctrines concerning which they disagree and dispute among themselves we here pass over, lest we should appear disposed to render the sect odious. [It is so far from being true, that "all Quakers admit these propositions," that they declare them to be mere fictions of Mosheim, or consequences which he and not they deduce from their first principle. And indeed they seem to be a philosophical creed, essentially diverse from the true belief of the Quakers.. See the preceding note. According to the belief of the Quakers, the conflicting principles in sinful men are not a particle of the divine nature opposed and weighed down by the material body, but they are divine grace or the gracious operations of the Holy Spirit conflicting with the corrupt nature of fallen man. This divine grace they hold indeed, as the Arminians also do, to be universal, or to be afforded to all mankind as soon as they become moral agents. They likewise believe, with the Arminians, that the teachings and influences of this grace are sufficient, if duly improved, to lead those who have not the Scriptures to holiness and to salvation. Neither is it true that they deny the resurrection of the body, though they seem to have an idea that the future spiritual body will so differ from the present body that it cannot be called the same. Thus Henry Tuke (as quoted in Rees' *Cyclopædia*, article *Quakers*) says: "The doctrine of the resurrection of the dead is so connected with the Christian religion, that it will be also proper to say something on this subject. In explaining our belief of this doctrine, we refer to the fifteenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. In this chapter (verses 40, 42, 44, 50) is clearly laid down the resurrection of a body, though not of the same body that dies. Here we rest our belief in this mystery, without desiring to pry into it beyond what is revealed to us."—*Mur.*

[2] In answer to most of the allegations in this section, the Quakers refer us triumphantly to the following extracts from their declaration or Confession of Faith, drawn up in the year 1693, and preserved by Sewel, *Hist. of the Quakers*, vol. ii. p. 497, &c.: "We sincerely profess faith in God, by his only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, as being our only light and life, our only way to the Father, and our only Mediator and advocate with the Father:—That God created all things, and made the worlds, by his Son, Jesus Christ, he being that powerful and living Word of God by whom all things were made; and that the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit are One, in Divine Being inseparable; one true.

10. From the same source which has been mentioned [namely, the ancient Mystic theology] has flowed their discipline and practice. They assemble indeed on the days in which other Christians generally assemble for religious purposes. But they neither observe festival days, nor use ceremonies and rites, nor suffer religion to be coupled with any positive institutions, placing it wholly in the worship of Christ hidden in the heart. Those who please teach in their assemblies, both men and women; for who may deny to the persons in whom Christ dwells and speaks, liberty to address and instruct the brethren? Prayers, hymns, and the other exercises which distinguish the public assemblies of other Christians, are unknown and discarded by them; and not without reason, since they believe with the Mystics that to pray truly is not to utter the desires of our hearts in a set form of words, but to collect the mind, recall it from all emotion and thought, and fix it wholly on a present deity. Neither do they baptize new members of their community, nor renew the remembrance of Christ's death and the benefits of it in the Lord's Supper. For they suppose both institutions to be Judaical, and to have been formerly used by the Saviour only to represent to the eye in visible imagery, by baptism, the mystical purification of the soul, and by the Holy Supper, the spiritual nourishment of it.

11. The system of morals adopted by them is beyond measure austere and forbidding. It is chiefly comprehended in these two precepts:—I. Whatever can afford us pleasure, produce agreeable emotions, or gratify the senses, must either be wholly avoided, or if by the laws of nature this is impossible, it must be so tempered and checked by reason and reflection that it may not corrupt the soul.[1] Because, as the mind ought to be always and exclusively attentive to the voice and the intimations of the teacher within, it should be separated from the intercourse and contagion of the body and corporeal things. II. It is criminal to follow the customs, fashions, and manners which are generally received in society. Hence they are easily distinguished from other people by their outward deportment and manner of life. They do not salute those they meet, never use the customary language of politeness and civility, never show respect to magistrates and to men of rank by any bodily gestures or the use of honorary titles, never defend their lives, their property, or their reputations against violence and slander, never take an oath, never seek redress in civil courts or prosecute those who injure them; on the contrary, they distinguish themselves from all their fellow-citizens by their aspect and demeanour, by their dress, which is very simple and plain, by their phraseology, their diet, and other outward things. It is however affirmed by persons of credibility that the Quakers, especially the prosperous Quaker merchants of England, have already departed considerably from these austere rules of life, and are gradually departing farther and farther; nay, that they explain and shape much more wisely the religious system of their ancestors. It is also well attested that very many of them have but an imperfect knowledge of the religion transmitted to them by their fathers.

12. This sect at its commencement had no organization and government. But afterwards the leading men perceived that their community could not subsist and escape falling into great disorder, unless it had regulations and men to superintend its affairs. Hence boards of elders were established, who discuss and regulate everything involving doubt and difficulty, and carefully watch that no one walk amiss or do anything injurious to the society. To these elders, those give in their names who contemplate marrying; to them are reported all births and deaths in the society; to them those who wish publicly to address the people exhibit their discourses, and in some places they must be written out, that the elders may see whether they will enlighten and edify.[2] For they do not allow, as they once did, every one at his pleasure to de-

living, and eternal God, blessed for ever:—Yet that this Word or Son of God, in the fulness of time, took flesh, became perfect man according to the flesh, descended and came of the seed of Abraham and David, but was miraculously conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary; and also farther declared powerfully to be the Son of God, according to the Spirit of sanctification, by the resurrection from the dead:—That as man, Christ died for our sins, rose again, and was received up into glory in the heavens; he having, in his dying for all, been that one, great, universal offering and sacrifice for peace, atonement, and reconciliation between God and man; and he is the propitiation, not for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world: We were reconciled by his death, but saved by his life:—That divine honour and worship is due to the Son of God; and that he is, in true faith, to be prayed unto, and the name of the Lord Jesus Christ called upon (as the primitive Christians did), because of the glorious union or oneness of the Father and the Son."—*Mur.*

[1] The first part of this precept (total avoidance of pleasures) the Quakers themselves say, "is no tenet of the Quakers." To the latter part of the precept they make no objection, believing it to be coincident with the apostle James's direction, "To keep himself unspotted from the world."—*Mur.*

[2] This duty of their elders the Quakers deny, declaring that their speakers never write their discourses, and that no such practice as that here described exists among them. Their speakers however have a kind of license or approbation, or at least when they travel abroad they carry some testimonials. And it is well known that they have standing committees to superintend all publications relating to the history and doctrines of the society.—*Mur.*

claim before the people; since the very indiscreet orations of many have brought much reproach and ridicule upon the society. There are also in the larger congregations, especially in London, certain persons whose duty it is to exhort the people, if it should so happen that no one of the assembly is disposed to instruct and exhort the brethren; lest, as heretofore often happened, for want of an orator the meeting should break up without a word said.[1] It is not indeed necessary that there should be any speaking in the Quaker assemblies. For the brethren do not come together to listen to an external teacher, but to attend to the voice of that teacher which each one carries in his own breast; or, as they express it, to commune with themselves (*in semet ipsos introvertant*).[2] But as their silent meetings afforded occasion to the enemies of the sect to carp and deride them, they have now appointed fixed speakers, to whom also they give a small compensation for their services.[3] The Quakers annually hold a general convention of their whole society at London the week before Whitsunday, in which all their congregations are represented; and by this convention all important questions are examined and decided. The Quakers at this day complain of many grievances, but these all originate solely from their refusal to pay tithes.

SUPPLEMENT

RELATING TO

THE DOCTRINES AND DISCIPLINE OF THE QUAKERS.*

I. DOCTRINE.

WE agree with other professors of the Christian name in the belief of one eternal God, the Creator and Preserver of the universe; and in Jesus Christ his Son, the Messiah, and Mediator of the new covenant.[4]

When we speak of the gracious display of the love of God to mankind, in the miraculous conception, birth, life, miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension of our Saviour, we prefer the use of such terms as we find in Scripture; and contented with that knowledge which divine wisdom hath seen meet to reveal, we attempt not to explain those mysteries which remain under the veil; nevertheless we acknowledge and assert the divinity of Christ, who is the wisdom and power of God unto salvation.[5]

To Christ alone we give the title of the Word of God,[6] and not to the Scriptures; although we highly esteem these sacred writings in subordination to the Spirit,[7] from which they are given forth; and we hold, with the apostle Paul, that they are able to make wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus.[8]

We reverence those most excellent precepts which are recorded in Scripture to have been delivered by our great Lord, and we firmly believe that they are practicable and binding on every Christian, and that in the life to come every man will be rewarded according to his works.[9] And further it is our belief that, in order to enable mankind to put in practice these sacred precepts, many of which are contradictory to the unregenerate will of man,[10] every man coming into the world is endued with a measure of light, grace, or good Spirit of Christ, by which, as it is attended to, he is enabled to distinguish good from evil, and to correct the disorderly passions and corrupt propensities of his nature, which mere reason is altogether insufficient to overcome. For all that belongs to man is fallible and within the reach of temptation, but this divine grace which comes by Him who hath overcome the world[11] is, to those who humbly and sincerely seek it, an all-sufficient and present help in time of need. By this the snares of the enemy are detected, his allurements avoided, and deliverance is experienced through faith in its effectual operation, whereby the soul is translated out of the kingdom of darkness and from under the power of Satan, into the marvellous light and kingdom of the Son of God.

Being thus persuaded that man, without the Spirit of Christ inwardly revealed, can do nothing to the glory of God or to effect his own salvation,

* Mosheim's account of the Quakers is so very faulty, that the American editions of this work have generally been accompanied with counter statements, derived from other and better authorities. In the preceding notes, many of the mistakes of Mosheim have been pointed out. But still it is believed that full justice will not be done to the principles of this sect, without allowing them to express their religious views in their own language. The following Supplement is therefore annexed, being part of a *Summary of the History, Doctrine, and Discipline of Friends, written at the desire of the Yearly Meeting for Sufferings in London*; first published in a small work, by Joseph Gurney Bevan, Lond. 1800, 12mo, and afterwards annexed to the fourth volume of Maclaine's *Mosheim*; New-York, 1824.—*Mur.*

[1] Here again the Quakers, through Mr. Bevan of London, deny the existence of such subsidiary speakers in their congregations.—*Mur.*

[2] Sewel, *Hist. of the Quakers*, p. 612.

[3] Here again Mosheim was misinformed. Mr. Bevan says, "Except a few clerks of this kind (that is, who keep voluminous records, &c.) and persons who have the care of meeting-houses, none receive any stipend or gratuity for their services in our religious society."—*Mur.*

[4] Heb. xii. 24.—[5] 1 Cor. i. 24.

[6] John i. 1.—[7] 2 Pet. i. 21.—[8] 2 Tim. iii. 15.—[9] Matt. xvi. 27.—[10] John i. 9.—[11] John xvi. 33.

we think this influence especially necessary to the performance of the highest act of which the human mind is capable, even the worship of the Father of Lights and of Spirits, in spirit and in truth; therefore we consider as obstructions to pure worship all forms which divert the attention of the mind from the secret influence of this unction from the Holy One.[1] Yet, although true worship is not confined to time and place, we think it incumbent on Christians to meet often together,[2] in testimony of their dependence on the Heavenly Father, and for a renewal of their spiritual strength; nevertheless, in the performance of worship we dare not depend for our acceptance with Him on a formal repetition of the words and experiences of others, but we believe it to be our duty to lay aside the activity of the imagination and to wait in silence to have a true sight of our condition bestowed upon us; believing even a single sigh[3] arising from such a sense of our infirmities and the need we have of divine help to be more acceptable to God than any performances, however specious, which originate in the will of man.

From what has been said respecting worship, it follows that the ministry we approve must have its origin from the same source; for that which is needful for man's own direction and for his acceptance with God[4] must be eminently so to enable him to be helpful to others. Accordingly we believe that the renewed assistance of the light and power of Christ is indispensably necessary for all true ministry; and that this holy influence is not at our command or to be procured by study, but is the free gift of God to chosen and devoted servants. Hence arises our testimony against preaching for hire, in contradiction to Christ's positive command, "Freely ye have received, freely give;"[5] and hence our conscientious refusal to support such ministry by tithes or other means.

As we dare not encourage any ministry but that which we believe to spring from the influence of the Holy Spirit, so neither dare we attempt to restrain this influence to persons of any condition in life or to the male sex alone; but as male and female are one in Christ, we allow such of the female sex as we believe to be endued with a right qualification for the ministry to exercise their gifts for the general edification of the church; and this liberty we esteem a peculiar mark of the gospel dispensation as foretold by the prophet Joel,[6] and noticed by the apostle Peter.[7]

There are two ceremonies in use among most professors of the Christian name, Water-baptism and what is termed the Lord's Supper. The first of these is generally esteemed the essential means of initiation into the church of Christ, and the latter of maintaining communion with him. But as we have been convinced that nothing short of his redeeming power, inwardly revealed, can set the soul free from the thraldom of sin, by this power alone we believe salvation to be effected. We hold that as there is one Lord and one faith,[8] so his baptism is one in nature and operation; that nothing short of it can make us living members of his mystical body; and that the baptism with water, administered by his forerunner John, belonged, as the latter confessed, to an inferior and decreasing dispensation.[9]

With respect to the other rite, we believe that communion between Christ and his church is not maintained by that nor any other external performance, but only by a real participation of his divine nature[10] through faith; that this is the supper alluded to in the Revelation, "Behold, I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me;"[11] and that where the substance is attained it is unnecessary to attend to the shadow, which doth not confer grace, and concerning which opinions so different and animosities so violent have arisen.

Now, as we thus believe that the grace of God which comes by Jesus Christ is alone sufficient for salvation, we can neither admit that it is conferred on a few only, while others are left without it, nor, thus asserting its universality, can we limit its operation to a partial cleansing of the soul from sin even in this life. We entertain worthier notions both of the power and goodness of our Heavenly Father, and believe that he doth vouchsafe to assist the obedient to experience a total surrender of the natural will to the guidance of his pure unerring Spirit, through whose renewed assistance they are enabled to bring forth fruits unto holiness, and to stand perfect in their present rank.[12]

There are not many of our tenets more generally known than our testimony against oaths and against war. With respect to the former of these, we abide literally by Christ's positive injunction delivered in his sermon on the mount, "Swear not at all."[13] From the same sacred collection of the most excellent precepts of moral and religious duty, from the example of our Lord himself,[14] and from the correspondent convictions of his Spirit in our hearts, we are confirmed in the belief that wars and fightings are, in their origin and effects, utterly repugnant to the Gospel, which still breathes peace and good-will to men. We also are clearly of the judgment that if the benevolence of the Gospel were generally prevalent in the minds of men, it would effectually prevent them from oppressing, much more enslaving, their brethren (of whatever colour or complexion), for whom, as for themselves, Christ died; and would even influence their conduct in their treatment of the brute creation, which would no longer groan, the victims of their avarice or of their false ideas of pleasure.

Some of our tenets have in former times, as hath been shown, subjected our friends to much suffering from government, though to the salutary purposes of government our principles are a security. They inculcate submission to the laws in all cases wherein conscience is not violated. But we hold that as Christ's kingdom is not of this world, it is not the business of the civil magistrate

[1] 1 John ii. 20, 27.—[2] Heb. x. 25.—[3] Rom. viii. 26.—[4] Jer. xxiii. 30-32.—[5] Matt. x. 8.—[6] Joel ii. 28, 29.—[7] Acts ii. 16, 17.—[8] Eph. iv. 5.

[9] John iii. 30.—[10] 2 Pet. i. 4.—[11] Rev. viii. 20.—[12] Matt. v. 48.—Eph. iv. 13.—Col. iv. 12.—[13] Matt. v. 34.—[14] Matt. v. 39, 44, &c.; chap. xxvi. 52, 53; Luke xxii. 51; John xviii. 11.

to interfere in matters of religion, but to maintain the external peace and good order of the community. We therefore think persecution, even in the smallest degree, unwarrantable. We are careful in requiring our members not to be concerned in illicit trade, nor in any manner to defraud the revenue.

It is well known that the society, from its first appearance, has disused those names of the months and days which, having been given in honour of the heroes or false gods of the heathen, originated in their flattery or superstition; and the custom of speaking to a single person in the plural number, as having arisen also from motives of adulation. Compliments, superfluity of apparel and furniture, outward shows of rejoicing and mourning, and the observation of days and times, we esteem to be incompatible with the simplicity and sincerity of a Christian life; and public diversions, gaming, and other vain amusements of the world, we cannot but condemn. They are a waste of that time which is given us for nobler purposes, and divert the attention of the mind from the sober duties of life and from the reproofs of instruction, by which we are guided to an everlasting inheritance.

To conclude, although we have exhibited the several tenets which distinguish our religious society as objects of our belief, yet we are sensible that a true and living faith is not produced in the mind of man by his own effort, but is the free gift of God[1] in Christ Jesus, nourished and increased by the progressive operation of his Spirit in our hearts and our proportionate obedience.[2] Therefore, although for the preservation of the testimonies given us to bear and for the peace and good order of the society, we deem it necessary that those who are admitted into membership with us should be previously convinced of those doctrines which we esteem essential, yet we require no formal subscription to any articles, either as a condition of membership or a qualification for the service of the church. We prefer the judging of men by their fruits and depending on the aid of Him who by his prophet hath promised to be "a spirit of judgment to him that sitteth in judgment."[3] Without this, there is a danger of receiving members into outward communion, without any addition to that spiritual sheepfold whereof our blessed Lord declared himself to be both the door and the shepherd:[4] that is, such as know his voice and follow him in the paths of obedience.

II. DISCIPLINE.

THE purposes which our discipline hath chiefly in view are the relief of the poor, the maintenance of good order, the support of the testimonies which we believe it is our duty to bear to the world, and the help and recovery of such as are overtaken in faults.

In the practice of discipline, we think it indispensable that the order recommended by Christ himself be invariably observed:[5] "If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother; but if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established: and if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church."

To effect the salutary purposes of discipline, meetings were appointed at an early period of the society, which from the times of their being held were called Quarterly meetings. It was afterwards found expedient[6] to divide the districts of those meetings, and to meet more frequently, from whence arose Monthly meetings, subordinate to those held quarterly. At length, in 1669,[7] a yearly meeting was established to superintend, assist, and provide rules for the whole; previously to which general meetings had been occasionally held.

A Monthly meeting is usually composed of several particular congregations,[8] situated within a convenient distance from each other. Its business is to provide for the subsistence of the poor, and for the education of their offspring; to judge of the sincerity and fitness of persons appearing to be convinced of the religious principles of the society, and desiring to be admitted into membership;[9] to excite due attention to the discharge of religious and moral duty, and to deal with disorderly members. Monthly meetings also grant to such of their members as remove into other Monthly meetings certificates of their membership and conduct, without which they cannot gain membership in such meetings. Each Monthly meeting is required to appoint certain persons under the name of overseers, who are to take care that the rules of our discipline be put in practice; and when any case of complaint or disorderly conduct comes to their knowledge, to see that private admonition, agreeably to the Gospel rule before mentioned, be given previously to its being laid before the monthly meeting.

When a case is introduced, it is usual for a small committee to be appointed to visit the offender, to endeavour to convince him of his error, and to induce him to forsake and condemn it.[10] If they succeed, the person is by minute declared to have made satisfaction for the offence; if not, he is disowned as a member of the society.[11]

In disputes between individuals, it has long been the decided judgment of the society that its members should not sue each other at law. It therefore enjoins all to end their differences by speedy and impartial arbitration, agreeably to rules laid down. If any refuse to adopt this mode, or

[1] Eph. ii. 8.—[2] John vii. 17.—[3] Isaiah xxviii. 6.—[4] John x. 7, 11.—[5] Matt. xviii 15-17.

[6] Sewel, 485.—[7] Fox, 390.

[8] Where this is the case, it is usual for the members of each congregation to form what is called a preparative meeting, because its business is to prepare whatever may occur among themselves, to be laid before the Monthly meeting.

[9] On application of this kind, a small committee is appointed to visit the party, and report to the Monthly meeting, which is directed by our rules not to admit any into membership without allowing a seasonable time to consider their conduct.

[10] This is generally done by a written acknowledgment signed by the offender.

[11] This is done by what is termed a Testimony of Denial, which is a paper reciting the offence and sometimes the steps which have led to it; next, the means unavailingly used to reclaim the offender; after that, a clause disowning him, to which is usually added an expression of desire for his repentance and for his being restored to membership.

having adopted it, to submit to the award, it is the direction of the Yearly meeting that such be disowned.

To Monthly meetings also belongs the allowing of marriages; for our society hath always scrupled to acknowledge the exclusive authority of the priests in the solemnization of marriage. Those who intend to marry appear together, and propose their intention to the Monthly meeting, and if not attended by their parents and guardians, produce a written certificate of their consent, signed in the presence of witnesses. The meeting then appoints a committee to inquire whether they be clear of other engagements respecting marriage, and if at a subsequent meeting, to which the parties also come and declare the continuance of their intention, no objections be reported, they have the meeting's consent to solemnize their intended marriage. This is done in a public meeting for worship, towards the close whereof the parties stand up and solemnly take each other for husband and wife. A certificate of the proceedings is then publicly read and signed by the parties, and afterwards by the relations and others as witnesses. Of such marriage the Monthly meeting keeps a record, as also of the births and burials of its members. A certificate of the date, of the name of the infant, and of its parents, signed by those present at the birth, is the subject of one of these last-mentioned records; and an order for the interment, countersigned by the gravemaker, of the other. The naming of children is without ceremony. Burials are also conducted in a simple manner. The body, followed by the relations and friends, is sometimes, previously to interment, carried to a meeting, and at the grave a pause is generally made; on both which occasions it frequently falls out that one or more persons present have something to express for the edification of those who attend, but no religious rite is considered as an essential part of burial.

Several Monthly meetings compose a Quarterly meeting. At the Quarterly meeting are produced written answers from the Monthly meetings to certain queries respecting the conduct of their members, and the meetings' care over them. The accounts thus received are digested into one, which is sent, also in the form of answers to queries, by representatives to the Yearly meeting. Appeals from the judgment of Monthly meetings are brought to the Quarterly meetings, whose business also it is to assist in any difficult case, or where remissness appears in the care of the Monthly meetings over the individuals who compose them.

The Yearly meeting has the general superintendence of the society in the country in which it is established,[1] and therefore as the accounts which it receives discover the state of inferior meetings, as particular exigencies require or as the meeting is impressed with a sense of duty, it gives forth its advice, makes such regulations as appear to be requisite or excites to the observance of those already made, and sometimes appoints committees to visit those Quarterly meetings which appear to be in need of immediate advice. Appeals from the judgment of Quarterly meetings are here finally determined, and a brotherly correspondence by epistles is maintained with other Yearly meetings.[2]

In this place it is proper to add, that as we believe that women may be rightly called to the work of the ministry, we also think that to them belongs a share in the support of our Christian discipline, and that some parts of it, wherein their own sex is concerned, devolve on them with peculiar propriety; accordingly they have Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly meetings of their own sex, held at the same time and in the same place with those of the men, but separately, and without the power of making rules; and it may be remarked, that during the persecutions, which in the last century occasioned the imprisonment of so many of the men, the care of the poor often fell on the women, and was by them satisfactorily administered.

In order that those who are in the situation of ministers may have the tender sympathy and counsel of those of either sex[3] who, by their experience in the work of religion, are qualified for that service, the Monthly meetings are advised to select such under the denomination of elders. These, and ministers approved by their Monthly meetings,[4] have meetings peculiar to themselves, called meetings of Ministers and Elders, in which they have an opportunity of exciting each other to a discharge of their several duties, and of extending advice to those who may appear weak, without any needless exposure. Such meetings are generally held in the compass of each Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly meeting. They are conducted by rules prescribed by the Yearly meeting, and have no authority to make any alteration or addition to them. The members of them unite with their brethren in the Meetings for discipline, and are equally accountable to the latter for their conduct.

It is to a meeting of this kind in London, called the Second Day's Morning meeting, that the revisal of manuscripts concerning our principles previously to publication is entrusted by the Yearly meeting held in London; and also the granting, in the intervals of the Yearly meeting, of certificates of approbation to such ministers as are concerned to travel in the work of the ministry in foreign parts, in addition to those granted by their Monthly and Quarterly meetings. When a visit of this kind doth not extend beyond Great Britain, a certificate from the Monthly meeting of which the minister is a member is sufficient; if to Ireland the concurrence of the Quarterly meeting is also required.

[1] There are seven Yearly meetings, viz.: I. London, to which come representatives from Ireland; II. New England; III. New York; IV. Pennsylvania and New Jersey; V. Maryland; VI. Virginia; VII. the Carolinas and Georgia.

[2] See the last note.

[3] Fox, 461, 492.

[4] Those who believe themselves required to speak in meetings for worship are not immediately acknowledged as ministers by their Monthly meetings; but time is taken for judgment, that the meeting may be satisfied of their call and qualification. It will also sometimes happen that such as are not approved will obtrude themselves as ministers, to the grief of their brethren; but much forbearance is used towards these, before the disapprobation of the meeting is publicly testified.

Regulations of similar tendency obtain in other Yearly meetings.

The Yearly meeting of London, in the year 1675, appointed a meeting to be held in that city for the purpose of advising and assisting in cases of suffering for conscience' sake, which hath continued with great use to the society to this day. It is composed of friends under the name of correspondents chosen by the several Quarterly meetings, and who reside in or near the city. The same meetings also appoint members of their own in the country as correspondents, who are to join their brethren in London on emergency. The names of all these correspondents, previously to their being recorded as such, are submitted to the approbation of the Yearly meeting. Those of the men who are approved ministers are also members of this meeting, which is called the Meeting for Sufferings, a name arising from its original purpose, which is not yet become entirely obsolete.

The Yearly meeting has entrusted the Meeting for Sufferings with the care of printing and distributing books, and with the management of its stock;[1] and considered as a standing committee of the Yearly meeting, it hath a general care of whatever may arise, during the intervals of that meeting, affecting the society and requiring immediate attention, particularly of those circumstances which may occasion an application to government.

There is not in any of the meetings which have been mentioned any president, as we believe that Divine Wisdom alone ought to preside, nor hath any member a right to claim pre-eminence over the rest. The office of clerk, with a few exceptions, is undertaken voluntarily by some member, as is also the keeping of the records. Where these are very voluminous and require a house for their deposit (as is the case in London, where the general records of the society in Great Britain are kept), a clerk is hired to have the care of them; but except a few clerks of this kind, and persons who have the care of meeting-houses, none receive any stipend or gratuity for their services in our religious society.

Thus have we given a view of the foundation and establishment of our discipline, by which it will be seen that it is not (as hath been frequently insinuated) merely the work of modern times, but was the early care and concern of our pious predecessors. We cannot better close this short sketch of it than by observing, that if the exercise of discipline should in some instances appear to press hard upon those who, neglecting the monitions of divine counsel in their hearts, are also unwilling to be accountable to their brethren, yet if that great, leading, and indispensable rule enjoined by our Lord be observed by those who undertake to be active in it, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,"[2] it will prevent the censure of the church from falling on anything but that which really obstructs the truth. Discipline will then promote in an eminent degree that love of our neighbour which is the mark of discipleship, and without which a profession of love to God and to his cause is a vain pretence. "He," said the beloved disciple, "that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? And this commandment have we from him, that he who loveth God love his brother also."[3]

[1] This is an occasional voluntary contribution expended in printing books, house-rent for a clerk, and his wages for keeping records, the passage of ministers who visit their brethren beyond sea, and some incidental charges.

[2] Matthew vii. 17.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF THE MENNONITES OR ANABAPTISTS.

1. THE Mennonites, after numerous trials and sufferings, at length obtained in this century the much-desired peace and tranquillity, but they obtained it very slowly and by degrees. For although they were admitted to the privileges of citizens among the Dutch in the preceding century, yet they could not prevail on the English, the Swiss, or the Germans, either by prayers or arguments, to grant them the same privileges nor to revise the laws in force against them. The enormities of the old Anabaptists were continually floating in the vision of the magistrates; and it did not seem to them possible, that men who hold that a Christian can never take an oath without committing great sin, and who think that Christ allows no place in his kingdom for magistrates and civil punishments, could fulfil the duties of good citizens. And accordingly not a few examples may be collected from this century, of Anabaptists who were put to death or suffered other punishments.[4] At the present time, having given numerous proofs of their probity, they live in peace not only among the Dutch, but also among the English, the Germans, and the Prussians, and support themselves and families by their honest industry, partly as labouring men and artificers and partly by merchandise.

2. The more wise among them, readily perceiving that this external peace would not be very firm and durable, unless their intestine contests and their old altercations

[3] 1 John iv. 20, 21.

[4] The enactments of the Swiss against the Mennonites in this century are stated by Ottius, *Annales Anabapt.* p. 337, &c. and in some other places; and those of the year 1693, by Hottinger, *Schweizerische Kirchenhistorie*, vol. i. p. 1101. And that in this 18th century they have not been treated more leniently in the canton of Berne, appears from Schyn's *Historia Mennonitar.* cap. x. p. 289, &c. where may be seen letters of the States-General of the United Provinces interceding with that canton in their behalf. In the Palatinate they were grievously persecuted in 1694, when the letters of William III. the king of Great Britain, hushed the tempest. See Schyn, *ubi supra*, p. 265, &c. Some instances of Anabaptists being put to death in England are mentioned by Burnet, *Hist. of His Own Times*, vol. i.

about unimportant matters were terminated, applied themselves from time to time with great care to appease these discords. Nor were their efforts without effect. A large part of the Flandrians, the Germans, and the Frieslanders, renounced their contests in 1630 at Amsterdam, and entered into a union, each retaining however some of its peculiar sentiments. Afterwards, in 1649, the Flandrians in particular and the Germans, between whom there had formerly been much disagreement, renewed this alliance, and strengthened it with new guarantees.[1] All these Anabaptists went over to the moderate part of the sect, and softened down and improved the old institutions of Menno and his successors.

3. The whole sect of Anabaptists, therefore, forms at the present day two large communities; namely, the Refined, that is, the more strict, who are also called the old Flemings or Flandrians; and the Gross, that is, the more mild and lax, who are also commonly called Waterlanders. The reasons of these names have already been given.[2] Each of these communities is subdivided into several minor parties. The Refined in particular,—besides embracing the two considerable parties, of Gröningenists[3] (who are so called because they hold their stated conventions at Gröningen), and the Dantzigers or Prussians (so named because they have adopted the customs and church government of the Prussians),—contains a great number of smaller and more obscure parties, which disagree on various subjects and especially in regard to discipline, customs, and rules of life, and are united in nothing but in the name and in the common opinions of the early Anabaptists. All these Refined Anabaptists are true disciples of Menno Simonis, and they retain, though not all with equal strictness, his doctrines respecting the body of Christ, the washing of strangers' feet as Christ enjoined, the excluding from the church and avoiding as pestilential not only sinners, but also those who even slightly deviate from the ancient simplicity and are stained with some appearance of sin.[4] At the present day, some of their congregations are gradually altering, and slowly approximating to more moderate sentiments and discipline.

4. All the Anabaptists have, first, Bishops or Elders, who uniformly preside in the consistory [or church session], and have the sole power of administering baptism and the Lord's Supper; secondly, Teachers who preach to the congregation; and lastly, Deacons and Deaconesses. The ministry [or church session] by which the church is governed is composed of these three orders. The more weighty affairs are proposed and discussed in assemblies of the brethren. All ecclesiastical officers are chosen by the suffrages of the brethren, and except the deacons, are ordained by prayers and the imposition of hands.

5. Among the minor parties of the more strict [or Refined] Anabaptists, that which has obtained the greatest celebrity bears the name of Uckewallists or Ockwallists, from Uke Walles, a Frieslander, its founder. This rustic and very illiterate man not only wished to have the whole ancient and severe discipline of Menno retained entire and unaltered, but also taught in the year 1637, in company with John Leus, that there is reason to hope for the salvation of Judas and the others who laid violent hands on our Saviour. To give some plausibility and importance to this error, he pretended that the period between the birth of our Saviour and the descent of the Holy Ghost, which divides as it were the Old Testament from the New, was a time of darkness and ignorance, during which the Jews were destitute of all light and divine assistance; and hence he would infer, that the sins and wickedness they committed during this period were in a great measure excusable, and could not merit severe punishment from the justice of God. Neither the Mennonites nor the magistrates of Gröningen could endure this fiction; the former excommunicated him, and the latter banished him from the city. He removed, therefore, into the adjacent province of East Friesland, and collected a large number of disciples, whose descendants still remain in the territory of Gröningen, and in Friesland, Lithuania, and Prussia, and hold their meetings separately from the other Mennonites.[5] Whether they still profess that

[1] Schyn, *Plenior Deductio Historiæ Mennonitarum*, p. 41, 42.

[2] See page 691 above.—*R.*

[3] The Gröningenists or old Flemings have gradually laid aside their ancient strictness, both in regard to church discipline and the practice of rebaptizing. At present, they think and teach just as in the general Anabaptist church. This is a note of the Dutch translator of this History.—*Mur.*

[4] See Rues, *Nachrichten von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande der Mennoniten*, Jena, 1743, 8vo.

[4] It is incorrect to represent the followers of Uke Walles as constituting a particular sect, bearing the name of Uckewallists or Œckewallists. He was merely a preacher among the old Flemings. He may have found some individual persons who would profess his doctrines; but there is no evidence before us that his particular opinions were embraced by any congregation whatever, and much less by the whole party of the old Flemings, or by any considerable part of it. Besides, his doctrines have been unknown among them now for many years. "I testify (writes one of their teachers),

sentiment which brought so much trouble upon their master, does not appear; for they have very little intercourse with other people. But it is certain that they tread the most faithfully of all in the steps of Menno, their common preceptor, and exhibit as it were a living picture of the first age of Mennonitism. If any one joins them from other sects of Christians, they baptise him anew. Their dress is rustic, nay worse than rustic, for they will tolerate no appearance or shadow of elegance and ornament. Their beard is long, their hair uncombed, their countenance very gloomy, and their houses and furniture only such as absolute necessity demands. Whoever deviates in the least from this austerity is forthwith excommunicated, and is shunned by all as a pest. Their bishops or overseers of the church, who are different from their teachers, must be approved by all their congregations. Washing of feet they regard as a divine rite. They can the more easily keep up this discipline, as they carefully provide that not a breath of science or learning shall contaminate their pious ignorance.

6. The Gross or more moderate Anabaptists consist of the Waterlanders, Flandrians, Frisians, and Germans, who entered into the union already mentioned. They are generally called Waterlanders. They have forsaken the more rigid and singular opinions of Menno (whom however most of them respect and venerate), and have approximated to the customs and opinions of other Christians. They are divided into two communities, the Frieslanders and the Waterlanders, neither of which has any bishops, but only Elders and Deacons. Each congregation is independent, and has its own consistory composed of the Elders and Deacons. But the supreme power belongs to the people, without whose consent no business of great importance is transacted. Their elders are learned men, some of them doctors of physic, and others masters of arts. And they now support a professor at Amsterdam, who teaches both theology and the sciences.

7. One of these communities of Waterlanders[2] in the year 1664, became split into two parties, which still continue, and which bear the names of Galenists and Apostoolians, from the names of their [first] teachers. Galenus Abrahams de Haan, a doctor of physic and a minister among the Mennonites at Amsterdam, a man whom even his enemies applaud for his eloquence and penetration, taught in accordance with the views of the Arminians, that the Christian religion was not so much a body of truths to be believed as of precepts to be obeyed; and he would have admission to the church and to the title and privileges of brethren be open to all persons who merely believed the books of the Old and New Testaments to be divinely inspired, and lived pure and holy lives. He adopted this principle because he himself entertained different views from the other Mennonites respecting the divine nature of Jesus Christ, and the redemption of the human race by his merits and death, and was inclined to the side of the Socinians.[3] Besides others who appeared against him, Samuel Apostool, who was likewise a distinguished minister of the church at Amsterdam, very strenuously defended not only the sentiments held by most of the Mennonites in common with other Christians, respecting the divinity of our Saviour and the influences of his death, but also the well-known peculiar sentiment of this sect respecting the visible church of Christ on earth.[4] The consequence of this contest was a schism, which some prudent and influential men still labour in vain to remove. The Galenists are equally ready with the Arminians to admit all sorts of persons into their church who call them-

that it is not known to me that there is now any church or congregation among the Mennonites, either here in East Friesland or anywhere else, which has received or professed these particular and absurd opinions." Wærma *Beknopt Ontwerp*, in the Preface, sec. 24, Emden, 1744, 8vo. So the Œckewallists, as they are called, or the Gröningenslans and old Flemings, are no longer particular sects among the Baptists. See also note 3, p. 858, above. This likewise is a note of the Dutch translator of Mosheim.—*Mur.*

[1] Ottius, *Annales Anabaptist.* p. 266; Schyn, *Plenior Deductio Histor. Mennonit.* p. 43; Jehring, *Diss. de Ukonis Walles vita et fatis*, in the *Biblioth. Bremensis Theol. Philol.* tom. viii. p. 113, and the Preface to the *History of the Mennonites* (in German), p. 11, &c. and the Appendix to the same, p. 234, &c.

[2] This is either a mistake or a slip of the pen in Mosheim. This schism did not occur in the community of the Waterlanders but in that of the Flemings, and among them only at Amsterdam. The church of the Flemings at Amsterdam, in which were the two preachers, Galenus Abrahams de Haan and Samuel Apostool, became at this time divided. Some years afterwards the Waterlander church in the above-named city united with the Galenists. Such is the note of the Dutch translator of this work.—*Mur.*

[3] Galenus Abrahams was accused of this by his opposers. The Court of Holland (the States-General) investigated the subject, and acquitted this minister on the 14th of Sept. 1663. See Wagenaer, Amsterdam, part ii. p. 195 and 237. Note of the Dutch translator. To the history of the Orthodox or Non-Remonstrant Mennonites belongs *The Faith of the True Mennonites or Baptists, gathered from their Public Confessions*, by Cornelius Ris, minister of the Mennonites at Hoorn, with an explanatory Introduction and Appendix, Hamburg, 1776, 4to (in German). This is properly a translation of the Dutch original, which was published in 1773. It exhibits many correct views of genuine Christianity, in both its theoretical and practical parts, and is free from the doctrine which is peculiar only to some of the Mennonites respecting the origin of Christ's human nature. Note of the Dutch translator.—*Mur.*

[4] See respecting both [these men], Schyn's *Plenior Deductio Historiæ Mennonit.* cap. xv. p. 318, and cap. xviii. p. 237.

selves Christians; and they are the only Anabaptists [in Holland] who refuse to be called Mennonites. The Apostoolians admit none to membership who do not profess to believe the doctrines contained in the public formula of their religion.[1]

[1] Commelin, *Description of the City of Amsterdam* (in Dutch), vol. i. p. 500, &c.; Stoupa, *La Religion des Hollandois*, p. 20, &c.; Bentheim's *Holländischer Schul- und Kirchenstaat*, part i. chap. xix. p. 830. [As this chapter of Mosheim's history embraces only the Dutch Baptists or Mennonites, it seems proper to add here a brief narrative of the English Baptists. Most of the Anabaptists mentioned in English history, prior to the reign of James I. appear to have been either Dutch and other foreign Anabaptists who endeavoured to establish themselves in England, or small companies of converts made by them in the country. Yet there were probably many individuals among the people who questioned or denied the propriety of infant baptism; and there are some intimations of attempts by such persons to hold conventicles in the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth. But the first regular congregation of English Baptists appears to have originated from certain English Puritans who returned from Holland after the death of their pastor, Rev. John Smith, who died in 1610. See above, note 3, p. 697. These were General or Arminian Baptists, and may be supposed to have derived many of their opinions from the Mennonites. From this time onward churches of General Baptists were formed here and there in different parts of England. But in general they made no great figure, and do not appear to have had much connexion, or to have professed one uniform faith.—The Particular or Calvinistic Baptists trace their origin to a congregation of Independents established in London in the year 1616. This congregation having become very large, and some of them differing from the others on the subject of infant baptism, they agreed to divide. Those who disbelieved in infant baptism were regularly dismissed in 1633, and formed into a new church under Rev. John Spilsbury. In 1638, several more members were dismissed to Mr. Spilsbury's church. And in 1639, a new Baptist church was formed. Churches of Particular Baptists now multiplied rapidly. In 1646, there were forty-six in and about London. They published a confession of their faith in 1643, which was reprinted in 1644 and 1646, and revised in 1689 by a convention of elders and delegates from more than one hundred churches in England and Wales. Besides these, there were at that time several churches of Calvinistic Baptists who professed open communion, especially in Bedfordshire, where John Bunyan preached. There were also some Seventh-Day Baptists. Baptist churches were also planted in Ireland in the time of the civil wars; and Roger Williams established a Baptist church in Providence in 1639, which was the commencement of this denomination in America.—When Cromwell had usurped the government he dismissed the principal officers of the army, alleging among other reasons that they were all Anabaptists. Yet during his administration they had full toleration; indeed his tryers admitted a number of their preachers to become parish ministers of England. On the restoration of Charles II. in 1660, the Baptists with all other Nonconformists were exposed to great troubles and persecutions; and at the Revolution in 1688, they as well as the other dissenters obtained free toleration. Among the English Baptists of this century there were some men of education, but the greater part of their preachers were not men of learning. The Particular Baptists, at their general convention in 1689, made arrangements for the better education of young men for their pulpits; and from their provisions originated afterwards the famous Baptist Academy at Bristol. Before the erection of regular Baptist congregations, and indeed for some time after, it was very common for Baptists and others to belong to the same church and to worship and commune together. From their first rise the Baptists were assailed for holding only adult baptism, and that by immersion, and they were not backward to defend themselves. The severest conflict of the Particular Baptists was with the Quakers, in the time of William Penn. One of their writers made statements, for which the Quakers accused him of falsehood, which caused violent animosities and much mutual crimination. The Particular Baptists had also controversies among themselves. One was respecting their practice of confirmation, or imposing hands on those newly baptized. Another related to the propriety of admitting singing as a part of their public worship. The Particular Baptists scarcely differed at all from the Independents except on the mode and subjects of baptism. The General Baptists, having no bond of union among themselves, held a considerable diversity of opinions; and as they did not set forth full and explicit accounts of their faith, it is impossible to characterise them otherwise than by saying, that in general they laid little stress on doctrines and allowed very great liberty of opinion.—See Crosby's *History of the Baptists*; Benedict's *General History of the Baptists*, vol. i. chap. v.; Toulmin's *Supplements to Neal's History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 169, &c.; vol. iii. p. 543, &c.; vol. iv. p. 308, &c. 493, &c.; vol. v. p. 115, &c. 239, &c.; Bogue and Bennet's *History of Dissenters*, vol. i. p. 147, &c.—*Mur.*

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF THE SOCINIANS AND ARIANS.

1. THE Socinian community, at the commencement of this century, seemed in many respects to stand on a firm basis. For they not only enjoyed the fullest religious liberty in Transylvania and at Luzbo [in Volhinia], but they had in Poland a distinguished school at Racow, furnished with teachers eminent for learning and talents, a printing establishment, numerous congregations, and many patrons who were men of the highest rank. Elated with this prosperity, they thought proper to make great efforts to extend their church, or to obtain friends and patrons in other countries. And it may be shown by numerous proofs, that emissaries of the Polish Socinians in the beginning of this century were active in Holland, England, Germany, and Prussia, and that they endeavoured to make proselytes among the great and the learned. For while most other sects endeavour first to make friends among the common people, this sect, which exalts reason alone, has the peculiarity that it does not much seek the favour and friendship of women, the illiterate, and persons of inferior rank, but labours to recommend itself especially to persons of high rank and eminent talents.

2. Though these missions were for the most part committed to men of birth and genius, yet their results in most places did not answer the expectations of their projectors. Nowhere did there seem to be a greater prospect of success than in the university of Altorf, in the territory of Nuremberg. For here Ernest Sohner, a physician and Peripatetic philosopher, a man of great acuteness and subtlety and a professor of philosophy, who had joined the Socinians while he resided in Holland, found it the more easy to instil into the minds of his hearers the doctrines of his new brethren,

because he was in high reputation for learning and genuine piety. But after his death in 1612, this new Socinian party, being deprived of their guide and head, could not manage their affairs so craftily as to elude the vigilance of the other professors in the university. Hence, the whole matter being fully exposed in 1616, this already mature and daily increasing pest was suddenly arrested and destroyed, by the zealous and dexterous severity of the Nuremberg magistrates. The foreigners who were infected with the heresy saved themselves by flight; the infected citizens of Nuremberg allowed themselves to be reclaimed, and returned to correct principles.[1]

3. Neither could the Socinian sect long hold that high ground which they appeared to occupy in Poland.[2] The chief pillar which supported it was removed in the year 1638, by a decree of the Polish diet. For in this year some students of the school at Racow wantonly threw stones at a wooden statue of our Saviour extended on the cross, and demolished it. For this offence the papists took such severe revenge, that they procured the fatal law to be enacted at Warsaw, which commanded the school at Racow to be broken up, the instructors to be banished in disgrace, the printing establishment to be destroyed, and the Socinian church to be shut up. All this was executed forthwith and without abatement, in spite of all the efforts which the powerful patrons of the sect could put forth.[3] This first calamity was the harbinger of that dire tempest which twenty years after entirely prostrated the glory and prosperity of the sect. For in a diet at Warsaw in 1658, all the Socinians dispersed throughout Poland were commanded to quit the country; and it was made a capital offence either to profess their doctrines or to harbour others who professed them. Three years were allowed the proscribed, in which to dispose of their property and settle their affairs. But soon after, the cruelty of their enemies reduced it to two years. Finally, in the year 1661, the tremendous edict was renewed; and all the Socinians who remained were most inhumanly driven from Poland, with immense loss, not merely of property, but also of the health and the lives of many persons.[4]

4. A part of the exiles took their course towards Transylvania, and nearly all these perished by diverse calamities.[5] Others were dispersed in the provinces adjacent to Poland, Silesia, Brandenburg, and Prussia, where their posterity still remain scattered here and there. A considerable number of the more respectable families settled for a time at Creutzberg in Silesia, under the protection of the duke of Brieg.[6] Others went to more distant countries—Holland, England, Holstein, and Denmark—to see if they could obtain a comfortable settlement for themselves and their brethren. The most active and zealous in such embassies was Stanislaus Lubieniezky, a very learned Polish knight, who rendered himself acceptable to great men by his eloquence, politeness, and sagacity. In the years 1661 and 1662 he was very near obtaining a secure residence for the Socinians at Altona from Frederick III., king of Denmark; and in 1662, at Frederickstadt from Christiern Albert, duke of Holstein; and at Mannheim from Charles Lewis, the elector Palatine. But all his efforts and expectations were frustrated by the remonstrances and entreaties of theologians; in Denmark by John Suaning, bishop of Seeland, in Holstein by John Reinboth, the general superintendent, in the Palatinate by John Lewis Fabricius [doctor and professor of theology at Heidelberg].[7] The others who undertook such negotiations had much less success than he; nor could any nation of Europe be persuaded to allow the opponents of Christ's divinity freely to practise their worship among them.

5. Those therefore who remain of this

[1] A very full and learned history of this whole business, derived chiefly from unpublished documents and papers, was drawn up by a late divine of the university of Altorf, Gustavus George Zeltner, entitled *Historia Crypto-Socinismi Altorfinæ quondam Academiæ infesti Arcana*, which was published by Gebauer, Leipsic, 1729, 2 vols. 4to. [Sohner kept up a brisk correspondence with the Polish Socinians, who sent a number of Polish youth to Altorf with their private tutors to aid in spreading Socinian principles. It was intended not only to diffuse these principles in and around Altorf, but to communicate them also to other German universities. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch. seit der Reformation*, vol. v. p. 625, &c.—*Mur.*

[2] On the flourishing state of the Socinian cause, and especially of the Racovian school under the rectorship of Martin Ruarus, see Möller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 572, in his life of Ruarus, a very learned man of Holstein, who it appears had embraced Socinianism.

[3] *Epistola de Wissowatii Vita*, in Sand's *Bibliotheca Antitrinitaria*, p. 233; Zeltner's *Historia Crypto-Socinismi Altorfini*, vol. i. p. 299.

[4] Lubieniecius, *Historia Reform. Polonicæ*, lib. iii. cap. xvii. xviii. p. 279, &c.; *Equitis Poloni Vindiciæ pro Unitarior. in Polonia Religionis Libertate*, in Sand's *Biblioth. Antitrinit.* p. 267, and many others.

[5] Some say there were 380 of these refugees, others say 500. On the borders of Hungary they were assaulted and plundered, so that when they arrived at Clausenburg in Transylvania they were almost naked. Disease now attacked them and carried them nearly all off. See Walch's *Einleit. in die Rel. Streit. aus d. Ev. Luth. Kirche*, vol. iv. p. 275.—*Von Einem.*

[6] Lubieniecius, *Historia Reform. Polon.* cap. xviii. p. 285, where there is a long Epistle of the Creutzbergers.

[7] See Sand's *Bibliotheca Antitrinit.* p. 165. The Life of Lubieniezky, prefixed to his *Historia Reformat. Polonicæ*, p. 7, 8; Möller's *Introductio in Historiam Cherson. Cimbricæ*, par. ii. p. 105; and *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 487, &c.; Heidegger's *Life of Fabricius*, subjoined to the works of the latter, p. 38.

unhappy people live concealed in various countries of Europe, especially in Brandenburg, Prussia, England, and Holland, and hold here and there clandestine meetings for worship; in England, however, it is said they have public religious meetings with the connivance of the magistrates.[1] Some have united themselves with the Arminians, and others with those Mennonites who are called Galenists; for neither of these sects requires its members very explicitly to declare their religious belief. It is also said that not a few of these dispersed people are members of the society who bear the name of Collegiants. Under these circumstances, they have not all been able to maintain that form of religion which their fathers transmitted to them. Accordingly, both the learned and the unlearned, without restraint, explain variously those doctrines which distinguish them from other sects; yet they all agree in denying the divine Trinity and the divinity and atonement of our Saviour.[2]

6. Kindred with the Socinians are the Arians, some of whom obtained celebrity in this century as authors, such as Christopher Sand, father and son, and John Biddle;[3] and likewise some of those comprehended under the general appellation of Antitrinitarians or Unitarians. For this [latter] name is applied to various sorts of persons who agree in this only, that they will not admit of any real distinction in the divine nature. The name of Arians is likewise given to all those in general who represent our Saviour to be inferior to God the Father. And as this may be done in various ways, it is manifest that this word, as now used, must have various significations; and that all those who are now called Arians do not agree with the ancient Arians, nor do they all hold one and the same sentiment.

[1] The Socinians residing in Brandenburg were accustomed a few years ago to meet at stated times at Königswald, a village near Frankfort-on-the-Oder. See Jourdain (for he is the author of the paper), *Recueil de Littérature, de Philosophie, et d' Histoire*, p. 44, Amsterd. 1731, 8vo. They also published at Berlin in 1716 a German Confession of their Faith, which, with a confutation of it, is printed in *Die Theologischen Heb-Opfern*, part x. p. 852. [In Prussian Brandenburg they found some protection under the kindness of the electoral stadtholder, Bogislaus prince von Radzivil, who retained some Socinians at his court; and perhaps they would also have obtained religious freedom under the electoral prince, Frederick William, had not the states of the duchy insisted on their expulsion. See Bock's *Historia Socinianismi Prussici*, p. 55, &c. and Hartknoch's *Preussische Kirchenhistorie*, p. 646, &c. By the indulgence of the above-named electoral prince, they obtained religious freedom in Brandenburg, particularly in New Mark, under the hope that this little company would gradually unite itself with the Protestant churches. They likewise had churches and schools at Landsberg down to the end of the seventeenth century. After that they were expelled, the protection of the Schwerin family, which they had hitherto enjoyed, now ceasing. In Holland, the book of John Völkel, a Socinian, *De Vera Religione*, 1642, was burned; and the states of Holland, in 1653, forbade the publication of Unitarian books and all religious meetings of Socinians. Yet Andrew Wissowatius procured the famous *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum* to be printed at Amsterdam, though the place is not mentioned on the title-page; and the Socinians have been allowed to reside there, but without the public exercise of their religion. Many of them likewise are concealed among the Mennonites and the other sects.—*Schl.* [The Socinians in England have never made any figure as a community, but have rather been dispersed among that great variety of sects which have arisen in a country where liberty displays its most glorious fruits, and at the same time exhibits its most striking inconveniences. Besides, few ecclesiastics or writers of any note have adopted the theological system now under consideration, in all its branches. The Socinian doctrine relating to the design and efficacy of the death of Christ had indeed many abettors in England during the seventeenth century, and it may be presumed without temerity that its votaries are rather increased than diminished in the present; but those divines who have abandoned the Athanasian hypothesis concerning the trinity of persons in the Godhead, have more generally gone into the Arian and Semi-arian notions of that inexplicable subject than into those of the Socinians, who deny that Jesus Christ existed before his appearance in the human nature. The famous John Biddle, after having maintained both in public and private during the reign of Charles I. and the protectorship of Cromwell, the Unitarian system, erected an Independent congregation in London, which is the only British church we have heard of [in this century] in which all the peculiar doctrines of Socinianism were inculcated.—*Macl.*

[2] This is evident from many proofs, and among others from the example of Samuel Crell, the most learned man among the Socinians a few years since, who, although he sustained the office of a teacher among them, yet deviated in many respects from the doctrines of Socinus and of the Racovian catechism; nor did he wish to be called a Socinian, but an Artemonite. See *Journal Littéraire*, tome xvii. part i. p. 150, and my own remarks on this man, in my *Syntagma Diss. ad Sanctiores Disciplinas Pertinentium*, p. 352; *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, 1750, p. 942; *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. Crit.* tome ii. part ii. p. 88, &c.

[3] Of both the Sands, Arnold [*Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, vol. ii. book xvii. chap. xiii. sec. xxv. p. 176, &c.] and others give account. Respecting Biddle, see *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. Crit.* tome i. part ii. p. 288, &c. [Christopher Sandius the elder was of Creutzberg in Prussia, studied law, and filled various offices at Königsberg, but was deprived in 1668 because he would not renounce Arianism. After this he lived in retirement, and wrote only some vindications and apologies. Yet he aided his son in the composition of his works; and outliving him, published some of them after his death. The son called himself Christopher Christopheri Sandius; and wrote, besides his *Biblioth. Antitrinitariorum*, his *Nucleus Historiæ Ecclesiast.* on the four first centuries; in which he attempts to prove that the early fathers before the council of Nice held Arian sentiments, and that Athanasius was the first who broached the common belief among Christians respecting the Trinity. He also wrote *Interpretationes Paradoxæ quatuor Evangeliorum, de Origine Animæ, Problema Paradoxum de Spiritu Sancto*, and (under the name of Herm. Cingallus) *Scriptura Trinitatis Revelatrix*. The son died in 1680 (aged 40), and the father in 1686.—*Schl.* [See also concerning the younger Sand, Rees' *Cyclopædia*, art. *Sandius*. John Biddle was born in 1612, educated at Oxford, and became master of a free school in Gloucester in 1641. Here he soon became suspected of heresy, and from the year 1644 till his death in 1665, he passed a large part of his time in various prisons and in exile. Whenever he was at liberty he wrote and preached in favour of his sentiments, which caused him to be frequently apprehended and to undergo a criminal prosecution. In the year 1651 he published two Catechisms, in which, Mr. Neal says, he maintained, 1. "That God is confined to a certain place. 2. That he has a bodily shape. 3. That he has passions. 4. That he is neither omnipotent nor unchangeable. 5. That we are not to believe three persons in the Godhead. 6. That Jesus Christ has not the nature of God.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF SOME MINOR SECTS.

1. IT will be proper here to give some account of certain sects which could not be conveniently noticed in the history of the larger communities, but which, for various reasons, should not be passed over in total silence. While the Arminian disputes in Holland were most warm, in the year 1619 arose that class of people who hold sacred conventions twice a-year at Rheinsberg in Holland, not far from Leyden, and who are well known by the name of Collegiants. The institution originated from three brothers, by the name of Koddeus or Van der Kodde—namely, John James, Hadrian, and Gisbert—obscure men in rural life, but according to report pious, well acquainted with their Bibles, and opposed to religious controversies. They were joined by one Anthony Cornelius, who was also an illiterate and obscure man. The descendants and followers of these men acquired the name of Collegiants, from the circumstance that they called their assemblies Colleges. All persons may be admitted into the society who merely account the Bible a divine book, and endeavour to live according to its precepts, whatever may be their opinions respecting God and the Christian religion. The brethren, who are considerably numerous in most of the cities and villages of Holland, Friesland, and West Friesland, assemble twice a-week, namely, on Sundays and Wednesdays; and after singing a hymn and offering a prayer, they take up some passage of the New Testament which they illustrate and explain. With the exception of females, whom they do not allow to speak in public, all persons of whatever rank or order are at liberty to bring forward their thoughts and offer them to the consideration of the brethren; and all are at liberty to oppose, modestly and soberly, whatever the brethren advance. They have printed lists of the texts of Scripture which are to be discussed at their several meetings, so that each person may examine the passages at home and come prepared to speak. Twice a-year the brethren assemble at Rheinsberg, where they have spacious buildings destined for the education of orphan children and for the reception of strangers, and there spend four days together in listening to exhortations to holiness and love and in celebrating the Lord's Supper. Here also those who wish it are baptized, but it is in the ancient manner, immersing the whole body in water. The brethren of Friesland at the present day assemble once a-year at Leeuwarden and there observe the Holy Supper, because Rheinsberg is too distant for them conveniently to go thither. In short, by the Collegiants we are to understand a very large society of persons of every sect and rank, who assume the name of Christians, but entertain different views of Christ; and which is kept together neither by rulers and teachers, nor by ecclesiastical laws, nor by a formula of faith, nor, lastly, by any set of rites, but solely by the desire of improvement in Scriptural knowledge and piety.[1]

2. In such an association, which allows all its members to think as they please, and which has no formula of faith, dissensions and controversies cannot easily arise. Yet in the year 1672, there was no little dispute between John and Paul Breitenburg, merchants of Rotterdam, and Abraham Lemmermann and Francis Cuiper, merchants of Amsterdam. John Breitenburg (or Bredenburg as he is generally called), had established a peculiar sort of college in which he expounded the religion of reason and nature. This was disapproved of by Lemmermann and Cuiper, who wished to have reason excluded from any combination with religion. The dispute grew warmer as Bredenburg diverged towards the opinions of Spinoza and defended them, and yet wished to be regarded as a Christian.[2] Some other minor contests arose at

but only a divine lordship. 7. That he was not a priest while upon earth. 8. That there is no deity in the Holy Ghost." According to Dr. Toulmin, these are not formal propositions but only questions in his catechisms, to which he subjoins texts of Scripture by way of answer. Thus, the first proposition in this question: "Is not God, according to the current of the Scripture, in a certain place, namely, in heaven?" The answer consists of twenty-nine passages of Scripture, which represent God as "looking from heaven," as "our father who art in heaven," &c. See Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 157, &c. ed. Boston, 1817; Toulmin's *Review of the Life, Character, and Writings of Mr. John Biddle;* Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 411, &c.; Rees' *Cyclopædia*, art. *Biddle.—Mur.*

[1] See the *Dissertation sur les Usages de ceux qu'on appelle en Hollande Collégiens et Rhinobourgeois*, which is in the splendid work, *Cérémonies Religieuses de tous les Peuples du Monde*, tome iv. p. 323, &c. Also a book published by the Collegiants themselves, entitled, *De Oorspronck, Natuur, Handelwize en Oogmerk der zo genaamde Rynburgsche Vergadering*, Amsterd. 1736, 4to.

[2] John Bredenburg and Francis Cuiper are well known to have been among the followers and the adversaries of Spinoza, but what sort of men they were has been unknown generally. Bredenburg, a Collegiant and a merchant of Rotterdam, openly taught the doctrine of Spinoza, and demonstrated its accordance with reason mathematically. At the same time, he not only professed to be a Christian, but actually explained, recommended, and defended Christianity in the meetings of the Collegiants, and declared it to be of divine origin. This man of a singular genius reconciled these two contradictory things, by maintaining that reason was opposed to religion, but yet that we ought to believe in the religion contained in the New Testament Scriptures against the most evident and the most conclusive mathematical demonstrations. He must therefore have believed in a twofold truth, theological and mathematical; and have held that to be false in theology which is true in philosophy. The best account of Bredenburg

the same time. The result of the whole was, that the Collegiants in 1686 were split into two opposing sects, and held their conventions in separate edifices at Rheinsberg. But on the death of the authors of these discords, near the beginning of the next century, the schism began to heal, and the Collegiants returned to their former union and harmony.[1]

3. John Labadie, a Frenchman, eloquent and of no contemptible genius, was first a Jesuit; being dismissed from their society he joined the Reformed, and sustained the office of a preacher with reputation in France, Switzerland, and Holland. He at length set up a new sect, which had its seat first at Middleburg in Zealand, then at Amsterdam, and afterwards in 1670 at Hervorden, a town in Westphalia, under the patronage of Elizabeth princess Palatine, the abbess of Hervorden; and being driven from that place it removed to Altona in 1672, and on the death of its founder in 1674 retired to the castle of Wiewert in West Friesland; but it has long since become extinct. This sect was joined not only by several men of considerable learning, but also by that Minerva of the seventeenth century, the very learned lady of Utrecht, Anna Maria Schurmann. This little community did not wish to be thought to differ from the Reformed in regard to religious opinions and doctrines, so much as in manners and rules of discipline. For its lawgiver proposed a rigorous and austere model of sanctity for his followers, and conceived that not only the invisible church, but also the visible, ought to be a community of sanctified persons earnestly striving after perfection in holiness. Several of his tracts are extant, which show him to have possessed a lively and ardent mind though not well disciplined and polished; and as persons of such a character are easily betrayed by their natural temperament into errors and faults, I am not sure whether those witnesses are to be wholly disregarded who charge his life and doctrine with many blemishes.[2]

4. Nearly at the same time, Antoinette Bourignon de la Porte, a lady of Flanders, boasted that she was inspired of God and instructed supernaturally to restore the Christian religion, which had become extinct and lost among the disputes and contentions of the different sects. This woman, who possessed a voluble tongue, feelings uncommonly ardent, and an imagination of inexhaustible fecundity, filled the provinces of Holland and also Jutland (where she spent some years) with the fame of her flights of fancy; and she persuaded some among the learned, as well as the ignorant and unlearned, to believe her declarations. After various sufferings and conflicts she died at Franeker in Friesland in the year 1680. It would require a prophet and diviner to make out from her numerous writings a compact and consistent system of theology. For that divine light which guides persons of this character never proceeds in a regular and methodical way; and it spreads a thick darkness before the minds of those who investigate truth not by feeling but by the understanding. Yet a reflecting person who is versed in church history may easily discover that this woman, who had not full command of her reason, derived a large part of her oracles from the writings of the Mystic doctors; and what she derived from these sources the extravagance of her fancy made worse than they were before. Neglecting all the details of her system, the substance of it is, that religion consists in an internal emotion or sensation of the soul, and not in either knowledge or practice.[3] Among her patrons, the most

is given by the learned Jew, Isaac Orobio, in his *Certamen Philosophicum propugnatæ veritatis Divinæ et Naturalis adversus Jo. Bredenburgii Principia, ex quibus quod Religio Rationi repugnat, demonstrare nititur*. This book, which contains Bredenburg's demonstrations of the doctrines of Spinoza, was first published, Amsterdam, 1703, 8vo, and then, Brussels, 1731, 12mo. Bredenburg's adversary, Francis Cuiper, rendered his name famous by his *Arcana Atheismi Detecta*, written in opposition to Bredenburg. Cuiper was a bookseller of Amsterdam, and published among other things the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum seu Unitariorum*. Those acquainted with literary history know that Cuiper, on account of that very book above mentioned, which he wrote against Bredenburg, became suspected of Spinozism, notwithstanding he was a Collegiant, and a strenuous defender of Christianity and of the harmony of reason with religion.

[1] Besides those already named, see Rues, *Nachrichten vom Zustande der Mennoniten*, p. 267, &c.

[2] See Möller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 35, &c.; and *Introd. ad Histor. Chersones. Cimbricæ*, par. ii. cap. v. p. 121, &c.; add Arnold's *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, vol. i. part ii. book xvii. chap. xxi. p. 1186; Weismann's *Historia Eccles. Sæcul.* xvii. p. 927, and others. Concerning the two celebrated companions and colleagues of Labadie, Peter du Lignon and Peter Yvon, see Möller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 472, 1020. [Labadie exhibited through life the character of an indiscreet reformer. To lash the vices of the people and to purge the churches of their offences against purity, was his great business. But it was his misfortune always to get into difficulty. The irreligious abhorred him, and the pious were dissatisfied with him. Hence he removed from place to place, was at length excommunicated by the French churches in Holland, and set up a church of his own. But this church rendered itself so odious, that it was persecuted and driven from place to place, so long as Labadie was at the head of it. The charges against him were very numerous and weighty, and respected both his orthodoxy and his morals; but it is questionable whether, if fairly tried, he would be found to be anything more than a rash, indiscreet, enthusiastical man.—*Mur.*

[3] See Möller, who treats expressly and fully respecting her, in his *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 85, &c.; and in his *Introduct. in Histor. Chersones. Cimbricæ*, par. ii. p. 151, &c.; Bayle, *Dictionnaire Hist. et Crit.* tome i. p. 639; Arnold, *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie*, vol. ii. p. 153, &c. and others.

distinguished were Christian Bartholomew de Cordt, a priest of the Oratory at Mechlin, a Jansenist, who died on the island of Nordstrand in Jutland,[1] and Peter Poiret, a man of penetrating genius and well versed in the Cartesian philosophy, who has clearly evinced by his own example that knowledge and ignorance, reason and superstition, are not so mutually repulsive that they cannot reside in the same breast, and by their united energies engender monstrous productions.[2]

5. Of the same or at least similar views, the same plans, and the same general character, was Jane Leade, who near the end of the century blinded not only many of the common people in England, but also some of the better informed, by her visions, her prophecies, her promises, and her doctrines, and thus gave rise to the Philadelphian Society. For she believed in general that all contentions among Christians would wholly cease, and that the church of Christ would become the only, the perfectly united, and the most beautiful church here on earth, provided all would commit their souls to the internal teacher, to be moulded, enlightened, and governed by him, neglecting all other doctrines, precepts, and opinions. And she did not hesitate to give assurance, in the name of God, that such a church as she had conceived would be established before the end of the world. And the honest woman might with more confidence give this assurance, as she fully believed that her Philadelphian Society was that very church of Christ in which alone the Holy Spirit resided and reigned. Her other discoveries, among which was the noted restoration of all things, need not be related. Leade was less fortunate than Bourignon in this respect, that she had not so eloquent and sagacious a counsellor as Poiret to plead her cause. For her principal associates, John Pordage, a physician, and Thomas Bromley, were more distinguished for piety and a contemplative turn of mind than for their power of reasoning or their eloquence. Pordage in particular even surpassed our Boehme (whom he greatly admired) in obscurity, and instead of enlightening his readers, shocks them with his uncouth phraseology.[3]

[1] See concerning him, Möller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 149.

[2] Poiret systematized and explained the wild and incoherent rhapsodies of Bourignon, in a great work which he entitled, *L'Œconomie Divine, ou Système Universel*, first published in French, Amsterd. 1686, 7 vols. 8vo, and afterwards published in Latin. Respecting this celebrated Mystic philosopher, whose various writings procured him notoriety, see the *Bibliotheca Bremens. Theol. Philol.* tom. iii. par. i. p. 75.

[3] See Jaeger, *Historia Sacra et Civilis Sæcul.* xvii. decenn. x. p. 90, &c.; Poiret, *Bibliotheca Mysticor.* p. 161, 174, 283, 286, and others. [Jane Leade, who died 1704, in the 81st year of her age, spent nearly her whole life in reading and recommending the works of Boehme, and in writing her own revelations and new results of divine truths. She was rich, and printed the whole at her own cost. Hence great numbers of her writings came before the public. The Philadelphian Society was established by her in 1697; the cause and reasons for its institution she published in 1698. Her writings fill eight volumes.—Pordage was first a preacher, but being deposed for his fanaticism, he afterwards became a physician. He was the most zealous promoter of the Boehmist doctrines and of the Philadelphian Society in England. His principal work was his *Divine and True Metaphysics*, in 3 vols. 8vo. He also wrote a *Theologia Mystica*, and died in 1698.—Bromley was his pupil and adherent, and wrote much on the Bible. In Holland, one Lot Fisher, a physician, was a promoter of the Philadelphian Society, and he caused all the above works to be splendidly published in Dutch.—*Schl.*

A BRIEF SKETCH

OF THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF THE

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

1. The ecclesiastical history of the [eighteenth] century now passing affords matter for a volume, rather than for a few pages; and it may expect, among those who come after us, an ingenuous and faithful historian of its own. But that the present summary may not be defective, and that myself and perhaps others may have a thread to guide our lectures, I will just run over the principal subjects, and in a few words state the occurrences most worthy of notice in our own age. That the size of the book may not be unnecessarily swelled, authorities will be omitted. For what man of learning is so ignorant of the state of literature as not to know, that there are innumerable works from which our dry and insipid narrative might be filled up and made interesting?

2. The Christian name has been propagated with equal zeal by papists and Protestants, in Asia, America, and Africa. I say the Christian name, not the Christian religion. For it is demonstrable that very many of those whom the Romish missionaries persuade to forsake idolatry show themselves to be Christians only in name and in certain ceremonies and outward forms, not in reality and in spirit; nor do they renounce superstition, but only exchange one species of it for another. Among the papists the Jesuits, and among the Jesuits the French, especially, are represented as explaining genuine Christianity with distinguished success to barbarous nations who knew not God. And the fact is not to be denied, provided it is allowable to call those persons Christians who have some knowledge of Christ, however imperfect it may be. At least it is true that the French gathered large congregations of such Christians in the East Indies, especially in the kingdoms of the Carnatic, of Majura and Marawar on the coast of Malabar, and in China, Tonquin, and elsewhere, and also in some provinces of America, since the time that Anthony Veri assumed the office of superintendent of the sacred missions, and by great efforts procured both men and money adequate for so great an undertaking. But these missionaries were so far from effacing the former stain upon the character of the Jesuit preachers, that they rather deepened it. For they are represented as pursuing their own honour and emolument rather than the interests of Christ, and as ingeniously corrupting very much the holy religion of our Saviour, in order to obtain the more proselytes.

3. The famous question, whether the Jesuits residing in China advocated the cause of Christ well or ill among that discerning people, who are so exceedingly attached to their ancient rites, was decided in the year 1704, by Clement XI. in a manner adverse to the Jesuits. For he declared it criminal for the new Christians to practise the rites of their ancestors, and especially those rites by which the Chinese honour their deceased ancestors and Confucius. But this severe edict was considerably mitigated in the year 1715, doubtless for the sake of appeasing the angry Jesuits. For the pontiff decreed that it is allowable for the teachers of the Chinese to designate the divine nature by the word Tien, provided they add the word Tchu to remove the ambiguity of the word Tien, and to make it appear that the Christian teachers adored the Lord of heaven (for this is the meaning of the phrase Tien-Tchu), and not heaven itself. He also allowed those rites to be practised which gave so much offence to the adversaries of the Jesuits, provided all superstition and appearance of religion were avoided, and that these rites were regarded as mere testimonies of respect for their ancestors or as marks of civil honour. The Chinese Christians, therefore, according to this decree of Clement, may keep in their

houses tablets, on which are written in golden letters the names of their ancestors and of Confucius; they may lawfully honour them with lighted candles, with incense, and with tables set out with viands, fruits, and spices; nay, may address these tablets and the graves of their ancestors as supplicants, prostrating themselves to the ground. The first or more severe edict was carried to China by Charles Thomas Tournon in the year 1705, and the second or milder one by Charles Ambrose Mezzabarba, in the year 1721. But neither of them satisfied the emperor and the Jesuits. Tournon, executing the commands of his master with less prudence than the case required, was, by order of the emperor, thrown into prison, where he died in the year 1710. Mezzabarba, though much more cautious and prudent, returned without effecting his object; for the emperor could by no means be persuaded to allow any innovations to be made in the ancient customs and institutions of the country. At present, the state of Christianity in China being extremely precarious and dubious, this controversy is entirely suspended. And many considerations induce us to suppose that the pontiff and the accusers of the Jesuits throw no obstacles in the way of the Jesuits' adhering to their own regulations, rather than to those sent them from Rome. For many evils must be patiently borne in order to avoid that far greater evil, the overthrow of the Romish religion in China.[1]

4. The English and the Dutch, but especially the former, made much greater efforts than before to spread the knowledge of Christianity among the nations of Asia and America. Among the efforts of this kind by Lutherans, the noblest and most successful is, the institution of Frederick IV. king of Denmark, who in the year 1706 sent out missionaries to preach Christian truth to the Indians on the coast of Malabar. This mission, the purest and best of all, not only still flourishes, being supported by the very best regulations, but through the munificence of that excellent king, Christian VI. it is daily becoming more and more brilliant. The men who labour in it, I admit, make fewer Christians than the papal missionaries, but they make far better ones—real disciples and not mere mock disciples of Jesus Christ. The Russians have bestowed labour, not in vain, for the conversion of some of the nations bordering on Siberia.

5. While the glory of Jesus Christ has been increasing in the remotest parts of our world, through the labours, the perils, and the anxious solicitude of these missionaries, great numbers in Europe have made it their business to obscure this glory and to tread it in the dust. There is no country of Europe, and almost no sect of Christians in our age, which does not nourish in its bosom persons who endeavour either to blot out all religion and all fear of God, or at least to sink the dignity and lessen the influence of Christianity. Nowhere does this pest to the human race more abound, nowhere does it more boldly come forth to the light of day, than in the free states of Holland and England. Nor is it rare to meet, especially in England, with books which impudently deride and set at nought, not only the whole religion of Christ, but also the honour, worship, and majesty of the Divine Being, and all virtue and morality. Infamous for the publication of such books are, John Toland, Anthony Collins, Matthew Tindal, Thomas Woolston (a portentous genius, who with most stupid effrontery attempted to undermine the credibility of our Saviour's miracles), Thomas Morgan, John Chubb, John Mandeville, and several others. And no country of Europe, particularly those which have abandoned the Romish communion, will be long free from writers of this character, if the booksellers continue to abuse the power they now have of rescuing from oblivion, by means of printing, every wretched and senseless production.

6. The sect of Atheists, that is, of persons who deny the existence of an infinitely wise and powerful Being, who created and upholds the visible universe according to his pleasure, is now almost extinct. For those actuated by this frenzy at the present day, omitting all disputation, agree to the doctrines of Spinoza, and consider this whole material world as an automaton, which, by means of some internal energy, originates and produces various movements, all of which are the result of necessity. The tribe of Deists, or of persons who assail the truth of all revealed religions, and especially of the Christian religion, disagree very much and are divided into various sects. The best of them—though these are bad enough—are those who endeavour to merge

[1] All these events are stated far more fully in Mosheim's most recent *Ecclesiastical History of China* (in German), Rostock, 1748, 8vo. In opposition to this, was published at Augsburg in 1758, 8vo, and at Innspruck, *The most recent Events in China, with a solid Confutation of many unjust and erroneous statements of Mosheim, in his most recent Eccl. Hist. of China*, written from Pekin, by R. P. Floriano Bahr, then rector of the Jesuits' college in China. But this refutation only makes the correctness of Mosheim's book appear the more manifest.—*Schl.* [Mosheim's book on China was translated into English, as stated in note 2, p. 718.—*R.*

Christianity in natural religion, maintaining that Christ only republished the lost and obliterated precepts of nature or correct reason. Of this class are Tindal, Chubb, Mandeville, Morgan, and many others among the English, if indeed they really believed what their words express.[1] To the same class belongs Muralt, or whoever may be the unfortunately eloquent and ingenious author of the recent French work, entitled, *What is Essential in Religion.*[2] For according to his opinion, the whole system of religion is comprised in these three propositions—There is a God; He watches over human affairs; the soul is immortal. And to inculcate these three truths by his precepts and example was the object of Christ's mission.

7. The Romish church in this century has been governed by Clement XI. [A.D. 1700–21], Innocent XIII. [1721–24], Benedict XIII. [1724–30], Clement XII. [1730–40], Benedict XIV. [1740–58]. All these may be pronounced holy, wise, and learned men, if compared with the pontiffs of former times. The most distinguished of them for learning and erudition are Clement XI. and the present pontiff, Benedict XIV. whose former name was Prosper Lambertini. The most distinguished for piety, or rather for a show of it, was Benedict XIII. This last-named pontiff made a laudable attempt, by means of a council which he held in the Lateran palace in 1725, the acts and decrees of which have been published, to correct the greater evils in the church and to reform the very corrupt morals of the clergy of every rank; but the event did not answer his expectations. Nor will Benedict XIV. be more successful, who is now attempting the same thing, though by different means. Moreover, the modern pontiffs differ exceedingly from their predecessors, in the extent of their prerogatives and in their power and influence. For the sovereign princes and states, though they treat the pontiffs personally with high respect and honour, yet are continually depressing and humbling the court of Rome, which they wisely discriminate from the pontiff. This appears, among other things, from the contests of the pontiffs in the present age with the kings of France, Portugal, Sardinia, and Naples, in which the pontiffs have uniformly been obliged to succumb.

8. A reconciliation of the Protestants with the papists, if we except some feeble efforts of certain individuals, has not been seriously and earnestly attempted, nor indeed was it hardly possible. For those who formerly attempted this thing endeavoured principally to gain over the Protestants, by explaining away and lowering down the [most offensive] Romish doctrines; but Clement XI. deprived the pacificators of this their principal resource, by publishing that very noted decree called the Bull Unigenitus. For this Bull has shown most clearly, that on most of the points which obliged our ancestors to separate from the Romish communion, the present doctrine of the papists is precisely the same as it formerly appeared to be. This disclosure being made, it became manifest that those who had formerly offered us peace on very conciliatory terms, had only laid a trap for us by their pretended expositions of the Romish faith, and that no confidence whatever could be reposed on the promises of such men.

9. The intestine discords which greatly disquieted the Romish community in the preceding century were so far from being composed and settled in this, that they have rather acquired new strength and raged with increased animosity. The Jesuits still contend with the Dominicans and others, though with a little more decorum and more covertly. The Franciscans are at variance with the Dominicans. There is also a dispute respecting the nature and lawfulness of the Chinese rites. But it would be endless to enumerate all the contests which disturb and disquiet every part of the widely-extended Romish church, sometimes more slightly and sometimes more violently. The principal controversy now dividing the papal empire seems to be that of the Jansenists, which is carried on with various results, particularly in France and the Netherlands. The Jansenists or Augustinians, as they choose to be called, are inferior to the Jesuits in numbers, power, and influence, but are their equals in fortitude, sagacity, and erudition, and their superiors in sanctimoniousness, and that superstition which dazzles the eyes of the multitude. In France they are oppressed and persecuted, but in the Netherlands they find a ready asylum. The greatest part of the papists in the Spanish Netherlands and all those in the United Netherlands adhere to the Jansenist doctrines. The Dutch papists at this day have almost separated themselves from the

[1] For the opinions of these Deists and their refutation, see Leland's *View of the Principal Deistical Writers that have appeared in England in the last and present century*, 3 vols. London, 1754, 56, often reprinted since. The same able writer, who was an Irish Presbyterian minister, also wrote expressly against Tindal and Morgan.—*R.*

[2] *Lettres sur la Religion essentielle à l'homme, distinguée de ce qui n'en est que l'accessoire.—Mael.*

Roman pontiff, though they profess the closest adherence to the communion of the Romish church; nor are either the threatenings or the entreaties of the Romish prelate able to reduce these rebellious Batavians to subordination.

10. A very great support to the Jansenist cause, both in the preceding century and in this, was the New Testament of the very learned and pious Paschasius Quesnel, one of the Presbyters of the Oratory, which he translated into French and accompanied with notes calculated to awaken a sense of religion. For the marrow of the Jansenist doctrines is very elegantly and ingeniously wrought into these notes, so as to infuse it the more agreeably into the mind of the reader. To destroy the influence of this [as they thought] most pernicious engine, the Jesuits induced Lewis XIV. king of France, to solicit a public condemnation of the book from the Roman pontiff, Clement XI. The pontiff complied with the wishes of the king or rather of the Jesuits, and issued in the year 1713 the celebrated Bull or decree which from its first word is called Unigenitus, and in which one hundred and one propositions taken from that book are proscribed. This edict was of some advantage to the cause of the Jesuits, but it was of immense disadvantage to the whole Romish church, as the wiser men in it themselves admit. For not to mention that the Protestants learned from it that the Romish community religiously held fast her former corruptions, the subjects of the pontiff, who had no attachment to the Jansenist doctrines, and who were solicitous only to advance truth and piety, were exceedingly offended at this decree. Besides, the Jansenian schism was widened by it and rendered more bitter and violent.

11. The most violent contests were produced by this unhappy edict, especially in France. Many of the prelates and a vast number of influential, pious, and learned men, both among the clergy and the laity, appealed from it to a future general council. And especially Lewis Anthony Noailles, the archbishop of Paris, manfully opposed it, regardless of the resentments both of the pontiff and the king. Pontiffs, kings, and Jesuits laboured to subdue these strenuous defenders of the Gallic liberties and of the religion of their fathers by all sorts of punishments and indignities, and in part they did subdue them. For many became exiles and retired among their brethren in Holland; others were coerced by violence and fear to approve the decree of the pontiff; and others, being deprived of their livings, their honours, and their offices, removed to foreign countries. At length the matter was carried so far that this papal edict was declared to be a law of the land. All these measures reduced the nation to some degree of tranquillity, but they by no means purged it of enemies to the pontiff. Every part of France abounds with Appellants as they are called, who are only waiting for a convenient opportunity for renewing the old controversy which has never been properly settled.

12. Amid these calamities, the Jansenists had but two resources by which to defend themselves and their cause against so many powerful enemies, namely, the press and miracles. Accordingly, they attacked the pontiff and the Jesuits in numerous publications, many of which being written with copiousness, elegance, and solidity, have produced great effect; and as human aids proved insufficient, they called in the help of divine aid. For they persuaded the people that God had honoured the bones and ashes of certain persons, who had been distinguished for their zeal in the cause of Jansenius and who had appealed anew in their last moments to a future council, by imparting to them the power of healing the most inveterate diseases. Among those who were said to have received this glory, the most distinguished was Francis de Paris, a deacon of the church of Paris, a man of noble birth but of a gloomy temperament and excessively superstitious, and one who had voluntarily brought on his own death by abstinence from food and other self-tortures.[1] To miracles were superadded divine visions. For many persons, especially at Paris, pretended to be actuated by the Holy Spirit, and uttered prophecies, often of the most puerile character, by which however the multitude as is usual were greatly affected. But the prudence of the French court put an end to these commotions also; so that as things now are, the Jansenists have no other means of defence than their genius and their pens.

13. Of the Greek and Oriental church, very little can be said. For their ignorance, and the severe oppression under which they live, prevent their attempting any revolution or change of condition. The Russians, as already stated, under the guidance of the emperor Peter the Great, adopted better

[1] These pretended miracles of the Abbé de Paris have been examined and exposed by Bishop Douglas in his *Criterion*, Oxf. 1832, p. 152, &c. and Paley in his *Evidences*, prop. ii. chap. ii. sect. iii. Mosheim had previously published the result of his own examination, in a tract entitled, *Inquisitio in veritatem Miraculorum Francisci de Paris sæculi nostri Thaumaturgi*. It is now to be found in the second volume of his *Dissertationes ad Hist. Eccles. pertinentes*, 1743, p. 307, &c.—*R.*

regulations for their church. Yet there still remain vast numbers in that immense empire who would be better pleased with the rude system of their ancestors; and there are some who, if they were able, would exterminate the Protestants and the followers of other religions with fire and sword. This is manifest, especially, from a work of Stephen Javorski against the heretics. The Greeks are said to meet with more indulgence from their Mohammedan masters. The Nestorians and Monophysites in Asia and Africa perseveringly refuse communion with the Romish see, notwithstanding all the promises and arguments of the papal missionaries. The pontiffs have several times contemplated a new mission to the Abyssinians, but have not yet been able to discover a way to elude the vigilance of that nation, so hostile to the Romish religion. Nor is there even a tolerable prospect that the embassy now preparing at Rome to the emperor of Abyssinia will meet with success. The Monophysites in Asia extend the limits of their church as they have opportunity; and not long since, they gained over a part of the Nestorians inhabiting the maritime coasts of India.

14. The Lutheran church celebrated, in peace and tranquillity, the secular festival of its religion in 1717, and that of the Augsburg Confession in 1730. It received no small accession a few years since by means of that multitude which abandoned the territories of Saltzburg and Berchtesgadden, in order to profess the pure religion without fear, and who emigrated, some to Prussia, others to Holland, and others to America and other countries. The Lutheran church has likewise been increased in consequence of its extension to America and Asia; nor are the Lutheran congregations small in those distant regions. In Germany, on the other hand, as appears from public documents and from numerous complaints, it has in various places been much oppressed by the adherents to the Roman pontiff, and been very unjustly deprived of a part of its privileges.

15. No change could take place in the doctrines and regulations of the Lutheran church, because the ancient confessions and canons by which the public faith and discipline were ascertained remained as formerly. But the method of teaching and inculcating these doctrines was not uniformly the same. At the commencement of the century, it seemed very generally to be the aim to restore every part of Christianity to its ancient simplicity, and to exclude all philosophical terms and reasonings. But in process of time many fell into the opinion that Christianity could by no means maintain its ground, unless it was supported by the aids of philosophy and was demonstrated mathematically. The jurists, who in the preceding century undertook to reform the system of ecclesiastical law, have prosecuted the object so vigorously in the present century, that we should have had a very different ecclesiastical constitution, if the sovereigns had deemed it for the public good to yield to their counsels and admonitions. Still we may discover here and there visible traces of the principles which men of great learning are wont to advance, not only respecting the appendages and externals of religion, but also respecting religion itself. Hence it is not strange that there should be warm disputes between them and the clergy on various points. And not only theologians, but very excellent men among the jurists themselves have fears, lest religion should at length be converted into a mere political engine for the security of civil government, if the opinions of some of these men should acquire authority.

16. The immense licentiousness of thought, and of spreading among the common people even the vilest and most senseless opinions, which began to prevail in the preceding century, has increased and become more confirmed everywhere among us in the present century. Hence there have arisen and still arise at the present time so many persons, some of them full of fanatical folly, some delirious and beside themselves, and some the fabricators of new religions, who freely divulge all their dreams, everywhere produce departures from the established rules of faith and practice, and excite discords and contentions. Besides those already named, the following are notorious:—John Tennhart, John George Gichtel, John William Ueberfeldt, John George Rosenbach, George Christopher Brendel, John Christopher Seizen, Anthony Rœmeling, and many others, who either boast of being guided by a divine impulse, or offer to the credulous multitude in different ways and with different success their fancied modifications and improvements of the church. These men have been opposed by our theologians in numerous publications, but many of them were unworthy of confutation. The greatest part have become convicted of their folly by the course of events, and by actual results rather than by arguments and reasoning. For as men of this character start up of a sudden, so for the most part they soon ruin their own cause, either by their indiscretions or by their corrupt morals and

base conduct, or lastly by their disagreement among themselves.

17. Many place in this class the Herrenhutters, or those who first associated at Herrenhut in Lusatia under the illustrious count Zinzendorf, and who afterwards increasing have spread themselves through a large part of Europe, and even travelled to the Indies, to Tartary, and the utmost bounds of the earth. They tell us they are descendants of those Bohemian and Moravian brethren who, in the fifteenth century, were excited by the preaching and example of John Huss to cast off the Romish yoke. They might more correctly call themselves imitators of those brethren, for it is conceded by all that only a very small part of this new fraternity consists of Bohemians and Moravians; and it is very uncertain also whether those of them who are Bohemians by descent are the posterity of those ancient Bohemian brethren. They declare farther that they do not differ from the Lutherans in regard to doctrines, but only in their customs and regulations, in which they come near to the ancient Bohemians. But many question whether they here assert the truth, and are suspicious that these new brethren adopt the language of the Lutherans while among the Lutherans, the more readily to obtain toleration, and that in reality they are a mixture of people of various characters and sentiments. However this may be, it is at least difficult to understand why they are so zealous to extend their particular sect, if they differ from us only in their customs and mode of discipline. For whoever truly follows Jesus Christ will care little how the Christian community is constituted and regulated, because he knows that religion does not consist in external rites and regulations but in faith and love.

18. This progress of superstition among us nothing could arrest, as many supposed, except philosophy. And hence the cultivation of philosophy, which was apparently neglected towards the close of the preceding century, was not only revived but was prosecuted by many with great diligence. The general method of philosophising which I have called the Metaphysical obtained preference before all others. The superlative genius of Godfrey William von Leibnitz elucidated this philosophy with elegance, and moulded it into a better shape; but it was the very acute Christopher Wolff who perfected it, digested it into a system, and—what was entirely a new thing and never before attempted—gave it the form of a mathematical science. In this improved state, most of those who search after truth and certainty were exceedingly captivated with it, and eagerly applied it to the explanation and confirmation of the truths of revealed religion. But this gave great dissatisfaction to many good men who were anxious for the safety of the truth taught us by Christ; and hence the old conflict between philosophy and theology, piety and reason, was revived, and was urged on with great vehemence for a series of years. For many are of opinion that this metaphysical philosophy imbues the minds of young men with sentiments hostile to all religion and all worship, with arrogance also, contempt for divine revelation, excessive confidence in human reason, and other vices; and that it does not throw light and dignity around theology, but rather darkness and ignominy.

19. In proof of the correctness of this opinion respecting the tendency of this philosophy, they appeal especially to the case of Lawrence Schmidt of Schweinfurt, who is commonly called the Wertheim translator from the place where he resided. This man, who was by no means destitute of abilities and was very well versed in the philosophy in question, projected a new German translation of the Bible to serve as the foundation or basis of a new body of divinity, drawn up according to the strict rules of demonstration, which he had in contemplation. But the project was disastrous to him. For scarcely had he published a specimen of the work in a translation of the inspired books of Moses, when he was not only attacked in numerous publications, but was accused before the supreme tribunal of the Germanic empire as a capital enemy to the Christian religion and a caviller at divine truth. The chief ground of accusation was, that he had boldly construed certain passages in the books of Moses, which designated or foretold the coming of the Messiah, in such a manner as to give them a different signification. He was therefore thrown into prison and ordered to be tried for his life. But he escaped from prison and saved himself by flight.

20. The controversies and contentions of this age have been very numerous. First, what is called the Pietistic controversy has been carried on, in some places more fiercely and in others more moderately, according to the dispositions of persons and the circumstances of different parts of the country. But the controversy has gradually abated as time rolled on, and at present it seems to be reduced nearly to the single point, whether an irreligious man may have true and certain knowledge of divine things or some sort of illumination, which many

regard as a contest about words rather than things. Besides this, there have been several other controversies which also produced excitement in the preceding century respecting the eternity of the torments of the damned, the final restoration of all things, Christ's [millennial] reign on the earth, and others of like character. With John Fabricius, a divine of Helmstadt, and with some others, there has been a dispute respecting the importance of the disagreement between us and the papists; for he and his associates deemed it not so great as it is commonly supposed to be, so that he believed a person might lawfully go over to the Romish church. Respecting the law of marriage, the grounds of divorce, and concubinage, there have been great disputes between certain theologians and some distinguished jurists. Minor contests which suddenly spring up and as soon die away, as they contribute little to a knowledge of the internal state of the church, need not be enumerated.

21. The Reformed church not only preserves the same aspect which was above described, but studies to make it still more her appropriate characteristic.[1] For notwithstanding the formulas of faith, by which the vigilance of their ancestors enclosed and fortified their religion, remain everywhere the same, yet in most countries no preacher is compelled to think in exact accordance with them, but is supposed to fulfil his duty if he holds up the great and primary truths of Christianity, and avoids too much familiarity with the papists and Socinians. Hence in this very ample community, at the present day, Arminians, Supralapsarians, Infralapsarians, and Universalists [*i.e.* believers in a universal atonement], live amicably together, and with united efforts strive to extenuate and lessen the importance of those contests which divide the Christians who have separated themselves from the Romish communion. There are indeed some, especially among the Swiss, the Germans, and the Dutch, who are greatly troubled at this moderation; who deplore bitterly the loss of the ancient purity and rigour, and occasionally wax warm and attack the despisers of their ancient discipline. But the others, who are greatly superior in numbers, respectability, and power, care little for their resentments.

22. Whoever therefore duly considers the whole subject must freely acknowledge, that neither the Lutherans nor the Arminians have any longer ground for controversy with the Reformed church, but only with individual doctors of this family. For this church leaves every one at liberty to think as he pleases, on those points which were formerly the ground of its separation from the Lutherans and Arminians, and deems the fundamentals of religion safe, however those points are explained. And yet this very moderation thwarts the designs of those who would effect a union between the Lutherans and the Reformed. For those among us who are strenuous for orthodoxy complain that the Reformed open the door of salvation too wide, and that they offer communion and friendship not only to us but to all the sectarians. When therefore about twenty years ago,[2] certain excellent men among us (at the head of whom was Christopher Matthew Pfaff, a man on many accounts venerated and renowned), took very great pains to effect a union between us and the Reformed, the majority [of the Lutherans] so vigorously opposed the object, both by deeds and by publications, that it was soon abandoned.

23. The English church, which holds the first rank among the Reformed, is the same now that it was in the time of William III. The Episcopalians are the reigning party, and number among their adherents the sovereign, with the nobility of the realm and the greatest part of the people. But toleration is granted to the Puritans or Presbyterians, and to all the others who are included under the very comprehensive appellation of Nonconformists. Those however who are particularly acquainted with English affairs tell us that the Nonconformists diminish continually, and that this gradual diminution is ascribable to the mildness and gentleness of the bishops towards them. The Episcopalians are of two sorts. Some believe the government by bishops to be of divine institution, and they exalt and magnify immoderately the prerogatives of the church. Others are more moderate; and though they fully believe that an ecclesiastical government by bishops is more holy and more perfect than any other, and think that great care should be taken to prevent the clergy from becoming subject to the will and authority of kings and magistrates, yet they do not invidiously deny the name of a church to those communities in which there are no bishops, and they are tempe-

[1] Mosheim still continues to speak of all those who are styled Reformed as if they were united in one church or religious community, while in fact they form a number of totally distinct communities, often differing widely in doctrine, discipline, and worship, and in several instances having no sort of communion with each other. And hence his remarks respecting them as a body are liable to much criticism.—*Mur.*

[2] Thus wrote Mosheim in 1741. The precise year of Pfaff's attempt for a union was 1719.—*Schl.*

rate in defending the prerogatives of prelates among Christians.[1] These two parties are sometimes engaged in sharp contests, a striking example of which occurred in the present century. For the present bishop of Winchester, Benjamin Hoadley, a man eminent for talents and eloquence, greatly lowered the authority of the church, that is, of its presiding officers, and confined it within narrow limits. On the other hand, John Potter, now archbishop of Canterbury and at the head of the British clergy, and others, contended for the prerogatives and authority of the church with great eloquence and erudition. Moreover, the disposition of the established church of England towards those who dissent from it, cannot be learned from anything more exactly than from the fact that William Wake, the late archbishop of Canterbury, a few years ago was disposed to form an alliance with the French church, on terms which would secure to both most of their respective peculiarities of sentiment.[2]

24. The unbounded liberty which Englishmen enjoy of publishing their opinions without restraint, and of worshipping God in the manner each one thinks right, naturally causes various sects to arise occasionally, and controversies respecting things pertaining to religion to be perpetual. But it is hardly possible for any one, who has not himself lived some time in England and formed acquaintance on the spot with the opinions, privileges, laws, and parties of that happy nation, to give a full and accurate account of these different sects and controversies. Of several of the sects not even the names reach us, and of many of them we have only an imperfect and indistinct knowledge. Of the controversies we are to a great extent unable to ascertain the true foundation and the points at issue, because we are destitute of the sources from which information can be drawn. At this present time, one George Whitefield is collecting a party, and contemplates the formation of a Christian community more perfect than all others, nor is he altogether unsuccessful. It would seem, if the man is self-consistent and does not follow the blind impulse of fancy rather than any determined rule, that he places religion altogether in holy emotions and an indescribable kind of sensation, and that he requires his followers to dismiss all reliance on reason and study as means of [religious] knowledge, and to submit their minds to be guided and instructed by a divine illumination.

25. The Dutch, down even to our times, have been occupied with the Cocceian and Cartesian controversies, though now less intensely than heretofore. And there is a prospect that these contests will wholly cease, since the Newtonian mode of philosophizing has expelled the Cartesian from the Dutch universities. Of the Roëllian disputes we have already given an account. Frederick van Leenhof in the year 1703 fell under suspicion of being a Spinozist, and was attacked by many on account of a book he published, entitled, *Heaven upon Earth;* in which he taught, that a Christian should always be joyful, and never mourn or be sorrowful. The same crime was charged by many upon William Deurhoff, an illiterate man, who published several tracts in the vernacular tongue, in which he speculated concerning the divine nature, as if he viewed it to be an energy pervading the whole material universe and operative in all parts of it. The most recent contests are those of James Saurin and Paul Maty. The former, a minister of the gospel at the Hague and distinguished for his genius and eloquence, if he erred at all, erred very slightly. For if we except a few inaccurate and unwary expressions, he deviated from the common doctrine only in this one point, that he thought it sometimes lawful to deceive men by our speech for the sake of accomplishing some great good.[3] Most of the Reformed churches, it is to be noted, adopt the principle of Augustine, that every deception and every falsehood is sinful. The other, namely Maty, committed a much greater fault. For in order to explain the profound mystery of three persons in one God and to render it easy to be understood, he assumed that the Son and the Holy Spirit are two finite beings, created by God, and who at a certain time became united to God.[4]

[1] The learned and pious archbishop Wake, in a letter to Father Courayer, dated from Croyden House, July 9, 1724, expresses himself thus: "I bless God that I was born and have been bred in an Episcopal church, which, I am convinced, has been the government established in the Christian church from the very times of the Apostles. But I should be unwilling to affirm, that where the ministry is not episcopal there is no church, nor any true administration of the sacraments. And very many there are among us who are zealous for Episcopacy, and yet dare not go so far as to annul the ordinances of God performed by any other ministry." —*Macl.*

[2] See the account of the negotiation of archbishop Wake, and the letters which passed between him and Du Pin on the subject, in Maclaine's third Appendix to his translation of Mosheim's *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History.*—*Mur.*

[3] See Saurin's *Discours Historiques, Théologiques, Critiques, et Moraux, sur les évènements les plus Mémorables du Vieux et du Nouveau Testament*, volume i. of the folio edition.—*Macl.*

[4] See Mosheim's *Historia Critica novæ explicationis Dogmatis de Tribus in Deo Personis, quam vir clarus.*

26. In Switzerland, especially in the canton of Berne, the *Formula Consensus* which has been already mentioned produced very fierce disputes. In the year 1718, the magistrates of Berne required all public teachers, and particularly those of the university and church of Lausanne (in whom there was supposed to be some stain of error), to assent to this Formula and to receive it as the standard of their faith; for it had for some time been neglected, and subscription to it had not in all cases been required. But several, both of the professors and of the candidates for the sacred office, declared that they could not conscientiously subscribe, and accordingly some of them were subjected to punishment. This caused grievous contentions and complaints, to quiet which, the king of Great Britain and the States-General of Holland, as well as others, offered their kind offices. The result was, that the Formula lost much of its credit and authority. In the German [Reformed] churches, nothing very remarkable has occurred. The Palatine church, once so very flourishing, has, through the machinations of the papists, suffered a great diminution of its prosperity.

27. The Socinians dispersed over various countries of Europe, have hitherto been able nowhere[1] to obtain the liberty of forming themselves into a regular community, and of publicly setting up worship according to the views of their sect. At the head of their learned men, in our times, stood Samuel Crell, who died at an advanced age at Amsterdam. He however chose to be called an Artemonite rather than a Socinian, and he actually differed on many points from the common doctrines of the Socinians. The Arians obtained a great advocate in William Whiston, a professor [of mathematics] in the university of Cambridge, who chose rather to resign his chair than to renounce his opinions, which he defended in numerous publications. Similar to him, according to the common estimation, was Samuel Clarke, a man richly endowed with powers of genius and education, who in the year 1724 was convicted of adulterating the sound doctrine in regard to three persons in the Godhead. But no ingenuous and reasonable man will rank Dr. Clarke among the Arians, if this name is to be taken in its native and proper acceptation. For he merely defended with greater clearness and diligence, what is called the Arminian subordination, which has been and is still embraced by so many of the first men and by very learned prelates in England, and taught that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are in nature equal, but in rank unequal.[2] A great number of persons among the English have endeavoured in various ways to invalidate and assail the most sacred doctrine of the divine Trinity. And this induced an opulent lady, whose name was Moyer, to leave by her will a rich legacy as a premium for eight public discourses to be delivered annually by some learned man, in opposition to this species of impiety. The institution has been in operation since the year 1720, and promises to future ages a rich collection of the best productions in defence of this part of revealed religion.[3]

Paulus Maty excogitavit, in his *Dissert. ad Historiam Eccles. pertinentes*, tom. ii. p. 399-582.—*Mur.*

[1] Except in Transylvania.—*Schl.*

[2] Mosheim has here mistaken the true hypothesis of Dr. Clarke, or at least expressed it imperfectly; for what he says here is rather applicable to the opinion of Dr. Waterland. Dr. Clarke maintained an equality of perfections between the three Persons, but a subordination of nature in point of existence and derivation.—*Macl.*

[3] As this legacy consisted merely of a leasehold estate, which expired in 1773 or 1774, no lectures were preached after that year. A list of the published lectures may be seen in Lowndes' *British Librarian*, col. 841, 842.—*R.*

POSTSCRIPT.—It is to be hoped that the learned translator of this work which terminates so abruptly here, will be enabled to fulfil the intention, indicated in the conclusion of his Preface, of compiling a continuation of it, embracing the ecclesiastical history of the eighteenth century and first half of the nineteenth; a work which is very much wanted. Mosheim has had indeed several English continuators already; but they are very inadequate associates of this great historian, and leave the field quite unoccupied for Dr. Murdock, who, I have no doubt, will worthily and profitably occupy it. In German, there are many histories of the eighteenth century; scholars have long been expecting an addition to them from the pen of Gieseler, the first volume of whose *Lehrbuch der neueren Kirchengeschichte*, published in 1840, stops in the middle of the previous century. An excellent manual for this period is the third volume of the edition of Jablonski's *Institutiones Historiæ Christianæ*, by Stosch and Schickedanz, 18mo; but it comes no lower down than the year 1786.—*R.*

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